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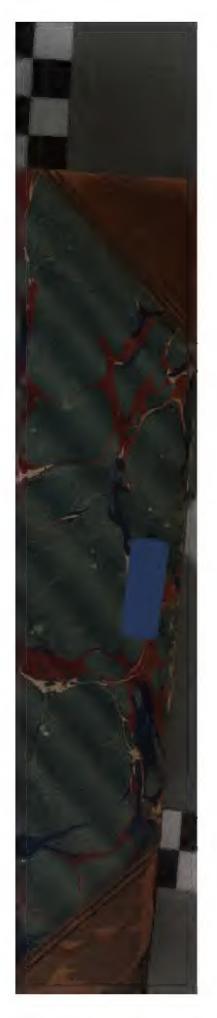
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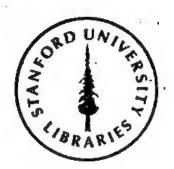
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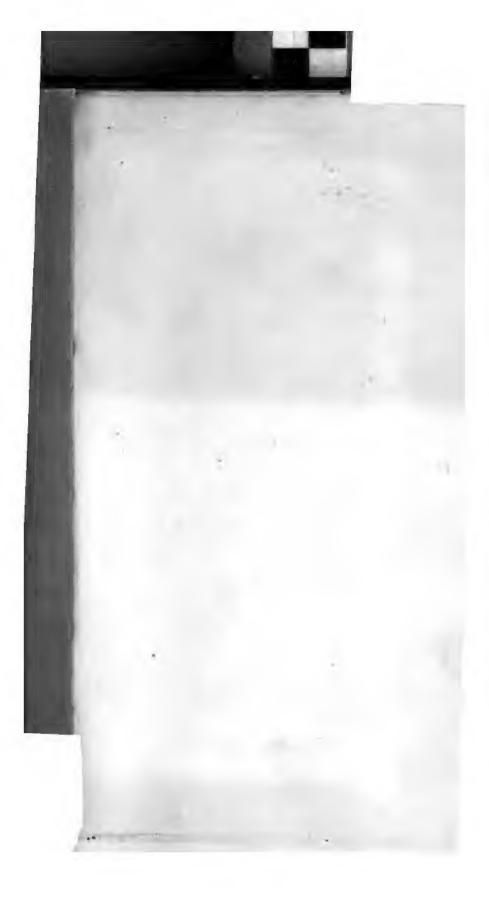
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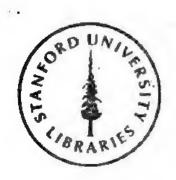
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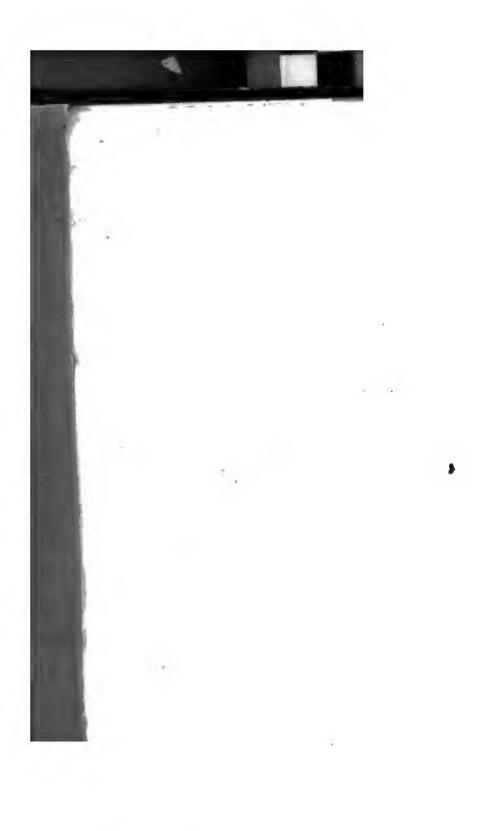


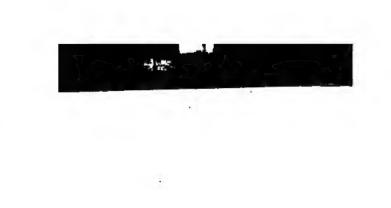












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A Bill for the Better Government of London and other purposes consected threneith. Prepared and brought in by Secretary Sir. William Harcourt and others. London, 1884.

I might seem, for more reasons than one, and to others besides merely fancifus persons, that the time for writing a comprehensive and yet not unwieldy history of London had come within the last year or two. Ever since the accession to power it the present Government, changes in the municipal constituson of London have been imminent; and for many years before 1880 changes in the outward and visible form of the City and a suburbs have been going on at a rate and in a manner untown to any former generation, except those distant generations the have witnessed the rare and secular phenomena of stege, ire, and plague. At a I times, for more centuries than can be counted with any exactness, London has expanded itself with me or less energy; and especially for the last century and a ulf or two conturies the process has gone on of turning adjacent thoges into suburbs, of filling up the deltas between the country, of substituting many small Topen spaces. But, until a period within the memory of the londoners who have reached middle life, this process went *nwith a certain slowness and without any sweeping or destruche changes. The London of thirty years ago was far larger, he more populous, than the London of sixty years ago; the london of sixty years ago than the London of a hundred and treats. But in each case the later London would have been Val. 158. - New 315.

for more recognizable to an inhabitant of the earlier than the London of to-day would be to a Londoner of thirty years since At that time not a single misway bridge had crossed the rive and the great terminal stations of the most destructive of modes of communication had scrupulously kept aloof from t old part of the town. Shoreditch (the terminus of the ta-Eastern Counties Railway) and Fenchurch Street, King's Con and Euston, alone approached what a man of the eighteen century would have recognized as London, and of these the to latter trespassed only on very recently occupied ground. No ex Lankment had obliterated the shore line of the northern bank the river, and made it difficult nowadays even for those we were constantly familiar with it in their boyhood, to conjure t in memory the former riverside appearance of the City from Westminster to Blackfriars. The piercing of new and impo tant routes from Piccash dy to the Oxford road, and from the Oxford road to Holborn, were things of the past; but they in made no such widespread destruction of landmarks and contour as the Holborn Viaduet, as the changing of "mitafie and its neighbourhood into a wilderness of railways at markets, as the opening of Queen Victoria Street, or as the similar but more recent opening of a great thoroughfare tre Bloomsbury Square to the region of St. Luke's. In the cout and lanes of the City proper a certain amount of quiet building had been constantly going on; but their general aspect was ! more like the London of Johnson, far more like even London of Defor, than the prim and deserted labyrinths seven-storied granite and terra cotta, which echo nowadays. the tread of the Saturday or Sunday visitor, are like either, like the London of the first Exhibition. In the extreme subus the change, if less conspicuously visible, is not less re-Thirty years ago the great Orangery in Kensington Garden was open to the few children who played there, with a gree lawn (now absorbed by the Palace grounds) in front of it, " an old gravel pit (now filled up) at its back—a gravel which, with the "yew wood black as night ' by its side various rabbit or rat holes in its walls, was no mean play-play for a child of some imagination. The great Scotch fire along the north edge of the gardens were untouched; the plantation round the pond preserved all their artful slope from from crown; the path which leads from the north and of the Brown Walk to Rotten Row was an innovation looked upon rathe doubtfully and jealously by old inhabitants; and the somewhat discovery attempt at gardening and fountains at the head of the Serpentine did not exist. What has been said in detail of on

part of one auburb might be multiplied indefinitely of others. is a much less than thirty years since the traveller by foot from limington to Chelsea went through an unbroken chain of printly rural lanes; it is less than five-and-twenty since there were only a few scattered villas between Maida Vale and Happitead. In short, the face of London has in the last thirty year been changed (mainly, but not wholly, by railways) in a future, if not to a degree, out of all proportion to the changes stath it had undergone during ten times thirty years before, You the historian of a city, though he should not be a toposupper merely, must be mainly a topographer, and the amount if assistance in his task which he loses by such a process of Olderation as this can scarcely be estimated too highly. With the visible London of the past melting or melted away by the best of the engine fires, and the invisible London of the past threatened by a Radical-Liberal Government with transformason into a gigantio commune, no one can deny that it is time or the historian to take up his pen and write. And it can furdly happen that any capable historian should take up his pen and write, without giving considerable assistance in the formation of sound opinion as to that one of the two changes which is not yet accomplished.

That Mr. Loftie has proved himself a capable historian of the subject may, after a careful reading of his book, both in its first edition of last year and in the second which it has reached in what is for such a book a remarkably short interval, be very confidently pronounced. He has indeed fallen into a few of those errors of detail which are unavoidable in a work of detail. We observe, with all due disapproved that he has in one place called an historian of Newington Johnson, when he should have called him Robinson. He has rashly said that Comper 'must have seen' a stone in St. Margaret's Church which was probably not placed there till the year of Cowper's death; and he has in one place forgotten the Roman bath under the Corn Exchange, though he has duly recorded the better known one in Strand Lane. Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, has may certainly nothing to do with Bishop Kirkby, as Mr. Loftic merceta, but much with Kirby, Sir Christopher Hatton's beaut. a sol now ruined seat in Northamptonshire. We shall have, n biliowing the history of the City, to differ with him on some between points, and to question his too easy trust in authorion not over trustworthy. It might be urged that, while procatag to cleave closely to things that are strictly historical, and to truet the personal gossip and anecdote which are nowhere have abundant than in connection with his subject, he has some-

times diverged into this gossip, and also into other things, such as criticism of art, and especially of architecture, which may appear to lie outside his plan. And it may seem also that in occupying his second volume with the suburbs, even in some cases the more remote suburbs, he has widened an already wide subject to an extent difficult, if not impossible, to treat within the compass of two not very bulky volumes in crown octavo. We have however here exhausted all that any fair devil's advocate can allege, and more than we ourselves are disposed to endorse, We think that it would be extremely difficult to write within the compass of Mr. Loftie's work a better history of London, either in plan or execution, than he has written; and we are quite sure that by enlarging the compass and extending the plan the book would have lost one great ment which it at present possesses, the merit of being at once reasonably complete and extremely handy. As an instance of Mr. Lottie's judgment in planning his book, we may single out for exemplary praise his stience as to Dr. Guest's ingenious argument about the campaign of Aulus Plautius, and its possible connection with London. Mr. Loftie of course knew this argument; and he must probably, if not certainly, have anticipated that some critics, who delight in dwelling on an author's omissions as evidence of his ignorance, and in parade of their own knowledge, would find fault with him for being silent. But the argument is exactly one of those which if a writer in moderate compass on a large subject begins to notice, he is lost-because of the myriads of similar arguments which demand equal attention. It is very ingenious; it is the work of a scholar whom no one writing on any subject connected with Eng ish history or English literature can mention without respect. But it is almost entirely hypothetical, or, to speak more exactly, conjectural, and in two important points (the question of the existence of a ford at Westminster, and that of the direction of the Watling Street) it is demonstrably, or all but demonstrably, wrong. To expose errors and weigh conjectures of such a kind may be a very interesting and even a not unimportant task: but it clearly cannot be undertaken by the writer of an eventful history that covers two thousand years, and less than a thousand pages. The manis of saying every-thing, of picking up every glove, of guarding every point, is one to which a certain school of historians at the present day is peculiarly subject, and which has resulted in the buiging of their histories into most amorphous amplitude, Loftie has escaped it is not his least merit.

In one other point, the selection of its illustrations, his book deserves unqualified praise. They are mostly, as they should

be, naps and plans selected from different periods. But hy far the more useful method of treating the book, especially in regard to the important secondary object which has been defined above, the object of seeing what it has to tell us as to the probable wiscom of the threatened change in London government, will be to make, in part under its guidance, in part in comment and connection of it, a sketch of what the history of London has

actually been.

it will hardly surprise any one, that Mr. Loftie attempts no smiths about the earliest rulers and inhabitants of London, though perhaps some readers may wish that he had so far standed the extremer attitude of the modern school as to give some account of them. The truth is that while London makes are very important appearance, and very scanty appearance, appearant or unimportant, in actual history until the English evalus was consolidated, this insignificance is fully equalled by the senaty appearance which it makes in fiction. In the shad my ages of the history of Britain, Caerleon and Winobester, Glastonbury and Tintagel, occupy the memory, not Lordon. In history we never hear of London at all as London until sixty years after Christ; we have but few and indecisive details respecting it during the period of Roman occupation, fewer during the earlier occupation of the Saxons. It is not till the end of the ninth century, till as nearly as possible a thousand years ago, that the regular unbroken secular history of London begins. Before this the historian is reduced partly to a thrifty election of the rare notices that do exist, partly to a painful and to a great extent conjectural restoration of probabilities, by beard of geology, archeology, and otherwise. The reconstrucare of the site of London as it must have been two thousand ters ago explains why this site should have been chosen for mbitation, and therefore makes it probable that it was chosen. The I hames was narrower at what is now London Bridge than "vas at any place below or for a considerable distance above it was shallower at what is now Westminster Bridge than " was for miles above or at any place below. The one place was the most suitable for crossing by a bridge or a raft; the ode for crossing by a ford. But London proper had advaners which Westminster proper had not, besides being nearer the ten. The high ground occupied by the City was not only more extensive and more defensible than the lale of Thorney; " was more extensive and more defensible than any site where he over could be easily crossed and commanded. Reman London we indeed know nothing, for there are no documents

ments to tell us, and the habits of the Britons were not sud as to leave durable marks of habitation. That there is n mention of it by Cosar proves, indeed, nothing either way; for Casar, it may be said with certainty, did not come near the place, and the legends of his connection with it are baseless list the Londinium of the seventh decade of the first century cannot have become, as Tacitus * says it was, 'maxime celebra copia negotiatorum et commeatuum' in a day, and the advantage which originally brought it into existence are not likely to hav allowed much time to clapse before it in some measure recovere Bondicea's revenge. But it was not for a long time a place of an importance as a fortification, and when the Romans came ! fortify it, they did so at first only on a very small scale. The first Roman city appears to have been of no more imposing character than Richborough or Burgh. It ran east and west be tween Dowgate and Billingsgate, north and south from the creof the river bank to Lombard Street. There must have bee extensive suburbs, and villas were certainly dotted about 1 and wide; but there was no larger City proper than this, as \$ as can be made out, even at the time when London make its second historical appearance in connection with the campaig by which Britain was recovered from Allectus and made pa of the empire of Constantius and Constantine. Nor was till nearly another century had passed, that what is common called the Roman Wall (the first wall that made London great and fencible city) came into existence. Mr. Loft approves Sir William Tite's narrowing of the dates between the period when this wall did not exist and the period whe it did to 350-369. Henceforward Landinium seems to hat acquired its name of Augusta, which poets at least used till ti end of the seventeenth century when they wished to be improsive. 'The fair Augusta much to fears inclined' (as Drvite calls it by a cheerful plagiarism from his rival, Crowne) me have been comforted in her tremors by this new fortification Its exact outline is somewhat dubious, but there is no doub that, for nearly all practical purposes, it fixed the boundaries the City proper from the fourth century to the nineteenth, say that Farringdon Without, Bishopsgate Without, and Portsoke were added between the twelfth and the fourteenth century, at the site of the Tower, or part of it, was abstracted in the eleventh. The circuit thus formed is more than three miles from Blackfriars by Newgate and Aldersgate to Moorfields at round by Bishopsgate to the Tower; and, as Mr. Loftie point

out it must, in all probability, have enclosed a great deal of open ground. Possibly this not uncommon mustake had something to do with the faiture of the Wall in the next century a supp y the Britons with a rallying point against the invaders. It is certain that London seems to have been but just able to resist the Piets and Scots. If it made any resistance to the Saxons, we know nothing about that resistance. Only after the battle of Cayford, that is to say, in 457, we are told that the Britons brook heat and in great terror fled to London. It is not said that they were pursued; it is not said that they and the inhabitants resisted. Nothing, in short, is heard of London for ix years afterwards; just as, putting co.as and unearthed secure of buildings aside, hardly anything is to be learnt of losdon before. The state of the town at the revolt of the crai, the occupation of the bridge by Allectus two centuries later, and his defeat by the lieutenant of Constantius; the postions in the middle of the fourth century against the Picts and Scots; and the flight from Crayford to London in the malife of the fifth; -this is the meagre total of positive associated information respecting London before 500 A.D.

Perhaps Mr. Loftie may be accused of accepting with too appear faith the picturesque expression of some very picturesque modern historians as to the 'awfal drama,' the 'atter effacement, and so forth, which followed Crayford. After all, at mut in reference to our present subject, there is time in 150 sears for a great change to be effected by quieter processes than these of simple throat-cutting; and 150 years pass between the time when the Britist citizens of London are left fearfully wating for Hengist and A.se, his son, and the time when London is found to be a capital of the East Saxons. Thenceforward it is heard of with tolerable frequency, but mainly in connection with ecclesinatical matters, and not as a place of any great importance. Essex was at no time a powerful kingdom, and as long as London continued to belong to Essex, it was accessarily obscured Mr. Loftie, following Guest, even inclines think that London was not regularly stormed and captured, but described by its inhalt tants, and occupied only after a time of devolution. This, however, the attention of the place seems of desolation. so as to make somewhat improbable. However that may be, it s long before London attains any important place, at least in secular history. It was christianized, and then heathenized, on then christianized again, and the processes were repeated we than once. London, after belonging nominally to keeex, ath at least a kind of divided allegiance to Kent, becomes Mercian. In 734 we have a grant from King Lithelbaid to the Bishop of Rochester of exemption from dues 'in Portu Lundonia.' In 511 it is spoken of in another document as 'locus practurus oppidumque regale,' the most flattering description of it since Tacitus. A witan (to employ a phrase consecrated by use but terrible to some purists, who doubtless have no scruple in talking of 'a quorum') was held in London that year, and at or about this time London seems to have begun to be recognized as in effect the capital of England, as nominally the capital of whatever kingdom, first Mercia, then Wessex,

happened to be paramount at the time.

The troubles of the city, however, were by no means over, nor had they even settled down into that ordinary condition of trouble which men and cities both may expect. The second and third quarters of the ninth century were probably the most calamitous period of London history. The City was peculiarly exposed to the Danes, and it was for a time wholly unable to resist them, being sacked again and again, and at last, it would appear, becoming a Danish stronghold for some years. The chief exp oit of Alfred's life, or rather the summing up and symbol of his exploits, was the wresting of London from the Danes, and the putting of it in such a condition that it could, with courage and conduct on the part of its citizens and their neighbours, easily resist them. The details of these operations concern us little. It is enough that exactly a thousand years ago the history of London as a powerful, and in some sense predominant, part of the kingdom, begins. Up to this time all its brief historical appearances had been uniformly inglorious. It is seen submitting helplessly to the onslaught of the revolted Iceni, battled for with apparently very little intervention of its own by the mercensries of Allectus and Asc.epiodotus, craving the support of Theodosius against the savage Picts, awaiting with no recorded intention of resistance, or resistance in fact, the advance of the Saxons after Crayford, bandied about between Essex, Kent, Mercia, and Wessex, narried and tyrannized over by the Danes for nearly half a century. But henceforward, says Mr. Loftie, 'the Danes never again took the city by siege.' He might have said that it was never again, in the proper sense of the words, taken by siege at all, though it sometimes made terms with invaders or claimants of the crown, and was sometimes, in greater or less part, at the mercy of momentarily successful insurgents,

The later Saxon period was, on the whole, a prosperous one for London. It became a great place of trade, it had an important Mint, and as early as the reign of Athelstan it had a lintagild—the first recorded of innumerable associations, but in

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itself it would appear little more than a quaint cross between cub, triexily society, and vigilance committee. During this time too the Londoners assume that distinct, if not always promisent, place in English armies, which they retained in softeent forms till the time of the great rebellion. The troubles of the reign of Ethelicid the Unready affected London severely, but it never came to the last extremities of war, and Canute's nege equally failed, though Canute himself afterwards became master of the City by agreement. Edmund Ironside was elected and crowned in London, and Edgar the Atheling was elected but not crowned. Finally the Londoners offered the crown to bilium (whether he was or was not in a position to take it is

mother matters, and he formally accepted it from them.

Such are the main points, if not the sole points, of importance in the history of London before the Conquest; that is to say, for a space of a thousand years (almost to a year) since the revolt of Bou sees, in which the City makes its first historical appearance, It will have been noticed that among them there is no mention of municipal institutions, or of anything reaembling municipal institutions. As a matter of fact, the first glimpse, and that a very faint one, of such institutions, appears in the reign of Edward the Confessor. It is of course easy to say that a large it irregularly built town and a military post, first of some and tion of great importance, must have had administrative institutions, both civil and military, under rulers so methodical as the Remans, and that these institutions must have resembled those which are known to have existed elsewhere. It is equally easy to say that, from the time (whenever it was) that the East Soxons either captured London or occupied it without resistance, its exon intrabitants must have met in folkmotes, and been governed by appointed or elected recres, and in other ways east conformed to the known ways and manners of their kindred. There is no evidence that either of these suppositions is talse, and, until the eleventh century, there is none that either Writs of Edward the Confessor exist, directed to William the Bishop and Swetman the Portreeve in one case, to Leofstan and Aelsi the Portreeves in another. Leofstan also seems to have been head of one of the prominent guilds of the Cay, the 'knighten' or young men's guild. Just before the Coquest we hear of Esgar the marshal or 'staller' of the City, but it is evident that by this time at any rate the Portreeve of a shirereeve; and has nothing to do with porting but much with ports. Those who have read Parliamentary reports as to nateformed corporations, know that officers of this name existed in place of mayors in more than one out-of-the-way borough but a year or two ago, and we are not rertain that the last has been abulished yet. The Portreeve of London reappears, and again in conjunction with the Bishop, in the famous and often quoted charter of the Conqueror (William the King greets William the Bishop and Gosfrith the Portreeve, and all the burghers within London'), a charter which proceeds to lay down that all that were law-worthy in King Edward's time shall be law-worthy now, that children shall inherit their father's property, and that no man shall do the citizens wrong. The purport of this much discussed charter appears to be plain enough, and its three clauses are only assertions of the same thing from different points of view. That thing is, that the citizens as citizens have had and are to have no feudal superior who could judge them in his own courts, eachest or recal their property at death, and inflict loss or punishment on them at his arbitrary will. The City, in short, and this is more important, is incidentally declared to have been a free city, and under its own government. The political effect of this grant or recognition of freedom may have been considerably neutralized by the erection of the Tower, which was placed at a point commanding at once the City and the river, and which had all the advantages of a citadel without the liability of a citadel to be blockaded by the inhabitants of the City. But whatever the practical effect of the building of the Tower may have been, it did not legally affect any of the privileges of the City, except in so far as a small corner of the City ground was abstracted from the area over which those privileges extended. The shadow of Gundulph's mighty work had no blighting effect on the internal and municipal treedom of the City.

The details of the institutions by which that freedom was exercised and secured are, however, very hard to make out. It is clear, not merely from probability but from the two documents just quoted, that the Bishop of London exercised great influence; but whether it was simply as the highest in rank and most respected in person—not to say as one of the richest—of the criticens, or whether its kind and degree were regulated by custom, we know not. The status of the Portreeve is equally obscure, and it is not even known whether he was elected or not, and, if he was elected, in whose hands the right of election lay. The terms of William's Charter, 'That ye all be lawworthy that were law-worthy in King Edward's time,' seem to infer distinctly that both in the former and the latter time there were inhabitants of London who were not law-worthy, that is to say, to adopt modern terms of somewhat different but parallel

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input, that the City franchise was not bousehold, and still less ourseld, franchise. But that there was a recognized body of ourse, that the Portreeve was the mouthpiece and representance of those citizens, is clear. As time goes on, other status, on whose classification and identification a vast and perhaps disproportionate amount of labour has been apent, and their appearance. We hear within a few years of the keg's Sheriff, the Sheriff of Middlesez, the Chamber.ain. libery I. emarges, or at least defines and emphasizes, his fatter's charter by express exceptions from various taxes and field bardons. He gives to the citizens the Crown Revenues of Muldlesex to farm at a rent of 300%, a year; he allows them to elect a sheriff to collect the dues; he grants them a wide buting licence over Middlesex and Surrey, and into Buckinglazshire; he further empowers them to elect a Justiciar. But is this important charter the name of the Portreeve does not spear, and the exact status of all the officers already mentioned n matter of doubt. What is certain is that the two sheriffs motes in 1173, and that Henry Litz-Aylwyn, who is first caled Mayor, held office some twenty years later, though the case year is disputed. Of Portreeves we hear no more; and her, at least, it is unnecessary to discuss the questions of their searchon with the 'Portsoken,' and of their disappearance sten it was absorbed. Aldermen came, at least as civic fanctouries, considerably later, and the Common Council formed of becarlier Deputies later still. Indeed, as to the origin of the uner, Mr. Loftie is not explicit, and it is not very easy to piece better their history from the authorities. Delegates, however, was the different words are mentioned as being elected in the andle of the fourteenth century, to assist the Aldermen, as the discussed the Mayor. As for the Aldermen, they spear, in documents discovered in the capitalar records of * faul's, many years before they make their appearance in spectr municipal fusts, and there is not a little reason for thereing them to have had rather a territorial than a popular them. That is to say, they were probably lords of their wards, a period the walls, other men were lords of manors. It is that in the early centuries of the Norman and Planaristointo element in what, for shortness sake (the term itself is emparatively modern's may be called the Corporation.

The important point here, however, is to notice that at any form a period anterior to the Conquest a Corporation, outsing, it may be, at first only of a definite body of free carts and a Portreeve, but gradually acquiring a more

complicated

complicated organization, existed as the governing and representative body of the City of London. The perfecting of the organization, both administrative and representative, advanced steadily, and with it the acquisition of larger and more definite privileges for the community. The political and dynastic changes of the time were in almost all cases the opportunity of a rich and numerous community occupying a strong city, already possessing recognized municipal privileges, and enjoying in addition a vague but by no means imaginary right to a prerogative voice in the election of Kings. The election of Stephen is not perhaps morally creditable to a city which had received many benefits from Henry I., but it undoubtedly gave the City additional prestige. London, indeed, partly by its own fault, might say, 'A plague o' both your houses,' for Stephen arbitrarily deprived the citizens of their right of electing sheriffs, and made them buy it back, while Matilda swept almost all their privileges away at a stroke, and handed them over as vassals to the Earl of Essex. They got the better of their difficulties with both: but the Great Fire of 1136, relatively more disastrous even than the more familiar calamity which bore the same name five hundred years later, half ruined the town for a time.

The reign of Matilda's son was less important in the history of London than in the history of England, or rather it would have been so but for the memorable work of Fitzstephen, which gives us the first sketch of the actual everyday life of the City. Mr Loftie, who both as an Englishman and a specialist has perhaps some right to grumble, wishes that the good priest had devoted less space to gossip, and more to history and topography. We cannot echo the wish. The few and famous pages which describe how Londoners hunted and feasted seven Lundred years ago, how they used mutton bones instead of skates, and fought cocks in schoolrooms, innocent of School Board regulations, are much too precious in themselves for as to wish them anything else, though we might be very glad to have something else as well. But from other sources it appears that the comfortable picture which hitzstephen draws of domestic life during Henry's long reign is just fiable enough. At any rate, there were no municipal disputes, and no important invasions of the City privileges. The briefer reigns of Henry's sons, on the other hand, and the long and impotent sway of his grandson and namesake, hold a very different position in the story. Mr. Loftie has followed, with a closeness which we need not imitate, the story of the contest of the citizens with the laing, and of the dissensions between the aristocratic and popular parties among

the citizens themselves, by the light of the curious chronicle was in too great want of money to refuse properly acknowledged favour to the citizens, and the outbreak under Long Beard, or Fitresbert, was rather a protest against the unequal distribution of pecuniary burdens, than an attempt at political or municipal reform, properly so-called. In the time of John, the enmity between the aristocratic party in the City and those who didoot belong to old City families became fiercer, and the former mak a false step, which ultimately led to their downfull, by embracing the French side, Perhaps Henry III, is entitled to more benefit of excuse than Mr. Loftie allows him for his minendliness to London on this very account. It is cortain hat he made what had not been made since the time of his pest-grandmother a deliberate attack on the privileges of the He intruded his own judges in City matters; he made mants in Middlesex (of which it must be remembered the City farmer); he suspensed the Mayor and Aldermen from ofice; and he ingeniously worked on the alleged grievances of the lower orders, so as to get the vote of an irregular folkmote the his aide. But the Corporation, despite the unlucky aplit between parties, was by this time pretty regularly constituted, and it only needed a resolute and capable Mayor to make head against the Crown. Such a Mayor was found in Thomas egainst the Crown. Such a Mayor was found in Thomas litz Thomas, who saw the advantage given by Montfort's receedings. Thomas Fitz Thomas organized the wards, reguarly enrolled the trade guilds, which had been springing up in numbers, and, in short, did his utmost to discipline the forces of the City. His success was, after some vicinitudes, for the time angualified. The slaughter of the Londoners by Prince Edward at Lewes did not prevent the triumph of Montiort; and sext year Thomas, who had repeatedly, and sometimes irreguurly, held the Mayoralty, took the oath to the King, with the words (not too generous or decent from a subject triumphant in revolt to an humbled and practically captive king), * So long as you shall be to us a good lord and king, so long will we be faithful and duteous to you."

Henry would have been less than human if he had not revenged himself. After Evenham, Fitz Thomas and others see imprisoned, but there is no record of any severer personal ponishment. London was heavily fined, and for several years its proper form of government was in abeyance. But Edward I. was far too wise a man to think that he could strengthen himself by weakening and tyrannizing over the chief city of Lagland; and even before his father's death his influence

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secured to the Londoners a practical restoration of their privileges. Under his own reign there were some interferences, rather arising from the King's masterful determination to have good order kept throughout his realm, than from any desire to deprive London of its institutions. Indeed, it may be said that at no time afterwards was there any organized attempt to do this, for the quo warranto proceedings of Charles II. (of which Mr. Loftie takes a very harsh view) certainly do not amount

to such an attempt,

The interest of the history from this point therefore ceases to be in the main political, and becomes domestic. After this, it is true, Edward I 'took the city into his own hands' for a period, and Edward II. attempted to tax the citizens illegally, and Edward III., at the opening of Lis reign, granted an enlarged charter, which may be taken as proof that matters were not quite settled yet. Richard II, forced a Mayor on the citizens (the said Mayor being none other than Richard Whittington;; but the constitution of the City was in fact settled, and it was more and more rarely interfered with. difference may be best emphasized by pointing out what occurred after the famous Evil May-day, when a mob of apprentices rabbled foreigners. Two handred years before, the least that would probably have happened would have been the 'taking of the city into the king's hands.' Now, though Henry VIII. took an active part in the matter, it was purely one of police, and no interference with the constitution of the City took place. Neither Cade's, nor Wyntt's, nor Essex's insurrections, though they all affected London, and in the last case some citizens were suspected of complicity, had any evil result on the freedom of the City.

At the time, however, that the political interest of the history becomes less prominent, its domestic, and more strictly municipal, interest increases and multiplies. It is from this time, when danger of oppression from without and above practically ceased, that the constitution, as it may be called, of the City began to shape and develop itself from within into something like the form in which it has existed up to the present time. It has been already observed more than once, that the earlier arrangements of this interior constitution are very imperfectly known. Mr. Loftie holds, with certainly the advantage of probability, and with perhaps the advantage of the weight of such scanty direct evidence as we possess, that their principle was on the whole territorial, the aldermen representing lords of the manor or barons, and the wards representing their manors or baronies. How this arrangement worked in with the system of

folkmotes

blamses and of popular election, which undoubtedly did prevail, if not at a very early period, it is impossible to say, But it may be pointed out that the constant struggles between the austocratic and popular parties, of which we have such posture testimony, are exactly what might be expected in such per of incompatible systems. Had the principle of election been clearly supreme, and had all citizens enjoyed the elective fracture, these struggles could hardly have occurred, or would have been quickly terminated. As soon as that principle was recognized frankly, they did as a matter of fact terminate. But the recognition took place in a somewhat peculiar fashion. It may se that, as the Bishop of Chester thinks, the disappearance of the Portreeve, and other events which took place at a still sarlier period, indicate a previous revolution: but if it be so, the information existing in respect to it is far too scanty to estify any precise description. The hypothesis, which has been already advanced (and which Mr. Loftle seems, though not schaps expressly, to hold,)—that from a time certainly prior to the Conquest, but not otherwise to be defined, the City of Lonson, as regards its citizens, consisted of a body of freemen braded and represented by a portreeve or portreeves, that the who were by degrees called aldermen, and whose estates were called wards, and that side by side with these wards there existed or grew up sokes, or liberties, held by communities rather than individuals,-admits, and indeed requires, the supposition that various modifications must have introduced themselves from time to time in a system so loose and in a manner anoma-When it came to an end, it was by no means exchanged ix a simple system of undivided constituencies and direct representation. The phrase immensa communitas, which is used of the body of citizens at this transition, appears to have had soo much stress laid upon it by some writers, though not by Mr. Loftic, who indeed makes no very extensive reference to it. But we find even so learned an authority as Mr. Elton writing (at is true only in a cursory fashion), 'The fierce democracy of the immensa communitas' - an expression which does not seem to be justified by the facts, and which would almost certainly coursey to a modern reader ideas of Birmingham, if not of the Paris Commune. It is neither necessary nor reasonable to anderstand by immensa communitas anything more than 'whole body of citizens,' which whole body neither need have been, in all probability ever was, organized after the most ancient and most modern fashions of democratic *sweet simplicity.

In the first place, this sweet simplicity was not the lashion of

the time; in the second, the particular agencies which had been most powerful in working the change naturally conditioned the These agencies were the city guilds, into whose change stacif. place before very long the present City Companies stepped The precise relation of companies to guilds is one of the most hotly debated points of City history, and it is one on which Mr Loftie holds strong opinions, which are supported by respectable evidence. But in relation to our present purpose, which is to trace the main lines of the historical government of London, the point is one of minor importance. Tant any particular body, among the bodies whose possessions are coveted by Radicals to-day, represents by direct unbroken inheritance any particular body among those which were organized by Thomas Fitz Thomas and his follower Walter Herrey, as instruments to combat the encroachments of the Crown and remodel the constitution of the City, is a proposition the discussion of which is of high antiquarian interest, and in one sense of not a little historical importance. But for the present purpose its discussion is made unnecessary by the absence of any doubt that the succession, whether direct or indirect, is for political and municipal purposes complete. It may be admitted, however, that the subject is one in which much confusion is possible, and indeed unavoidable. The term guild is sometimes and earliest used of the Friendly Societies already alluded to; then it seems (and the name Guildhall refers to this use) to be a loose term, interchangeable with that of municipal community : anthen it has the more definite sense of trade union. As the entire community of the City was in the second sense a guild, the struggle between the aristocratic party and the popular party was in a sense a struggle between guild and guild. it was the third kind that triumphed, and that became, regular, or irregularly, the ancestor of the City Companies of to-day is 1318 it was Isid down that the freedom of the City could only be obtained by membership of a trade guild. But even the hardly decided the matter, and the perplexities of the subject may be sufficiently, though briefly, indicated by the more mention of the fact, that aldermen of guilds are spoken of s well as aldermen of wards, and that the deputies who correspond to the present Council appear during the fourteenth century to have been sometimes directly representatives of wards, and sometimes directly representatives of companies. The obvious solution, certain to be arrived at in time, by which the membership of a guild gave the right to vote, and the place of habitation decided the electoral division, was not finally reached till the fitteenth century, and was no doubt retarded by the medieral

habit of localizing particular trades in particular quarters, a

would tend rather to loster than to discourage.

We can only aurmarize rapidly the chief points in the history of the rise of the companies—the charters granted, undoubtedly ultra vires, by Mayor Hervey in 1272, and promptly rescinded; the assembling by trades to greet Edward I. in 1298; the growth of the practice of appending the craft-name to every mayor or sheriff; and, finally, the granting of regular charters by Edward III. The earliest of these were granted to the goldsmiths, tailors, and skinners, in 1327, and others tollowed continuous v.

More than four hundred years have passed since the final settlement of these two great questions, the status of the muniupality as regards the Crown, and the form of its internal and constitutive arrangements. During this long time comparatively iew events have occurred, which it is indispensable to notice for the purpose of politico-municipal history proper. The citizens sere in danger of sack more than once during the Wars of the Roses, but they escaped it. They had contributions freely levied on them by Henry VII.'s tyrannical chicaners, but they could well enough afford to pay them. The religious and political persecutions of one kind or another under the four Lux Tudors affected in lividuals only, and had nothing to do with London in its corporate capacity. E izabeth and the City were on specially good terms, for no place lenefitted more by the extension of trule during her reign than London. It was certainly not the least proof of the incapacity of the Stuarts for governing, that they contrived again and again to alienate the With James I., London had, indeed, no greater difficapital. ealty than that naturally arising from the relation which Scott has neatly put as existing between Mr. Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour: The one was always wishing to borrow, and the ther was not a ways ready to lend. But nothing worse came it than the well-known and rather witty impertmence of the lord Mayor, who, when James threatened to take this and that way from London tin fact, to deprive it of the position of apital), 'humbly desired that his Majesty would at least passe to leave the Thames behind him.' With Charles I. satters became far more embittered. Putting aside the share lach the City now in distinct opposition both on political and religious grounds-had in the general resistance of Parliament, wherein many prominent citizens sat, the affair of Dr. Lamb brought King and City into direct conflict. Lamb was murdered in the streets; the Mayor and Sheriffs either Vol. 158,-No. 315.

could not or would not apprehend the rioters, and Charles vented his wrath in an arbitrary fine, and in useless and irritating threats of confiscating the City charters. No proceeding of Lis reign exhibits a more thorough want of judgment than this. After the failure of the attempt at Westminster on the five members (who fled into the City, Charles went alone to the Guildhall to induce the citizens to deliver them up, but in vain; and after he had left London the five were containscrously conducted to Westminster by the Shoriffs in state, wade almost before the outbreak of war the trained ban is were put under arms, and the City newly fortified with earthwrits. There is no need to follow the well-known story of the war and of the part the Londoners took in it. But Londoner tank almost any other part of the kingdom, had occasion to repeat having changed the veratious and injudicious, but, after all. not very oppressive, rule of the King for the unlimited tyring of the army. A riot at Leadenhall gave excuse for a regular occupation; contributions were levied again and again by sheer force; the Lord Mayor, on refusing to proclaim the abolition of royalty, was fined and deposed; in short, at the unconstitutional acts of the Staurts put together did not amount to a tithe of those done by the Roundhead leaders. According). the City hore, as is known to every one, a prominent part is the Restoration.

Of the Pague and Fire there is no need to speak -all the less that the King's conduct during the latter rather increased the goodwill of the citizens towards him. But the shutting of the Exchequee no doubt created great illwill. Charles toos so pains to reduce this, and by the later years of his reign the City had relapsed into a thoroughly disaffected, not to say deloyal, condition, though no actual oppression was used towards it. Mr. Lostie passes rather lightly over the factions, not to say treasonable, proceedings, which followed the Popish Plot. Jury packing was begun, it should be remembered, by Whig, not by Fory sheriffs; and the support which the citizens lent to the intrigues of Shafteshury might have provoked a more scrupshus king than Charles to put rods in pickle for the contumacions capital. The rad he chose was none the less sharp because it was in form a strictly legal one. There is no need to a lege manipulation of the Bench, to account for the decision on the quo warranto writ. Mr. Loftic himself, elsewhere and more than once, points out that the liberties of the City are by no means strictly defined in any existing charters, or in a f of them together; and there can be no doubt that the Corporation, and every corporation in the kingdom, had frequently acted in strictne 36

strictness ultra vives. Nor was the King's victory pushed very at, or used very sterr ly. It is needless to say that there is no servion here of defending the misgovernment of Charles, or of excens the unwisdom which led him to alienate the Uity. Bet when set against Kye House Plots, against the machinatous of sherids I ke I settled and agitators like Shaftesbury, the fa carranto retaliation can hardly be considered mordinately rmanical on the part of a seventeenth century sovereign. In the part of his history Mr. Loftio seems to have accepted untwent too readily the views of Macaulay and the late Mr. Green, historians, the accuracy of whose facts, and the ular of whose arguments, are not quite in direct ratio to the pitunesqueness of their language and the strength of their

marictions.

The conduct of Charles, however, followed by that of his worker (in the matter especially of Alderman Cornish), made a City irrevocably Whig for the time, and one of the earliest bus of William and Mary reversed the quo scarranto judgment un restored all the ancient rights. Again, for a long time the is history, and the share of the City in general English latery, ceases to be municipal in interest. The establishment of the Bank of England, and the collapse of the South Sea steme, al. important as they were, have no municipal characet. It may be observed, however, in passing, that Mr. Lottic is that the South Sea sel on e was a mere bubble, and that its while character was proved by the smalness of the legitimate tride which the Company at any time carried on. The truth is the scheme, which was purely one of conversion of debt, on really financial rather than commercial. Nor is it by any Brans certain that it was in itself unsound, though the insance reculation which secompanied it, and apparently the fraudulent suring of stock by the directors, brought it down with a crash. lough of this, however, which has nothing to do with the enumerat of London. The last event, which has so to do, is be famous quarred between George III and the Corporationsmatter in which, if it may be said without irreverence, both sees behaved with equal bad taste and foolishness, though the stancal fault was mainly on the side of the Crown. After 6 House of Commons had declared Wilkes incapable diting for Mildlesex, and had scated Luttrell, the Common 'case, sent a remonstrance to the king by the Lord Mayor Fit in any way concerned with the Middlesex Election bears could only be by virtue of the old nexus between city

and county, a very insecure locus standi), it was clearly tut House of Commons, not the King, with whom they should have remonstrated. The King, therefore, if he had been wise, might have benignantly pointed this out to them and left them in very foolish position. Instead of this, he showed ill-temper and Beckford, perhaps (for the fact is very doubtful), rep.ied in language respectful enough, but somewhat plainspoken. The King committed the still greater blunder of excluding the Land Mayor from a complimentary audience till he had promised not to make a speech, than which a more undignified act is perhapt not on record. Unwilling, however, to leave him in the wrong the Common Council vented their wrath on the Recorder, who had refused to sign the remonstrance, and sent a second address praying for a dissolution of Parliament—a proceeding, by the way, which seems very doubtfully constitutional. At last the real antagonists the House and the City-came front to front is a tor sequence of the arrest of a printer by a messenger of the House of Commons, who was promptly taken in custody and only allowed to depart on bail. The House ordered the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver, who had been concerned in the matter, to the bar, and sent them to the Tower, where they stared till the end of the Session. A further squabble took place of Wilker's mayoralty, as to the presentation of addresses against the North American War, which George III. most foo is of declined to receive. His resistance only lasted a few days, and then he gave way. In these matters the conduct of the House of Commons was really arbitrary, not to say tyrannical; the conduct of the lying can be called at worst undignified and injudicious But we are unable to understand how Mr. Loftie can represent the occupation of the City by soldiers during the riots of 1,80 as an insult. An irregular act it may have been, but the failure of the Lord Mayor and the City authorities to deal with the dangerous affair is too notorious for the step to be regarded a anything but a beneficial irregularity. These slight affairs among which the only serious one is the attempt of the House of Commons to carry out an arbitrary arrest, close until the present day the history of the City, as a corporation, fighting obtain, to keep, and to employ, the privileges of treedom at self government.

The historical sketch of the subject is thus completed. The n vast number of subjects of no small interest (which Mr. Lott Linself introduces in the course of his own fuller handling the same matters) have been omitted, needs only formal statement. As specimens of the digressions with which he be colivered his story, the singular tragedy or tragedies of Admir

Schot, Laurence Duket, and Alice Atte Bowe, in the earliest days of the recorded City, may be noted in passing; and, in the later, the curiously careful and interesting account of Wren's additions to the architecture of the capital. His second volume must be pseud over in scarcely more anes than it has chapters. The antique ties of Middlesex, reduced as they are both by the indrught and the outflow of so great a centre as London; the bistory of Westminster, of its Abbey, of its hamleta; the exciption of the royal parks and palaces; the annals of the lower and of the great, but not much storted, districts to which is the borough of the Tower Hamlets it now gives its name; the and sketch of the northern, western, and southern suburbs with completes the book, and the short treatise on the so-called Mempolitan area which concludes it;—all these cannot be disrader: perhaps it is greater than that of the first volume, but only the 'Metropolitan area' will claim some further notice tere. We have now to pass from history to politics, from the ficts to the lesson of the facts, from the past to the present, and ma certain sense to the future.

Whoever has followed carefully the story which has thus tern briefly sketched, will have little difficulty in assenting to onain general conclusions drawn from it. It is evident, in the is place, that the constitution of London was the outcome of he genuine wants of London, and that its structure bears no trace statever of external influences. Although the Londoners have looted themselves, as it happened, on the same side and in close action with more than one political agitator of the democratic bye, no radical reform from without has ever been imposed per London. What London wanted, London has got; but it iss never accepted a brand-new constitution from outside. In he second place, it is remarkable that, large as were the priviwhich the City enjoyed at an early time, if on a precarrous tour, and extensive as was the power which its joint wealth and population gave it, it has never exercised or attempted to wreise any predominant or excessive influence on the destinies " me nation. The election of kings by Londoners, important al interesting as the fact is, never amounted to much more than but it has been called above-a prerogative vote; and at no wood in London history has the capital exercised, or attempted bearcise, the peculiar and fatal influence which Paris bas for may centuries exercised in France. In the third place, it is notewith and remarkable in the highest degree, that such political Mornee as Lon lon has brought to bear bas always been against, m favour of, any dangerously predominating tendency in

the State. If the advocates of what is called Municipal Reform had been more learned, or more intelligent with a certain limited kind of intelligence, they might have drawn from the history of the City an interence that its constant tenuency had been towards a Democratic constitution. They have rarely had wit enough to do so, and their lack of wit bas in a certain sense stood t sem in good stead. For what is really most observable in City history is, that the community has always thrown itself into the scale which tended to become dangerously light for the national welfare. During the centaries when the predominance of the aristociatic and feudal principles threatened the breaking up of national feeling, London strove to break through its constitution of aristoctatic aldermen. At times when the arbitrary power of the Sovereign was the most menacing political danger, London set itself on the other side, with a perfect readiness to change that side when, as under the Commonwealth, the tyranuy of the self-constituted representatives or the people threatened to become leavier than the tyranny of the King. As during all English history up to the seventeenth, if not the eighteenth, century, the encroachments of the minority, or of the one, were more to be teared than the encroachments of the many, London has more frequently found itself on the side of the majority. But the danger of our own days is to all clearsighted political stadents exactly the contrary. It is the tyranny of the importy which has now to be feared, the unbalanced swing of the great popular pendulum, the swamping of all interests and all classes by means of the widest interest and the lowest class. Lon lon tos found itself, true to its history, on the side opposed to this new danger. For the first time for generations, free and open election have returned Tory members for the City during a long period, and there is no doubt that if the arts of Birmingham had been used in the central metropolitan constituency, the Liberal putwould for tweeze years past have been entirely excluded from representation. It is now proposed to after this by changest the constitution of London into a Democratic constitution, and by throwing on the side of unlimited change, if not of revolution, a commune of which in point of size and power there is absolutely no example in history. And it is proposed to be this by adopting precisely the means which, though for emturies past they have been present to the ingentity of agitaters the wisdom of the elders has uniformly rejected.

At almost all times since its first mention, a very large part of the population of Lora on has resided in the suburbs. In the early days, when Roman London comprised but the sound parallelogram indicated above, vil as and voluges were scattered thickly round. When the larger walls were built, though they included much open ground, they did not include some of the most populous of the suburbs, and the hamlets of Westminster, the hamlets of the Tower, the Borough, and many other districts, remained without them. Although the comparative depopula-tion by night of London proper is something of a modern personnenon, the vast and constant growth of the population of the capital has been for centuries a matter chiefly, if not belly, affecting the suburbs. Yet the suburbs have never been anya into man'cipal community with the City, and to this het, as much as to the much-vaunted political capacity and sobilety of Englishmen, may be attributed the abstinence of london from mischievous interference with the national concens. The Wen, as Cobbett was pleased to call it, has not ters a political wen. It has never threatened, or felt inclined to threaten, to 'march on 'anything, like the petulant munici-parties of the provinces. No huge system of corruption and are-pulling has pervaded it. Its parts, united for practical purposes, have been municipally and politically separated, and

so 'London party' has ever been formed.

For many years after the beginning of the so-called era of mform, it seemed as if this fortunate state of things might continue. The requirements of the population of the capital omt.nuc. were met in the unsymmetrical British manner by creating new representative bodies, or enlarging the powers of old ones, and by co-ordinating their operations in the same practical fashion. Attempts at a sweeping reform of the Corporation always failed, partly because there was pretty obviously nothing pressing to reform, partly because the Corporation was very strong. The fortunate lack of concentration above noted sent many City men to represent country districts and boroughs, and, while formidable one in the sense that was good. Thus, by succesare enfranchisements of suburban districts as boroughs, by the establishment of a separate department of Metropolitan police responsible to the Government only, by the arrangement of the Metropositan Board of Works to perform other adule functions, and by the division of the area into sections for minor judicial perposes, an administrative total was created, very unsightly be very fairly effective in working, satisfactory of all reasonable claims for municipal and political self-government, and thoroughly English in character.

'All human things are subject to decay,' however, and the minediate agencies by which decay is threatened and, unless

arrested,

arrested, carried out, are often, if not always, obscure and ind vidually insignificant. We do not profess to know snything the Listory of Mr. Firth, the junior Member for Chelsen, belo 1876, when he published a very large and extremely inconclusi book on Municipal Reform. In that book Mr. Firth stat that a guild is a district or territorial division, and eight yes later, in a letter to the 'Daily News' be uses 'credibility synonym for 'credulity.' From these two facts, not to mentiothers, it is probably safe to conjecture that the advantaged education which Mr. Firth has enjoyed are somewhat defective He appears, however, to have had energy, leisure, and men sufficient to devote himself to a political career. At the early date above mentioned, 1876, though Mr. Chamberlain had a yet entered Parliament, his fame, as one who was organization political success for himself by dint of working municipinstitutions, was already considerable among those Englished who kept an eye on politics, and was especially great amo Radicals and Dissenters. Perhaps Mr. Firth burnt to foll Mr. Chamberlain's example on a scale as much more brillio and distinguished, as London is greater than Birmingham four millions than four hundred thousand. Perhaps, like wise man, he reflected that in these days it is impossible confusing for a young Radical to take all destruction to be province, and that the circumscription and definition of all in levelling, as in other things, is a clear advantage. Howe this may be, Mr. Firth chose the Corporation of London as victim, and began to agitate against it. As an agitator in popular sense, he was not, and to this day has not been, r successful; but events favoured him Atthough, as we si presently show, there is no evidence whatever that a la Corporation would have managed such a scheme as the med tizing of the water companies more successfully than the Government, it is an andoubted fact that the failure of Richard Cross's Water Bill helped, in a vague sort of way, designs for a general London Municipality. The election 1550 seemed to usher in a general period of innovation, and placed in power a Minister who never forgives, and who unlikely to forget the signal censure passed by London on policy in opposition as in power. A Home Secretary desir of connecting las name with something grandiose, and majority in the House of Commons prepared to vote for a thing that presents itself as popular, were also given to I Firth Even so, however, Mr Firth's time did not come once. Ireland, Mr. Bradiaugh, Egypt, the Franchise B have, Session after Session, made the fair vision of a Lond Loodon fly before him; and it is by no means sure that even a the present year the Bill, with which the Government have ostensibly gratified the agitation of himself and his followers, will come on for serious discussion. It has, however, been introduced with much flourish of trumpets. It has, after a priced of rather mortifying indifference, been adopted by the id-powerful provincial caucuses, though not very heartily; and it is understood that the Liberal party generally, though not universally, are in its favour. It is therefore worth while to discuss its proposals, and to see how they look in the light of the bistory of the past, and by the aid of the common sense and

the facts of the present.

There are measures which, under an appearance of extreme empacity, conceal very complicated issues, and there are measures which, though they appear to bristle with complex etails, are in reality extremely simple. The two chief Bills which have been presented to the House of Commons during the present Session exhibit this contrast in a very perfect names, and the Bill for the Better Government of London gies, it is needless to say, the example of simplicity in compenity. It fills, with summary and appendices, nearly a imalred and twenty pages of the ample room accorded to fuliamentary papers, but its provisions can be easily sumnatized in much less than a hundred and twenty lines. Except name and office of the Lord Mayor, it aweeps everything The Aldermen vanish bodily, though the present traints of that ancient office are to be allowed to die out. The common Council will be elected by the enormous metropolitan wes snow in truth an immensa communitary instead of by to City proper, and all municipal distinction between the after and the suburban boroughs and districts will disappear. The Metropolitan Board of Works, the Commissioners of evers, the Vestries, the District Boards, vanish, but in their and appear District Councils, or Committees of the new Comporation, whose delegated powers will relieve the Common Council in measure and degree as the Common Council itself sponts. A new, a very undefined, and perhaps a very impor-So, functionary appears in the shape of a salaried Deputy-blass, or adjoint. The Sheriff of Middlesex ceases to have its connection with the City, and takes rank with the other theriffs of counties. The officials necessary to carry out the Minimistration of so vast an area are, present rights being saved, to be in the appointment of the Corporation; but this body aid not have control of the police system proper, nor of licensing,

licensing, neither will it be permitted directly to administer local character.

Many things may be said respecting this new Corporation, but there is one thing which most certainly may not be said, though the natural affection of the compiler of the official summary of the Bill has misled him into saving it. "The Corporation," says this document, 'notwithstanding its enlargement, will remain the same Corporation. That is exactly what it will not remain. The present Corporation, by the existence and powers of the Court of Aldermen, includes a very considerable element of stability and identity, which will vanish altogether with a parliament of trienmally elected councillors and a mayor who may be any one of a million householders. Representing as it does an unbroken tradition expressing the free opinion of a comparatively limited number of citizens, it can have nothing in common with a huge Council forsted from above on a lietero-geneous multitude of Indifferent or unwilling outsiders. This Council may, by force of law, inherit the property of the Corporation, but it cannot possibly inherit its spirit. It may, as it is announced by a comewhat ludicrous formulation of what cannot be formulated, give entertainments to distinguished persons, but the distinguished visitors will look curiously on those entertainments, as a man looks who is invited by a new-comer to the house wherein he used of old to be welcomed by others. This, however, it may be urged, is an inconclusive if not a purely sentimental objection. If a new thing is wanted, it is no shame to it that it is new: and if a new thing is good, its newness is still less to be charged against it. It is time, then, to examine the faults that are found or said to be found with the old : to see how far the proposed commune is likely to remedy those faults, and to enquire whether it has in itself any probable detects and dangers which, even if it were likely to supply the remedy desired, would make it, on the whole, wiser to put up with known itls. Now in discussing the first of these points the enquirer is met by a very considerable difficulty. It is anything but easy to find out what the burning and crying evils are, which require the topsy-turvification of the peaceable arrangements of centuries, and the undertaking of an experiment the like of which, in point of size at least, no man ever tried before. That the present condition of London municipal government is anomalous enough, and destitute of anything like symmetry of arrangement, every one will admit. But we have not been used, at least in England, to consider this as a sufficient and final cause for radical change. Does it work well or tolerably

mersbly well?-is, or at least was supposed to be, the English question as to this, and the ordinary Englishman looks to the exceptents for a demonstration that it does not work even He certainly does not find it in the voluminous mersy well. us epsemeral literature of the attack on the Corporation, or in is specials of those who have addressed packed meetings in apport of the Bill. The graver charges of malversation or unagovernment are always arged with a discreet vagueness, and nucly fall to the ground as tlatly as the ingenious imagination a list candidate for civic office who, the other day, accused at orporation moundly of drunkenness at civic feasts. The miembleness of being deprived of the self-government enjoyed to be meanest borough of the kingdom-a phrase on which by changes have been rung in innumerable articles and letters and speeches—appears to a vast majority of the inhabitants a London to be very easy of toleration. But it seems to be test more or less vaguely that, it London had one central amicipal authority, streets and markets would be better looked is rates lessened, municipal daties more dutifully and cheaply potenced; great affairs of business, like the negociations for water supply, would be managed more effectively; the uniters of a corporation in encouraging art, fostering public pert, and so forth, more fully recognized.

Now in the first place, and before criticizing the actual scheme retail, it may be worth while to consider whether the great sunrepairties which already exist present such a very edifying petacle in comparison with London. We do not think that they Let us take for a more immediate example Manchester, which a not tainted by the shameless political 'spoils-to-the-victors' peterasship of Birmingham, and which has, as a corporation, Phaps, kept itself frees from political bias than Liverpool. If an one will take the trouble to turn over a file of Manchester tempopers, he may easily antisfy himself that a municipality is " no means a short cut to a minennium. Manchester has solved stater question, or put itself in a way to doing so, after a ation even more grandiose than Sir William Harcourt's pru-"and and perhaps half-forgotten aqueducts. But Manchester are coming to the concusion that Thirlinere was anything sta bargain, and that any sanitary, much more any financial tom it, is a matter of very long years indeed. Manchester su buit itself a town hall on a scale of great gorgeousness, but acquisition does not seem to be by any means regarded with amant delight by the ratepayers. A chance even more " ant than the chance of Epping and Burnham, because of begreater nearness of the proposed ground to crowded districts,

has just presented itself to Manchester for a new 'lung' in t shape of the late Mr. Potter's park at Rusholme. The elect Corporation have refused to avail themselves of it, whereas corrupt and close body now presided over by Alderman Fowl has steadily grasped every opportunity of the kind. If Lond grumbles at Billingsgate and Covent Garden, a recent and re warm controversy showed that Manchester has by no men found the existence of a ratepayers' market committee sufficie to obviate all difficulties on that nead. It is scarcely necess to say that no reflection is here intended on Manchester, whi is one of the best managed of municipalities, but the facts set to show pretty definitely that a corporation of the least eff character, dating from the nineteenth century, may have di-culties as great, and may be grambled at quite as much, any effete corporation dating from the eleventh. The argum may seem superfluous, but it is not so in face of the somewh idiotic talk of the supporters of Mr. Firth -talk which con in effect to the simple assertion that, if only the Corporati be destroyed and the new Municipality put in its place, three-hooper, pots will have ten hoops as an inevitable a natural result,

A very much more definite case, however, can be made of against the particular proposition than this. It is true that I evils of the present have been grossly exaggerated, and in small degree invented; it is true that the destruction of t Corporation will not enable any man to cart off snow from hundred square miles of streets with no expense to the rai payers; it is true (if it were necessary to insist on it) that I support accorded to the Bill in London has been insignifical and has come almost wholly from associations whose wires pulled politically, and from a few malcontent members of texisting local bodies. But this is not all the truth. The pr posed scheme is demonstrably bad and dangerous in itselt, at would be so if there were none but intrinsic objections to The first and most obvious objection is that, while it desired such institutions of really local self-government as at prese exist, it creates nothing in their place. London, in the will sense, is so vast, its population is to a great extent so temporary and changing, its want, except in the City proper, of tradition corporate feeling is so absolute, that no Londoner-feeling, the healthy sense, can be counted opon at first or at any tune! likely to display itself in the new council. Caucussing and wire-pulling may indeed must bring about a very decide unity of action, but such unity is never of the healthy municipal hand. It may be political and made subservient to parts. JIE

my be individual and made subservient to private gain; but it are the district councils. No doubt there are the district councils, but it requires very little examination of the scheme to show that the distribution of their powers (which is left at the disposal of the central authority) must follow one of two broad lines, and that, while the following of the one will make the scheme itself superfluous, the following of the other will result a pure centralization. If all the powers now possessed by resines and district boards are conferred on the district ouscils and scrupulously respected by the Council-General, there will practically be nothing left for the General Council to co, except to busy itself about politics, and now and then attempt some gigantic operation which may or may not be a gigantic government will continue, a little tinkered and by no means appoved, with the addition of a great Frankenstein's monster of a General Council, for whose side hands work, and probably bad work, will have to be created. If, on the other hand, the General Council keeps the real administrative business to itself, and delegates to the district councils only minor and illasory powers, the worst evils of centralization must assuredly result. from this dilemma there is no escape. Either the vestries and ineret boards expelled by the door will come in again at the undow, and the General Council will be a Metropolitan Board of Works with a temptation to political action which the present board of Works has not, and with a less stable constituency; or be interests of Hackney and the interests of Hammersmith, the utrests of Stoke-Newington and the interests of Newington Cameray, will be handled by a hody, the vast majority of which bows nothing and cares nothing about, and has no direct presentative contact with, the particular interests at any ment concerned

But there is another reason why London is a specially unbroundle subject for the unrestrained and unguarded carryingint of the representative principle. Stortsighted reformers repeath Londoners for the little interest they take at present in final government, and prophesy a vast improvement when london government is reformed. It is the old blunder of mistal ag coincidence for causation. There are excellent reasons in Londoners should not, as a rule, take such interest; and, as fore reasons will continue to operate, they will certainly produce the same effect. The population of the capital, to an extent far reser than that existing anywhere else, is of the type which, in want of an English word, must be called the smplayed type.

The varieties of the class range no doubt from the employe' w has five thousand a year to the employe who has five saidlings They alt as less a day, but the same general conditions apply. rule live at a considerable distance from their work, and the work occupies a very considerable part of their day. In ice professional men in the wide sense of the word can hardly be sufto have any time absolutely free; while clerks (also taken in wide sense, and including shopmen, have often, it not always, much smaller tune than the factory hand, who is under sine laws, and the member of a trades-union, who is under end stricter regulations. Men of this immense class, or classes, an not disposed, and never will be disposed, to busy themselve about civic matters. As the case stands, these matters at left chiefly to the class of tradesmen and to a few unemploye persons of the upper middle class. As administrators the persons are not perfect, but they are singularly free from the vices which always distinguish large democratically cleribodies where the upper and maild, e classes stand about-the vic ot jobbery, extravagance, and political meddling. Of extrav gance in particular, they may be almost wholly acquitted, acquittal which will certainly not extend to the only body of different kind, the London School Board, which the capital bi to show. Indeed it may be suspected, without too much was of charity, that one of the great attractions which a huge mucipality has offered to the comparatively obscure adventure who have chiefly supported it, is the exceptional fitness of the Metropolitan constituency for working a boss system, such is well known to exist and to have existed elsewhere,

The probable evils of such a system, the political uses which it might and pretty certainly would be turned, and the other similar results to which it would pretty certainly give the make up the third great objection to Sir William Plarcoun scheme. The amount of pationage (putting opportunities dubious gain by expensive schemes, contracts, and the like, the moment uside) which it would put into the hands of the new Municipality, is almost appalling. We have seen no ring worthy calculation of the actual amount, and indeed it must be evident that any such estimate could but be approximate as conjectural. It is sufficient to say, that the annual expenditure of the Corporation and the Metropolitan Board of Workmerely, putting vestries and other bodies out of the quester exceeds five millions. At present this expenditure is largely subdivided and checked in various ways. Under the pripose scheme it would all be thrown into one huge account. But, it said, the expenses of the whole country are practically thrown

issuese account, and there are milway companies which nearly itsee quite equal in point of income and expenditure, and in administrative difficulties, the proposed Corporation. In the liner case the fact may be doubted, and the paradel is made salieless by the observation that railway expenditure—itself not more rigidly economical—is almost directly controlled by a staber of persons who have an immediate and considerable promiary interest in the result. As for Government expendime, we have no doubt almost entirely got rid of direct corrupcon, and we have very greatly reduced jobbery. But if any one conders that the country is, in a strict commercial sense, commically governed, we have not met that person. It is cross that, if the administration of London is to be carried a after the fushion of Government offices, the happy ratepayers of the capital may look for very largely increased demanddunpsid, or practically unpaid, work (the fanatics of reform contantly forget that a man will often do for a few shillings of perquisite or irregular treat what he would not do for less can many times as many pounds of sa ary). In the second place, the subdivision of the system brings the expenses very dose to the men who are responsible for them. In the third, it enally diminishes the staff required. This last assertion may sem a paradox, but it is true. The amalgamation of two bannesses often, no doubt, causes considerable saving of labour al salary; the amalgamation of two districts or boroughs dost certainly means the addition of paid inspectors to do with which unpaid inspectors have done before.

We hardly know whether Mr Firth and his party, from the Home Secretary downwards, have ever made any really vigorous stempt to disclaim the charge that their scheme will be used be political ends. We believe that they may be exonerated has any such hypocrise, to which indeed they have had the less tracestron, that telling the truth has secured them the support of the Government and the Radical machine. The favourite fen in which their expectations in regard to this matter are put is that the new arrangements will 'awaken a healthy political senter' in the mass of Londoners. This euphemism is somehas narrowed, and at the same time emphasized, into the statewat that it will 'make it impossible for Lundon to be misreprested by sympathizers with Jingoism, or words to that dat. It is not entirely impossible that the scarcely verled prestion of a solid Radical vote, to be obtained in Parliaconstituency and its arrangeamit, may be disappointed. Liverpool is an instance of a very

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large constituency which has remained true to the Conservative cause for many years, and, strange as it may seem to the public, it would not at all surprise political students if with the decay of the personnel of the Chamberlain-Schnadhorst cl.que, and the aprising of some popular and knowing local Tory, Birmingham itself were to become as great a stronguold of "tantivy" politics as it was in the days when it rabbled Priestley. But it may be admitted that, on the whole and in the first place, the party most likely to profit by the opportunities of Sir William Harcourt's Corporation is the Radical party. Singular, however, as it may seem to Mr. Firth, it is not in this fact that the political objection to that Corporation lies, in the opinion of some observers who certainly have no Radical sympathies. The objection comes from a feeling, that a strong political bias on the part of such a Corporation is all but mevitable, and that it is a danger to the State of itself, and without any reference to the particular party to which the bias m ght incline. At present no municipal constituency in the kingdom returns, in what may be called its Parliamentary capacity, more than four Members to the House of Commons, and no group of municipal constituencies which may be said to correspond to London, such as Manchester and Salford, returns more than five. The Members, on present arrangements, who would be returned by the elective body of the new Corporation in (to keep the phrase) its Parlismentary capacity would be nearly thirty, including county members; and, though the present Government is averse to giving London its fair share of redistribution, no one supposes that, especially with the new Municipality, it would long remain content, or if discontented, could be put off, with its present share only. Forty or fifty Members certainly, if not (according to the strict proportionalist theory) seventy or eighty, would come to its share. And this band of Members, whether it were thirty or eighty, would be knit together with a firmness of which no group in English political history has given any experience. The Parnellite party has rarely, whatever its nominal strength, been able to muster more than thirty steady and straight voters, and in both Parliaments in which it has existed it has been weakened by the fact that the Government of the day has had a large normal majority. Thirty (much more forty, fifty, sixty, or seventy) London Members, caucus-elected, kept in order after the fashion which the caucases have already tried and not seldom enforced, in a Parliament where parties were at all evenly balanced, would be far more masters of the situation than any loose body of Irish irregulars could possibly be. And such a body would be all the more dangerous, in that it would not merely

mode be under the strictest and most homogeneous discipline, an would have aims both numerous, practical, and easily mused. All English and Scotch Members have, and many if not most English and Scotch Members acknowledge, an interest a frastrating the objects of the Irish party; while those objects ur by the Irish party themselves vaguely and indefinitely compotended. Some at least of the many mischievous possible spects of a London party in Parliament would not directly merest any one but a Londoner, and would directly interest the sole London party keenly. Members for Leeds and Liverport, for Northumberland and Norfolk, could not be expected to see any lively interest in the question whether the London torporation was jobbing, whether it was making political appointments, whether it was fleecing its well-to-do ratepayers. bery nominee of a body which would at the same time be he cominator of the Corporation, would have the keenest steest in defeating Parliamentary enquiry into any such things, Thus the shield would be taken away at the very same time cat the enemy's aword was sharpened. And the London party world be as powerful for covering municipal misgovernment and malversation, as for throwing mischievous weight at critical numents into the national scales.

The only possible reply to this is, that it is a kind of seeing all things in black, and that it is unreasonable to prophesy that an when body will consist of scoundrels. Undoubtedly it is: but n neither unreasonable nor unfair to point out what alarming apportunities the unborn body will have, even if it consists, not of scoundrels, but of somewhat unscrupulous persons. And it is not unfair to suggest that experience, as far as it shows anything, shows that the possession of means to do ill and profune deeds very frequently makes ill deeds done. movement people in the infancy of the Volunteer movement suggested that it would be a famous thing to get bodies like the Foresters and Odd Fellows to volunteer en mosse and as organizatissa. It was, of course, pointed out that, though Foresters and Ohi Fellows are for the most part admirable citizens, the arming at such vast and closely-connected bodies would be a grave darger to the State. This, in a somewhat different order of thought, is exactly the case with a central metropolitan munici-Pary when the Metropolis has a population of four millions. I present no part of the kingdom can be said to be so little ause of political danger or disease as London, and the main, if we he whole, reason of this is that London cannot misuse " Ergantic strength for any political purpose, even if it wished

Finally, it is not superfluous to remark once more, that no change of anything like such magnitude was ever projected with such an extraordinary absence of desire for it on the part of the persons concerned. The Manicipal Reform Association has existed for years; it has been vigorously engineered, it has enlisted on its side a goodly number of Members of Parliament and it has naturally exercised attraction on those persons who in the quaint language of one of them, overheard not long ago in a railway carriage, think that the Bill will bring down a lot of little gods,' and who are affably willing to serve their city and country by taking the little gods' places. Yet the supp r accorded to the measure-support, that is to say, of a genuine kind and unconnected with political wire-pulling-has been That the Corporation and that the Livery ludicrously small. of London should oppose it, may be said to be inevitable and insignificant, though it may be fairly urged that in no instance in which reform has been so urgent, as by the argiments of its promoters municipal reform is in London, have a formidable body of supporters from within been wanting to it. One of the sheriffs, to the joy of Mr. Firth's party, deprecates opposition to the Bill; and when the terms of his deprecators letter are examined, they are found to amount to nothing more than that the Bill is put forward by a very strong Government, and that it is safer to kiss the rod that to try and wrest it from the smiter's hand. Among the scanty number, we shall not say of traitors in the camp, but if well-wishers to the assailants of the fortress, scarcely a person emment for character, attainments, or position, is to be found Outside the City proper, the active resistance, and the indifference which exists where resistance is not active, have been as noteweathy as within it. Not merely the Metropolism Board of Works, but the Vestries, the District Boards, and otner bodies, have by a great majority protested against the change Public meetings have been enthusiastic against it, feeble srd few in its favour, save in one notorious instance, where rought were introduced to silence opposition. Hardly the most audacions of Mr. Firth's followers will assert that if London, in their nes sense, were polled out to-morrow, a majority, or even a significant minority, would vote for the Bill.

From every point of view, then, sweeping changes in the direction of unifying the municipal institutions of Long-appear undesirable, and the special proposed change which is before Parliament appears specially unwise. It has not, as is nominal author has claimed for it, historical continuity on its side, but against it. Neither in its nature nor in its origin is

in any sense an outcome of the gradually successful struggle for manapal freedom, which in the course of centuries made lonion the most on erly and the most independent, and helped to make it the richest, of the capitals of the world. It goes sectly contrary to all the traditions of the City's history, by sampling to substitute one huge and all-embracing Manicipairy for a manageable centre surrounded by causters of indoprident and self-governing suburbs. It adds unnecessarily to the peculiar danger of actual politics, by providing a new and potentous machine for the application of pressure to the decision of political questions; it opens gates for malversation and, short of malversation, for extravagant expenditure, such are at present shut. Under the specious guise of direct approximation of the ratepayers, it practically deprives the ratepayers of each particular district of all management of the shus which chiefly concern them, all power of attending to the sants they alone know. And it does these bad things in seponse to no popular demand for any change, and without be excuse of any demonstrated inconveniences of a really serious sature in the present system of government. It establishes, not indeed absolutely for the first time, but in a manner far more striking and far more likely to be followed than in any fermer swance, the evil principle that local institutions affecting adividual interests are to be settled, not with regard to the values and the interests of the place and the persons, but according to the convenience of a dominant political party we old phrase, London is once more 'taken into the hands,' not of a king, but of a caucus, and its independence, nominally establaded, is in reality taken away. And, lastly, these presages of cri. are not founded merely on general considerations, though they are solidly established by them. Still less are they simply deduced from the axiom that change is undesirable unless it be reperatively called for, though undoubtedly the absence of demand is a very strong argument against the Bill. The experience of New York and the experience of Paris the only two very large towns which have ever been permitted to try a centralized municipality on democratic principles—is clearly and distinctly against the proposal; and the evidence is not wakened by the fact, that in neither case did the details of the municipal arrangements correspond exactly with those of London, for the unfavourable results in America and in brance can by no possibility be set down to any of the circumstances in which the difference consists. In New tork the corrupt administration, and in Paris the tendency in improper political action, which are the two grave dangers of a huge popularly-elected body of the kind, have show themselves most clearly. On the other hand, no experient favourable to the scheme can be quoted from the great English towns, for the largest of them is scarcely larger than th average London political borough at present; and it is b no means the rule, but rather the exception, that municipal government, even within the limits where the system of popula election has been found to work well, increases or maintains if efficiency in proportion to the area and the population will which it has to deal. Against all these weighty consideration the advocates of change have absolutely no argument to setthey have indeed not attempted to set any argument that ca be accepted by any save a partizon audience, except the idle ple that present arrangements are anomalous, the totally unprove assertion that unification must necessarily mean increase cheapness and efficiency, and a parcel of trumpery legent about existing corruption and jobbery, which are entirely witness proof, and which the more responsible supporters of the measur do not condescend to adopt. The plunder of trust-funds, the conversion of the City from Conservatism to Radicalism, doubtless arguments of greater weight, but they can only produced in the safe seclusion of partizan meetings, and nee hardly be dealt with here,

It is not without a certain reluctance that one finds a paid begun in the quiet and pleasant regions of antiquarian enquir (where the most perilous questions at stake disturb the explor little more than the brawls of angry sparrows in an actucountry walk), leading to the field of political controversy, who every man's hand is against every man's, and where the stake are the liberty and property of individual persons, the welfare the City, and the political health of the realm. The volume (for the most part as scholarly as they are readable) which the taken for our guide-book during the earlier excursion, so short of the later, though Mr. Loltie does not hesitate to give pretty clear bint of his own opinion as to Mr. Firth and h plans. But they supply, as we have encleavoured to show, small argument against those plans, from the sketch of the Hi tory of London which they contain, and especially from the evidence which is marshalled in them; showing first, that distinction between city and suburb is neither accidental of unmeaning, but constant, and in correspondence with tri causes of municipal prosperity; and secondly, that all benefic changes in London municipal arrangements have come in within. The interest of what may be called invisible Lordon of the community which has held its own for so many and

m laid

which has contributed so much to the national welfare, and which especially has always acted as a restraining and balancing force in national crises, is inseparable, to all but mere dilettanti, from the interest of the material city, which began in the fort a Caroon Street, and has ended by overflowing half Middlesex, sad large parts of three adjacent counties. To all but the arrowest specialists, the most pedantic book-worms, the merest of political history and social history is one, just as to interest of those branches of social history which deal with art, with manners, with the topography of sites which have been home to scores of generations, is one likewise. And mall these various branches or sides of the history of London, so theracteristic is more uniformly present, than the singular asseptionee and self-control which have always hitherto disarguished its institutions of all kinds. It has always been the losion that Londoners have made it, and not a London trummed ind fashioned to pattern by Royal or any other will. Till now, a power in England has imposed on it a ready-made constituton, spick and span from the deak of any municipal Sieyes, any zore than such power has shaped and trimined its outward spearance into artificial uniformity, like that of more than one upital of the continent. Perhaps the result of the former imwenty has been to render its municipal institutions sadly stormal and anomalous in the eyes of connoisseurs; certainly, the latter has resulted in no city the to put under a glass case." but in both instances there has resulted something suitable to e life, to the trade, to the political aptitudes, to the ways and tabits generally of the inhabitants. No one is so foolish as to hak that London, as it is, is not susceptible of improvement a many ways, and at no time has improvement failed to be mempted by the orthodox English fashion of dr.ving a name it will go, and where it is wanted. By cutting Parliamentary boroughs out of Middlesex, Surrey, Kenex, and Kent; varianging police districts; by the device of the Metropolitan band of Works, which is at once a kind of Upper House, and a ad of Standing Financial Committee in reference to the directly elected local bodies; by the institution of the Metro-Potan Police; each need of the increasing province of houses has ers met as it arose, and has on the whole been met very fairly. to one instance only has the plan of direct election for the whole Attropolis been adopted, and that is the last, and unquestionsult the least satisfactory of its institutions, the London School Eard. Yet the School Board, extravagant and oppressive as tare been its proceedings, is prevented from being an absolutely ublerable evil by the strict limitation of its functions. And white

while the kind of its misdeeds is instructive, their degree and number can bear no proportion to those likely to result from an almost omnipotent Corporation with its hand in the pockets, and its powers affecting the daily life, of four millions of men.

For this reason the study of the History of London, interesting enough and valuable enough of itself, is especially interesting and valuable as helping the student to obtain a clear view of the probable needs of the present and future, and the best means of meeting those needs. Such a student is hardly likely to admit the singular argument, that the government of four millions of men should be revolutionized because their water-rates are high -a proposition which bears a somewhat exact analogy to the other proposition, that if there is something wrong with the cistern it is best to pull down the house. He is by no means likely to discern any encouraging analogy between the pro-ceedings of citz Thomas and Hervey, and the proceedings of Mr. Firth and Mr. Beal. Nor is he at all likely to be deceived by the specious argument (formulated by a writer in the 'Times'), that 'London will know how to keep her Board of Management in its place, and not tolerate interference in matters beyond its province. This has been perfectly true of the Boards of Management hitherto existing, with the conspicuous and instructive exception of the School Board, precisely because such boards were not only boards of management but manageable boards, because the contact between electors and elected was close and direct, and because it was impossible to swamp the representatives of one district by the representatives of another. In the scheme of Sir William Harcourt's Bill matters beyond the province of the new Corporation are in no way defined, and when that scheme is carried into effect, where and what will be the 'London' of the writer just quoted? It will be the new Corporation, and nothing else.

But above all, such a student must, if he studies with intelligence and care, come to the conclusion that the alpha and the omega of the Home Secretary's speech, in introducing the Bill, are both false. Sir William Harcourt says that 'there can be no doubt, if you look at the original constitution of the municipal institutions of London, that the corporation of old days did and was always intended to represent the whole metrepolitan community.' That it did not continue to do so he thinks due to the jealousy of the Crown, the circumjacence of ecclesiastical manors, and so forth. Now it is certain that, while no 'original constitution' of municipal institutions for London exists to be looked at, there has been no time when London did not possess large suburbs and appendages not included in it, and there is no evidence

counce to show that any effort to include them was ever made, er vas ever frustrated by Royal jealousy, ecclesiustical influcox, or any other Radical bogoy. Again, Sir Wichain Harout, perorating, says that he sees no reison in the history of the put why a Corporation representing four millions of people should become a political danger to the State. The historical student sees indeed that the Corporation of the past never has bem such a danger, precisely because it has never represented in such overwhelming numbers, and has never enjoyed the opertunity of directly influencing the Parliament of England ben in proportion to the numbers that it did represent. ware the objections to the creation of a central municipality, be two chief and principal objections are exactly these, and it must be forgotten that the ministerial advocate of the scheme us contradicted the facts in one instance, and has evaded the agreent from experience and probability in the other. For the regon ratepayer, as such, the chief arguments (and they are territy enough) against the project may be that it is notowash uncarled for by himself and his fellows; that it will in al probability aid great y to his burdens; that there is no oursess expectation of practical good from 16, and at least some passeable expectation of administrative extravagance, adminisaure insolence, administrative inefficiency. But for the Engchman, as such, the main arguments against it are those when the Home Secretary has vainly tried to employ in its awar. The first of these is, that it directly reverses or ignores tose courses in the past which have made London what it is in lagush politics and English history. The second is, that it stoduces into the working of English politics, and the course d English history, a new and portentous danger from which 9050 have hitherto been free.

Histoire de la Littérature Contemporaine ART. II. -1 Expugue. Gustave Hubbard. Paris, 1876.

2. Momorias de un Secreton. Las Ewenas Matritenses. Caractéres, Se. Ramon de Mesoneros Romanos.

3. Obras Completas. Mariano José de Larra (Figuro). Paris,

4. Obras Pecticas. José Zorrilla. Paris, 1852.

Obras. Gustavo Adolfo Becquer. Madrid, 1877.

6. Episodios Nacionales. Primera serie; Segunda serie. velas Españolas Contemporáneas. Diña Perfecta, Glorsa, be Benito Perez Galdos. Madrid, 1882. 7. Pepita Jimenez. Las Ilumones del Dr. Faustino. Doña Luz

Fitudios Críticos. Disertaciones y juicios literarios. Valera. Soville and Madrid, 1882-83.

VE have long been accustomed in this country to conceive of Literature as something distinct from Politics. For a century and a half, indeed, or thereabouts, English literature was steeped in politics; from the days of Milton to those of Johnson, at least, a man of letters was also a man of party, citaer forced, that is to say, to dedicate the firstfronts of his genius to this or that political patron, if he wished to reap the remainder in peace, or honestly carried away by tac stress and passion of political conflict. During this period. Eng and was slowly accomplishing those vital changes which France, to her infinite disadvantage, attempted to crowd into a few years of revolution. Roughly speaking, it took us 200 years to free religious opinion from civil disabilities, to convert the Tudor absolutism into constitutional monarchy of the modern type, and to ensure a full and untrammelled popular representation. On the whole, even reckoning in the civi watthese great shiftings of political force have been brought about with less of violence, and have left our national unity more intact, than has been the case with any other European county-Still, the struggle was a real and deep struggle, and so long as its issues were still doubtful, literature could not exapbecoming the handmaid of politics. For men write and speak of what practically moves them, and so long as the alteration of modification of the existing forms of government was felt by individuals to be the question which mattered most to the personal comfort, political interests were sure to find eager expression over the whole field of literature. We have now secured for ourselves a form of government so elastic, that no political question as such can be said to press hardly prinfest

painfully on the individual consciousness. Thought, therefore, is no longer necessarily tinged with politics, and literature beames once more what it ought to be—the expression of a ward of ideas rather than a world of interests. English etters are penetrated at the present time with social and phiosophical speculation, but a writer's thought is no longer round up with the political contrivances of the moment, and he fade an audience to listen to him even when he refuses to take put in any of the debates of his time, and contents himself with metely trying to realize a few of the melodious or beautiful

apressions to which the artist temperament is open.

The freedom and expansion, which this severance of literature from a too close dependence upon politics brings to thought, can on be properly appreciated when we come to follow the formes of letters in those countries where political questions persons that is to say of the machinery of government—have we and still are the predominant and absorbing questions of in. And to observe this connection in its most oppressive im, we must study it in a nation where not only are politics he mevitable occupation of all active-minded men, but where the literary public is small or non-existent. In modern France, Storbing as politics have been to Frenchmen during the whole menry, the literary tradition which the French inherit from wrone generations is so strong, and the number of people who and think, simply because reading and thinking are wightful to them, so considerable, that literature has always passed the means of escape from the tyranny of politics. a modern Spain, on the other hand, the country of whose recent tenture it is the object of this paper to give some account, pressure of politics upon literature has been untempered by a great intellectual tradition, and therefore, during the meter part of the century, the evils which flow from a too consideratification of the sphere of public action with the sphere "speculative or imaginative thought, are presented to us in bur crudest and barest form.

Daring three-fourths of the eighteenth century, Spain could have be said to possess a literature. Her literary tradition, such in the time of its greatest force had carried in it the sets of decay, had practically died out; the great names of the sau were forgotten, and the nation had sunk rapidly out of the saury a wave of European culture. Towards the end of the century a wave of French influence spread over the country. Institute critical ideas found a dim echo in the work of Isla and itom, economical and social enquiry were represented by two of three men of real cultivation, such as Jovellanos; a certain

number

number of antiquaries and historians gathered round Enrique Flores, the indefatigable editor of the España Sagrada; and a French poetical and dramatic school sprang up, headed by Leandro Moratin, the Spanish Molère, as Lis countrymen delight to call him, and by Melendez Valdez, a pretty pastoral poet, versed in all the town-bred arts of eighteenth century bucolies. But this literary renaissance represented a mere varnish on the upper surface of Spanish society. The new school struck no roots into the national life; it neither revived the old tradition nor created a fresh one. So that when the storm burst in 1808, and the nation was rudely recalled from her dependence upon France, and forced to seek inspiration in herself and her own golden age, the existing writers counted for very little in the new birth of intelligence, and what Spain yearned for was a new literature and a new tradition which should be all her own.

Since 1808 she has developed both. Her modern literature is more energetic, more varied, and more brilliant, than anything she has possessed since Calderon. Both her literary class, and the public to which they appeal, are still indeed small in numbers compared with those of other European countries; and if we look back over the century, in the midst of much that is excellent and imaginative we shall find the more serious subjects of European thought, philosophy, science, or research, but poorly represented, or not represented at all. But of poets, dramatists, essayists, and novelists, of more or less eminence, there has been an abundance since that memorable day when, on the 2nd of May, 1808, Madrid rose against her French masters, and the signal was given for a struggle which ended in handing over a blinded but generous country to the rule of one of the most hateful and treacherous of tyrants in the person of Ferdinand VII. And at the present time, under the expanded conditions which have prevailed since the fall of Isabella, literature is more prosperous than ever, education is improving, serious study is extending, and the most backward of the Romance nations is approaching more and more nearly to the level of her neighbours.

The whole of this literary production, however, has come into existence weighted by one heavy and disastrous drawback. It could not have developed at all except in absolute dependence upon, and union with, the political v.cissitudes of the time. For the only questions which, since the War of Independence, have really interested the mass of Spaniards, have been questions, under varying forms, of Catholicism or Free Thought, of government by constitution or government by despotism more

te less tempered by concessions to modern demands, of the sammacy of the Church over the conscience and private life, a of an uncompromising rejection of all and each of herelaims. And when political conflict goes as deep down as this to the posts of life, there is no help for it; literature, which is the arm expression of the intellectual energy of an age, becomes the landmaid and monthpiece of political passion; we may exect to find the political class substantially identical with the literary class; and the pursuit of speculative truth or of postical beauty, for their own sake, becomes practically im-

pauble.

I'> most rapid glance over the century in Spain will be ough to prove to us the closeness of the connection between be two worlds of thought. The real interest of the period from 143 to 1812, for the student of the modern civilization of the Prinsula, lies not so much in the military attempts of the parards to aid the allied English and Portuguese forces, as in a approach of a whole new social order, of a new oratory, oew literature, a new drima, whether at Cadiz among the patriots, or at Madrid under the influence of the French court, had the identity of the political with the literary movement tinug these years is made plain to us by the destruction which support the nascent intelligence of the Peninsula, when Ferdiand returned to Madrid fired with resentment against the Lutiz constitutionalists, and the era of positival proscription by no. The penalties meted out to the Cadiz leaders involved a raile and banishment of every near of letters of any emission in Spain;—not a single poet or critic remained to break to absolute silence of Spanish thought during the six years no 1814 to 1820. The revolution of 1820, and the three for which followed, were marked by an extraordinarily rapid excopment of journalism, and political power was divided 1538, and now raised to office. The year 1823 and Ferdiand's second triumph and a second scattering of the literary the members of which migrated to Paris and London, wait for better days. The alliance between Cristina and Liberals restored them to their country, and the brilliant terary movement of 1833 followed immediately upon the death d berdinand and the establishment of a more liberal regime. beareforward the literary class could no longer be terrorized int thattered by arbitrary power; and the Catholic absolutist parts, instead of crushing intellect by brate force, found themtives socced to make friends with it. Writers could no longer be menced by exile and imprisonment; they had to be won

over by office and court favour; and under these altered conditions a long string of poets and novelists aprang into being, representing the Neo-Catholic reaction of Isabella's reign. It was not til, the fall of Isabella that literature in Spain could secure for itself any real freedom, and only quite of late years has it succeeded in emancipating itself, here and there, from its long-continued slavery to the parties and interests of the hour.

If then literature in Spain, since the War of Independence, has been either an instrument of government or a weapon of revolution, the historian of it must, whether he will or no. concern himself with governments and revolutions; and, in any such rapid and brief sketch as we are now attempting, the most reasonable system of arrangement which presents itself will be to take each positical period in turn, and to group under it, in as graphic a way as is possible, the men and books is which it was reflected. The first period of Absolutism, from 1814 to 1820; the three Constitutional years of 1820-1823; the second Absolutist period, ending approximately in 1832; the period of the Carlist War, which roughly corresponds to the group of brilliant Romantic writers, of which Espronceda was the head; the later years of Isabella and the writers of the Neo-Catholic reaction; and finally the freer and more normal period of development, upon which Spanish literature has entered since 1868:-these will be our main divisions. In each case we shall aim rather at a representative picture than at a complete summary of names and books, most of which are wholly unfamiliar to the English public; and whatever detailed criticism of individual works we may have space for will be spent rather apon the later than the earlier periods.

It may be well to begin our sketch by recalling a few of the great names of the revolutionary period, that we may the better appreciate the heaviness of the blow which fell upon Spanish civilization in 1814. Those names were once tolerably familiar to English cars, for the association of England with Spain, at that critical and decisive moment of the struggle with Napoteon naturally brought the life of the Peninsula in all its aspects within the range of English thoughts and interests; and the frequent presence in our midst after 1814 of many eminent Spanish exiles, driven from their country by the despotism of Ferdinand, helped to keep alive for a time a knowledge and sympathy which have long since died out. The letters of Quintana to Lord Holland in vindication of the proceedings of the constituent Cortes of 1810, and the volumes written on the subject rather later, principally for the information of the English public, by one of the most eminent leaders of that

secubly, Agustin Arguelles, are sufficient proofs of the interest feb in Englishmen during the first third of the century in the smare and hasty political development over which England, by siress of circumstances, found herself in some sort presiding

tuning the War of Independence,

The leaders and heroes of that development presented to the bistanders the spectacle of men suddenly transferred from panical conditions of the narrowest and most stifling kind to a acdition of absolute political freedom and even licence, sun as no other European country at the time could rival, lunianos, for instance, the writer and statesman whose coreer sibe one bright spot in the gloom of the eighteenth century, m, whose liberal patriotism, disciplined by a scientific training sat by contact with French and English speculation, had made im particularly obnoxious to Charles IV.'s worthless minister, ioloy, was brought from his prison in Majorea to take the red in the Seville Junta, and in shaping parliamentary instrions for his countrymen. It was soon plain to him, abed, that the moderate traditions which he represented were at those destined to prevail in that epoch of boundless aspirasand illusion; and when the Soville Junta merged in the continuent Cortes, Jovellanos, out of sympathy with the senient forces of the day, and disgusted with the strile sel meanness of parties, retired an old man to his native Ascrias, and died in 1811, while his country was still in the ed-stream of political change. Quintana, Toreno, Martinez be men who for the moment had the guiding of the forces which ser unmanageable by Jovellanos. Manuel José de Quintana, ben in 1772, was already well known as a poet and demeatist Mulrid when the revolution broke out. His inmous Odes to truncipated Spain' rang through the country in the first year the struggle with France like a trumpet call, and the fire and rangy which he poured into the innumerable manifestoes and equitebes which, as secretary to the Junta, he wrote on behalf "the popular movement, abundantly carried for him the honours when the unteachable and ungrateful Ferdinand respeared upon the scene. Within the Cortes, Alcala Galiano 22-1 Arguetles laid the foundations of parliamentary oratory, the Conde de Toreno watched the situation with the keen catualastic glance of one who, many years afterwards in cooler of soberer days, was to write the history of the period; while offsile the Cottee the young Martinez de la Rosa played a bloc, in spite of the inevitable cradity and doctrinairism of the time, the leaders of 1810 were a group of men such as a nation might well be proud of, and the hopes of the Cadizpatriota were justified by the large proportion of character and

ability existing within their own body.

The explanation of the utter failure of these hopes in 1814 is to be found partly no doubt in the condition of the country itself, which, steeped in ignorance and barbarism, was wholly out of sympathy with the aspirations of its Guili accompany class, but still more in the character of Ferdinant VII. That character was to be the evil genius of modern Span, and the influence of one man was to be enough to emb ter and darken for years, perhaps for centuries, the course of

a nation's development.

The Cortes was allowed to meet on the 19th of March, 1814. and the two opposing parties in it, the Laberals and he Serviles, at once declared war upon each other. But in the month of May Ferdinand repudiated the Constitution of 1813. closed the Cortes, and ordered that everything should return to the state and condition in which it had been in loss The Liberal deputies, the Constitutional journalists, and alother persons known or suspected to entertain liberal opinions. from a grandee of Spain to a popular actor, were a l swept into a common imprisonment. By a subsequent decree in the same month, some 12,000 persons, including all the men o letters who had not been previously imprisoned, were driven out of Spain. Melcudez, the oldest of the Spanish poets, unt versally beloved for his sweetness and geniality of temperament Moratin, the only dramatic poet of importance that Spain and produced since Calderon; the well-known Arabic scare Conde; and the educational reformer, Lista, of whom we shill hear more hereafter; were among those forced into extra Melendez and Moratin died on French soil, full of despair for the country before which, a few years earlier, so different a fature had seemed to be opening.

In the following year, Terdinand with his own hand drew up a list of penalties to be inflicted on the Liberals arrested in the foregoing May. Martinez de la Rosa was sent for eight years to the Atrican fortress of Peñon; Nicaslo Galigo was consigned for four years to the Carthusian monastery of Xerez; Agustin Arguelles, one of the most brilliant leaders of the Cortes, was condemned to eight years' imprisonment in the fortress of Ceuta; Quintana was thrown into prison at Pamplona, and so on. In this way the whole existing literatus was silenced and awept away, and the field was left free to the Serviles. Mesonero Romanos's account of the Clerical scribbles.

who sprang from the ruins left by the proscriptions in May, is also humour, and throws light upon a state of things which no European country is very likely to see again. The Bario' of Madrid, which was the only newspaper left standing after the annihilation of the Constitutional press, was filled day by day with interminable odes and sonnets, addressed to the 'sweet and well-beloved king' who had been sent from beaven to restore to his subjects the blessings of good government; and the entry of Ferdinand's second wife, Isabel of Braganza, was the signal for a flood of doggerel of this inspiriting kind, which covered Madrid from end to end with inscriptions, couplets,

sonnets, acrostics, and epithalamia,

One striking incident from these miserable years will illustrate the state of things. Indoro Maiquez was at that time the most famous Spanish actor, and probably, to judge from the accounts of his acting given by men still living, who have seen our modern performers, a considerable artist, judged not only from a Spanish, but from a European standard. His representations of Shakspeare, Alfieri, Quintana, and Racine, for many years kept alive the spark of dramatic passion in the bearts of the Madricenon, hampered as they were in the pursuit of their favoarite amasement by all the absurd restrictions of the consorship. He had been arrested and imprisoned upon Ferdinand's first entry into Madrid, on the ground apparently both of French leanings and of popular sympathies, but, whether on the panem et erreenes principle or not, ae was soon released and restored to an adoring public. During the four years which followed he was a source of perpetual discomfort to the Covernment. Whenever he played the parts of Brutus or Pelayo, the guard round the theatre was strengthened and the number of police inside was doubled; and when Maiquez broke into any famous passage -

> 'For written is it in Fate's changeless book, Free only are the souls who freedom stek!'

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· Let us away and found another Spain More great, more happy than the first;

D7 ---

By hunger driven or by force opprest, Still are we free, and will as freemen die!

the enthusiasm of the audience was so fervent and contagious, that the Chief of Police, in alarm, would send a messenger behind the accres to bid Maiquez leave out or soften any such lines in future,—a request which the great actor invariably met

by a haughty refusal. In 1818, the patience of the Government came to an end. Maiquez had just recovered from a severe illness, and was more idolized than ever. A pretext was easily found to get rid of him, and one evening Maiquez saw a carriage at his door, and was informed by the Corregidor that the King had commanded him to retire at once to Ciudad Real. He was then and there forced into the carriage, driven through streets filled with his protesting admirers, and carried off to the appointed place of exile. From Ciudad Real he was transferred to Granada, and there his health, already weakened by his illness, succumbed to the effects of grief and mental shock. His reason gave way, and a few weeks later the great actor was dead—one more victim of a tyranny as stupid as it was brutal.

Deeds like these, coupled with the general decay and in-efficiency of the administration, filled up the cup of popular resentment and discontent. And soon the King could not even count with security apon the clericals, to whose rage he had sacrificed the liberals in 1814. Ferdinand's was a strange character, and the sufferings he had himself undergone at the hands of his father's favourite Godov had left in him a rooted determination never to enslave himself to any man or body of men, of whatever political colour, so that even the most influential members of his Camarilla, or secret council, were perpetually in danger at his hands. Ferdinand liked nothing so much as to raise a man to the highest pinnacle of good fortune, and then to take advantage of the smallest slip on his part to send him for a few penitential months to a Carthusian monastery, or to force him, at the least, to take a subordinate post in one of the royal fortresses. 'All this,' says Mesonero, 'Fernando did with the greatest good temper and affability, as if he were playing an amusing game, offering his victims eigars and sweetmeats to console them, playing imaginary tunes on the table with his fingers, and rubbing either his ear or his forchead, according as his intentions towards the man he was interviewing were Lostile or amiable.' Thus it happened that, when the revolution of 1820 broke out, Ferdinand had nowhere any strong body of supporters, and found himself obliged to restore the constitution of 1812. We have no space to dwell in detail upon the events of the three luckless years which followed. The Constitution of 1812 proved, as any paper code untested by experience, and without any organic connection with the nation's past, might have been expected to prove, unequal to the demands made upon it by the daily necessities of government and administration. One of its provisions alone was enough to wreck its future and the Constitutional party, namely that

which no deputy of one Cortes could be re-elected to The years 1820-1823 saw three general elections; and occasion a completely new set of men, equally untrained o, equally unconvinced of the necessity for compromise ration in politics, took their seats on the parliamentary Under such circumstances it was not to be wondered the moderate men, men who, like Martinez de la Rosa aelles, had helped to make the Constitution, and had be, during long years of exile or imprisonment, to over the shortcomings of their work and mature their thought, were forced to give way to men of a more by, who were incopable of divining the signs of the and unable in particular to appreciate as it deserved tude towards Spain of an alarmed and suspicious determined at a l costs to prevent a recurrence of such as that of 1789. The Liberal party split into the dos, or men of 1812, and the Exaltados, or men of 1820. conner of 1823 saw the advance southwards of the army which had been so long hanging on the border; oval of the King, Cortes, and government, first to Seville to Cadia; the seizure of Madrid by the French, and blishment there of a provisional government of the most ary type; and finally the stege of Cadia by the Duc leme, the release of the King from the hands of the whose prisoner he had practically been for some months, triumphal entry into the French lines as once more sovereign of Spain.

ng all this period of breathless conflict and excitement, found neither time nor thought to bestow upon literaper. But the removal of the Censorship, followed by liberty of the Press, had led to an extraordinary outburst slism: in piace of the Official Gazette and the 'Diario' id, which was all the literature allowed to the capital he six years after 1814, Madrid teemed with newspapers shade of Liberal opinion, from the 'Universal' of the day, representing all that was most cultivated aible in the Moderado party, down to the 'Zurringo,' or the most extreme Exaltados, which poured out, day by ream of insuit and invective upon all who differed from wild and incoherent opinions. The old Afrancesados, the former adherents of Joseph Bonaparte, men la, Hermosilla, and Xavier de Burgos, were strongly ted in the 'Centor,' a review largely composed of transnd adaptations from the French, and intended to spread 158 -No. 315. reindod n a popular knowledge of the principal tendencies in economic and scientific thought prevailing in foreign countries. List its principal contributor, was in many respects a remark able figure. He stands out among the men of the day the one man of culture in the European sense temper and in training, cool-headed and far-sighted who others were passionate and vague, he was eminently fitted [play the part of critic and educational reformer, which had be traced out for him since he and Moratin were students togethe at Sevide; and to the College of San Mattee, which he started 1820, and which was closed by one of the first acts of the triumphant reaction of 1823, almost all the eminent write of later days owed their training and their earliest impultowards letters. Not was he will out able supporters among other groups. Quintana, one of the patriots who had nes bowed the knee to Joseph Bonaparte, whereas Lista wirretrievably tainted in the eyes of many by his Free sympathies and training, was nevertheless working towards some ends. He was made Director General of Studies 1821, and was called upon to take a large share in planning t creation of a central university, a project which unfortunal could not be carried into effect before the reaction made impossible; and later on he busied himself with farming Academia Nacional, on the plan of the French Institute, while was to include the older Academia de la Lengua Españ da, je as the Institute includes the French Academy. Meanwhile Madrid began to rise out of the ruin and decay in which War of Independence, and the incompetent government wha followed, had left it. A few of the gloomy and tumble-deconvents by which the city was surrounded were down, in order to make way for fresh streets, and so let a little light and air upon the miserable neighbourhoo surrounding them. The first fire insurance societies we established in the capital gave a sense of security to who, til then, had been accustomed to see in the outbre of a fire a sentence of inevitable rain on themselves and the property. The beginnings of sanitary improvement were su in the dark refuse-laden streets, fresh lines of community tion with the provinces were established on all sides; to sprang into fresh activity; and all the common centres amusement, the theatres, the cales, and the public parks, show signs of the restless reforming spirit which had possessed it for the momen, of the governing powers of Spain. The theat especially presented a scene of extraordinary animation activity. Under the Absolutist régime scarcely one of

ger plays of the 16th and 17th centuries had been allowed by the Censorship. The very names of Lope, Calderon, and Tirso, and been almost forgotten by the Spanish public, and the misers which flocked to see the adaptations now presented to them of Caldeton's 'Lite is a Dream,' or Lope's 'Water Carrier, listened to them with as much freshness and curiosity as if they had been the newest importations from France. The admirable plays of Moratin still held their ground; Martinez de la Rosa and Quintana were constantly acted; and the voung Angel de Suavedra (Duque de Rivas) made his first essays in dramatic composition during this period, reserving for a later time the production of the famous play 'Don Alvaro,' which holds the same epoch-making place in the Lastory of the Spanish theatre as 'Hernani' does in that of the Meanwhile, although of original literature next to trothing was produced, the Press teemed with translations, and Spain offered the strange spectacle of a nation too untrained and backward to think for itself, devouring the most advanced t aught of people who had been employed since the Reformstion in working out problems, of whose very terms the Spain of Martinez de la Rosa was ignorant.

Whatever may have been the drawbacks of the period from 1520 to 1823, it was at least a period of life and energy. al is to followed plunged Spain late a living death, which lasted some ten years, and so completely crushed out the nascent literature of 1823, that when at last the physical weakness of the hing on the one side, and the combination between Cristina tel the Liberals against the Carlists on the other, opened the was for some restored treedom of thought and action, practically verything which had been attempted in the first constitutional proof had to be done over again from the beginning. The lerror' of 1824, with its military commissions, its hundreds of philical victims hung for the most venual offences, its heavybinded tyranny over the press, over public utterances and private letters, effectually silenced for the moment whatever intelligence ability existed in Madrid. For the youths of the time, who, Le Espronceda or Larra, felt in them the first stirrings of a dramatic or poetic gift, no teaching worth having was forthcoming. The universities were closed, the College of San Mattee had been that up, every literary society which tried to estab ish itself was dissolved as seditions by the police, and all tau remained for them was to dive, with an enthusiasm as ardent as it was ignorant and untrained, into the recesses of the few libraries which Madrid possessed, or to spend their energies in the secret perusal of whatever volumes of Voltaire or Diderot they could x 2

could beg or borrow. The theatre was placed under the absolut control of an Augustinian monk, the padre Carillo, whose for smully person was the object of as many flatteries and caresse from his terrorized subjects as that of Ferdinand himself. Only one dramatic name was familiar to Carillo; he imagined him telf a great admirer of Tirso de Molina; but his ignorance that author luckily equalled his affection for him, so that it was occasionally possible to smuggle through a piece by some wholl different writer under the name of Tirso, without rousing the Father's suspicions or alarming his self-love. On two or the points, however, it was impossible to circumvent him. not allowed to an actor declaiming against war to excain Abhorren victory!' because some allusion might have been suspected by the audience to the convent of Nuestra Sei na la Victoria, to which the monk belonged; Orestes could not be played because the speciacle of a parricide on the stage wa intolerable to the feelings of the well-conducted; and any pix which represented kings as engaged in love affairs unbecoming to the royal dignity was immediately forbidden Mennwhil no poems appeared, because there were no poets to write them Those who were to come to the front in the movement of 183 were still school-boys, and those of the older generation were either exiled or imprisoned, or engaged in the depths of the provinces in some harmless antiquarian occupation. Lin indeed, and the Afrancesados, were by some caprice of ledd nand allowed certain narrow liberties of speech, which were altogether denied to other sections of the Liberals; and Lust although his college had been closed, was able to make be house a place of meeting for his old pupils, and to keep air in men like Espronceda, Ventura de la Vega, and Escosure the love for letters and the determination to distinguish them selves in them as soon as a more favourable era should dawn.

That era was not far distant. In 1829, Ferdinand's thin wife, Maria Josepha of Sazony, a pretty, sickly person, given to writing sentimental verses, and brokenhearted by her failure a provide Perdinand with an heir, faded gently and suddenly out of life, and the whole exciting question of the succession was re-opened. Ferdinand was only torty-five; he might an would marry again, and probably have children. Meanwhile until the wished-for child appeared, the heir-apparent was the King's brother Carlos, a man of sombre, priest-ridden character in the prospect of whose accession the steadily-genain. Liberalism of the country saw the death and ruin of its hope. As to the law of the succession itself, great uncertainty prevailed. Philip V. had introduced into Spain the French lay excluding

ercluding females from the throne, but his act had been annulled by the Cortes of 1789, under Charles IV., which had restored the right of succession to females in a Pragmatic Sanction, pased but never promulgated. The decree of 1789 had been a return to the old course of Spanish law and custom, and the accession of a woman was natural and rightful enough in the case of a country which regarded the fame of Isabella the Catholic as one of its most precious possessions. But Carlos, of course, would have nothing to any to the proceedings of 1789, and the clergy, alienated by Ferdinand's hesitating and aspicious support, and hopeful of obtaining even the restoration of the Inquisition from his brother, were determined to back the claims of Carlos, and to take their stand with him on

ter law of Philip V.

Under these conditions of mingled hope and alarm, the young Cristian of Naples arrived in Madrid as the bride of her cacse Ferdinand, six months after the death of Maria Josepha. Custina was young and handsome, and as she passed along the streets on the day of her entry, dressed in pule blue and white, and turning her dark graceful head from side to side, in response to the enthusiasm of the crowd, all that was young and ardent in Madrid instinctively accepted the young queen as the symbol of their hopes for the future. Nor were they The struggle between Cristina and Carlos soon deceived. developed itself. In March 1830 the Pragmatic Sanction of 1789 was published and confirmed anew by Ferdinand, and in October of the same year the Princess Isahel was born. The sex of the child was a source of deep disappointment to the Cristines, and of scarcely disguised satisfaction to the Aposeems to have seen the bearings of her position with singular quickness and shrewdness, and to have determined at once toon the part sle had to play. By 1830, indeed, things had moved greatly from the position in which they had been left by the Duc d'Angouleme in 1823. A system of Absolutist repression was no longer possible. Ferdinand himself was sware that, as he described it, the wine was fermented, and his life was the cork which alone kept it from overflowing.' The revolution of July had once more shaken to its foundations all that remained of the old order of things in Europe; a younger Pheration than that which had undergone the terror of 1824 was now entering upon manhood, and while the government had been consuming itself in efforts to crush out the very elements of rational freedom, the 'time-spirit' had been ulculy busy in the midst of Spanish society, preparing under

the eyes of despotism the seeds of change and revolution. It was plain to Cristina and her advisers that, as Don Carlo had succeeded in making himself the centre of the party of leabella's succession but to make alliance with all tax forces in the country which tended towards a more liberal as

progressive order of things.

The change in the disposition of the government was soo made known Terdinand fell ill in the autumn of 1832, an during his illness the direction of affairs was confided to Cristina, who signalized her regency by re-opening the univer-sities, dismissing those generals who had made themselve most notorious in the various persecutions of the Liberals, and especially by the publication of the famous decree of amacst which recalled to Spain all, or almost all, the positical exit who had been since 1823 sharing the life of Paris or of London The rules offecting the liberty of the press were relaxed, and a number of changes in the personnel of the administration but witness to Cristina's determination to keep no terms with the Apostelicos. A year later saw the picturesque ceremony in celebrated Atocha Church, when the princes of the blood, # grandees and higher clergy, and the Procumtors of the miss summoned to Cortes by the old medieval procedure for the purpose, took the oath of allegiance to the baby princess Isals And a few months afterwards Ferdinand VII. died, leaves Spain to reap the fruits of his sinister work,

For the moment indeed the Liberals were ready to ferget be sufferings and the disgrace of the rhyime which had pussely, and even the war which threatened Spanish society with an upheaval as profound as that of 1808, in their delight at the freer and wider conditions opened both to social and political life by the accession of Cristina to power as the guardian of bedaughter. The year 1834 saw Martinez do la Rosa at the head of the Ministry, and in April the famous Estatuto Redwas passed, which once more endowed Spain with parliamentar institutions, although of an extremely cautious and moderal type. The theatre and the press breathed again, and the whole literary society of the capital was stirred to its depute not only by the new political ideas, but by those greaterments of literary influence which are summed up for an in the names of Walter Scott, Byron, Chateaubriand, and Victor Hugo. Time passed on, and the political excitment mounted higher and higher. The successes of the Carling and the have made by the war, drew the line between the two parties deeper than ever. Zumalacarregue's victories in the parties deeper than ever. Zumalacarregue's victories in

the North were answered by revolution in the South. The incursion of an angry mob into Cristina's palace at La Granja, a 1836, overthrow the Estatuto, and brought back for the noment the Constitution of 1812, while the accession to power of the tamous Liberal banker, Mendizabal, which followed, was the agnal for the long-meditated attack on the property of the Comen. The whole ecclesiastical property of Spain, with a Kw exceptions, was confiscated at one swoop; and while the Liberals exulted in what seemed to them an act of vengeance On the supporters of Don Carlos, a disinterested observer might have seen in the measure the final disappearance from history of that old Spain which had been built up by a crusade of series conturies, and which had reached at once the climan of A period of confused struggle followed. The promulgation of the constitution of 1837, which was a modification of that of 1812 in a more moderate and workable form, occupied the politicians of Madrid, while the fortunes of the Carlist War swayed backwards and forwards in the northern provinces. Three years later, Espartero brought the first episode in the long dynastic struggle to an end by the Treaty of Vergam; Don Carlos, with thousands of his supporters, crossed the Arench frontier; the remainder of his forces either dispersed or calisted under the Cristino banner, and Espartero was left confronting the unenviable task of restoring order to a country an which the materials for political stability and for economical well-being seemed to be equally lacking. By this time, spanish Liberalism had marched beyond Cristina. The first year of Espartero's government saw the flight of the queengovernant, to whose hand Spain had owed the first impulse is her new career; and Espartero remained for three troubled years guardian of the young Queen Isabella and Regent of Spain.

It is difficult to understand how such a time of national train and political disorganization should have coincided with a uterary outburst as brilliant and enthusiastic as it was lasting a its effects. Madrid, however, during the ten years from 1833-1843, was less affected than almost any other considerable spanish town by the troubles of the North and the Pronuncia mentos of the South. While Zumalacarregui was making his transphant matches, and progressist opinions were aprending in the army nearer home, the society of the capital was spending all its energies in the foundation of literary clubs, in the detelopment of the theatre to a pitch of splendour and popularity taknown since the days of Calderon, in organizing concerts and exhibitions.

exhibitions, founding professorial chairs, and opening elementary schools of an improved type. Towards the end of the reign of Ferdmand VII., a deserted and mean-looking cafe close to the Teatro del Principe was the scene of certain literary and artisting atherings, which have been graphically described by Mesoner Romanos. The cafe was poorly furnished, dirty, and ill-lighted but it was large, the proprietor could be depended on, and a unwelcome police-officer was likely to disturb the harmony of the meetings held there. About thirty or forty young writer and artists, countenanced by a few seniors of position are influence, descended upon it; the proprietor bought a few more lamps and added a few more chairs and glasses, and the club dividing the wooden tables among its different groups, proceeded to organize itself in sections, lyrical, dramatic, bucolic critical, and so on.

'There,' says Mesonere, 'at the head of what we might call the presidential table, sat the theatrical manager, Grimaldi, discussing poetry and the drams; there also Carnerero (another well-know theatrical manager and editor) with his pleasant convention is amusing jokes and ancedotes a little too strong in colour for quotion—gathered an admiring circle of young poets about him; the was Breton de los Herreros, with his characteristic jovislity strankness, his wonderful gift for versifying, which would have enable him to improvise the whole night through if necessary, and ill Homorie and centagious laugh with which he columnted his of jests; there was benufin Calderon, with his stammer and his restudent's vocabulary, telling stories of school adventures an humming a fisherman's song of Perchel's under his breath; that was Gil Zarate, his seriousness and unsympathetic manner of tracting with the expansion of Calderon. Ventura Vega, with the aplanth and comic gravity which were natural to him, giving de expression to some op gram or jest which a few hours afterwards is become proverbul among us; Esprenceds, with his imposing a rather pedantic attitudes, burling opigrams against the whole or of things—past, present, or future; Larra, with the accepted speech and manner which alterated from him the sympathics of many; Escosura, excitable and mobile in speech and character; Bautista Alouz) with his inexhaustible flow of words, now haranged us like a lawyer and now clarining us like a Virgilian ecloque. A the competitors in that strife of tabuts did their pest to bring of what was in them, and to convert that modest room into a liters institution worthy to ushor in a now ora; for from these one beginnings sprang the renovation or rena seance of our model theatre, the important Athenseum of Science, the brilliant Lycsum Art, the Institute, and various other literary hodies; to them may traced back the re awakening of the universities, of the profesioris of the press, and the rise of these parliamentary craters and popul tribum triumes who were to complete our social transformation. The most apportunt epoch in our modern culture must be dated from the neurogalecki in the new silent and forgotten sales of the Café del Prancie.

As zoon as Ferdinand was dead and the freedom of the press ms a reality, the literary movement, which had begun thus andestly and unobtrusively, developed an astonishing energy an force. The return of the exiles, with Martinez de la Rosa, the Duque de Rivas, and Alcala Galiano, at their head, brought tack an elder generation to mingle its experience and training with the enthusiasm of the new. The ideas of French Romanti-Cam, then in its first bloom and fervour, penetrated the country, and the young habitues of the Cafe del Principe, with Esproneeda. at their head, devouced Byron and Victor Hugo, and satirized From vigorously than ever those Afrancesados who, to their original offence of lack of patriotism, had now added that of want vimpathy with the new literary school. Lista and Burgos were warn imbued with the French traditions of the eighteenth censery, and they held out stoutly against the fantastic and gloomy exclievalism which was soon the rage with all the young men of Labort, 'I am no Purist,' protested Lista: 'if Racine and Cor-Exalle are not enough for you, take Calderon and Lope for models was much as you will. Only have a little respect for common-sense, and remember that extravagance is not genius.' But the crowd grased on unbeeding, and for the moment the new school had it and its own way. Especially did it possess itself of the theatre, and the Spanish Romantics hailed the first performances of Don Alvaro, or the Force of Destiny, by the Duque de Rivas, w the 'Troubadour,' by Garcia Gutierrez, well known to the empean world through the operatic version of Verdi, and of the 'Lovers of Teruel,' by Hartzenbusch, with the same colosiasm as the French jeunesse of 1830 had shown for Bernani.

Meanwhile the lighter and gayer forms of dramatic art were represented by the comedies of Breton de los Herreros, a man whose facile pon was well employed during days of political struggle and fury in awakening the humaner and softer strains of feel og in the Madrid populace. His most famous comedy, 'Marcas, took for its subject the great artistic controversy of the tay, the struggle between the newly imported Italian opera and the theatre proper. Under Ferdinand VII, the theatre, weighted by the censorship, had not been able to hold its own against the facinating riva, art. Rossini had appeared in person upon the seeme to make resistance still more impossible, and the capital.

Which

which had long been sparely dieted in the matter of pleasures and excitements, had exhausted itself in a homago and enturiasm which not even Ferdinand could find any pretext for suppressing. The worsted actors had to betake themselves to eville to wait for better days, and from the banks of the Guadalquirum Breton launched against the bewitched capital his amusing Sature on the Philharmonics, following it up later by the

ingenious and graceful comedy of 'Marcela,'

The men, however, in whom the whole epoch is most fitly summed up, are the satirist Mariano José de Larra, and the poet Espronceda. Both were young and bri hant; both had suffered as youths from the effects of the 'Terror' of 1824; both were deeply imbued with brench ideas and enthusiasms; and in hom the adventurous and tragic element in their lives heightened the effect of their literary talent. Esprenceda was the greater poet, Larra the subtler and stronger mind. In Larra, indeed, the old satirical genius of Spain, the gift of Cervantes and Quevelle, had revived. Unlike the majority of Spanish stemp men, to whom a sonorous sentence is an end in itself, Larawas capable of writing tersely, vigorously, with his eye on the object, and of regarding his own cultivation, not as somethor to be proudly paraded before an admiring audience, but simply as an instrument more or less provokingly imperfect for gauging the problems and intricacies of a puzzling world. Hall be tived, he would probably have developed a literary copacity beyond that of any other Spanish writer of the century, la strength of natural gifts, in force of temperament, in width and fearlessness of view, he stands alone. Unfortunately, his 45 was marred by one untoward check after another, sometimes the result of circumstance, sometimes of character. His lot was cust in a time of disintegration, through which no man destitute of ideals could pass without moral loss. And Larra had no ideals As a child and youth be was devoured by a passion for knowledge his schoolfellows recorded that he could never be made to jo a a any game except that of chess, into which when he was about years old he throw himself with the same fervour as into books. In his teachers' eyes he had no faults, unless over diligence were one; the quiet, studious, placable child would sit from hour to hour poring over whatever was presented to him, showing no signs of ordinary childish mischief, nor of that wild strain of character which was afterwards to develop is At thirteen he translated the whole of the 'Head' freed French into Spanish, and about the same time produced grammar of his native language. Owing to the circumstances of his early training, French was as familiar to him as Spanishi

and Latin training from a convent school at Madrid; Italian, and English, were added before he entered

ity of Valladolid.
dolid, however, Larra's life made, as it were, its

a. Hitherto the boy had been the delight of his

a source of pride to all his teachers. At Vallaand of warward and possionate caprice which lay him was first stirred by some unlucky love affair, character underwent a profound and radical change. pment, which up to this point had been singularly I regular, became henceforward fitful and abnormal. University without taking his legal degree; his had been much irritated by his behaviour, then in an empley, or post under government; but Larra's estlessness was incompatible with office work; he is appointment, broke with his father, and, after d improdent marriage, threw himself at the age into literature as a profession. For two or three as able to do nothing of any value or importance, which was as vigorous as ever, and nothing which smallest independence or originality of thought to show itself in the press. But in 1832, when allness threw the direction of affairs into Crisa, Latta was at last able to show what was in published a series of letters in pamphlet form, Cartas del Pobrecito Hablador, which dealt in a king, effective way, with the social abuses and ics of the time. They were eagerly welcomed by a olic, the vast majority of which had gone over to the hism, and whenever a fresh number was announced, om which they were issued was crowded with eager as a little later the approaches to a publisher's office pet were thronged with the buyers of 'Pickwick.' in, however, was not yet dead, and the Minister Cea who had replaced Calomarde, looked upon the rise literary force with jealousy and mixtrust. So many ere thrown in the way of the publication of the after eight months had passed Larra ceased to issue gust. With the death of the King, however, and r relaxation of the censorship, he was able to strike that properly belonged to him-that of the political aree articles published at the first outbreak of the in 1833, headed Nobody passes without speaking 'The Robel, a New Plant,' and the 'Junta of co, hit with extraordinary energy and felicity the leading

leading features of the Carlist movement, and made Larra ima diately famous. He passed the next few years in writing article which took the lead of the Madrid press; in making some fipioning with all his power the progress of liberal ideas, and a claims of the new Romantic school of writing. But the time were out of joint, and Larra, with his ill-balanced temperame and ungoverned personality, was not the man to set them rig First of all, like Martinez de la Rosa and the old Moderac he was overtaken by complete political disillusion. The L.b. Ministry of Isturiz, which came into power in May 1836, pt mised the revision of the Estatuto in a liberal and popular sen But they represented men rather of the Moderado than of t Exaltado type, and the progressists, or democrats of the de offered them a fierce opposition, which ended in the fareh pronunciamiento of La Granja and the revival of the Consti tion of 1812. Larra had thrown in his lot with the later Ministry; he had been appointed deputy for the city of Avil and was about to take his seat in the newly summoned comtuent Cortes, when the revolt of La Granja threw his party of power, and disappointed his own hopes. Thenceforward during the few months which intervened between this catastrop and his suicide, his writing showed a vehement bitterness a a fierceness of despair unknown to it before, startled by article after article, in which Larra denounced incompetence of the politicians of the capital, or wail over the misery of the country districts with a force bitterness northy of a Hebrew prophet, until the climax ! reached in the famous article headed 'All Souls' Day' ('E. de los defuntos'), 1836.

A few weeks after the publication of this striking rissody, from which we shall presently quote a few passas.

Larra's troubled life came to an untimely end. Sensitive a
penetrating beyond his tellows, he telt more than they we
capable of feeling the national misery and humiliation, a
intolerable burden of the Carlist war, and the Nemesis whis
seemed to wait on all the efforts made by the country
improve and free herself. His private life, too, was over
shadowed by disaster. A reckless and criminal passion is
destroyed his domestic peace, and when in February 1837 woman who had been his rum broke with him under every
cumstance of insult and provocation, Larra's brain gave we
There was a last harrowing interview between the two in
own house, and Larra was no sconer alone than his third
hearing a noise, rushed in to find him lying dead by his or

bud before his writing-table. Such was the pitiful and imentable end of a life which, in its twenty-eight years, had give ample promise of a literary performance such as Spain in that no experience of since the palmy days of her national enes. Larra's suicide is to the modern Spaniard one of the put striking landmarks in his country's recent history. In it, is in the troubled career of Expronceda, he sees the summing-up of an epoch of transition, of changed faiths and cheated hopes; and Larra's melancholy figure seems to move across the single summended by all the foiled ambitions and wasted energies of

a century rich in disillusion and disappointment.

Of Larra's work it is very difficult to give any idea by quotasee. It is not work of high finish. It was thrown off hastily moment, and it followed the political and social vicissitudes of the time so closely, that it is often difficult of appreciation for a reader who is not himself well equainted with them. But we may take three short passages a clustration both of his literary position and of that despair a public grounds, that eventeal disbelief in any of the poliscal agencies at work in the country, which is his note among panish writers. The first was written in the early days of the Romantic movement, and, considering the Literary ideals which prevailed in Spain before 1830 and those which have often preraied since, it bears striking witness to the closeness with such Larra, young and isolated as he was, had succeeded in approaching to the best European standards of criticism. We me, he says, in an age of revolution. In politics what we are the taking for is reality, facts, information. In literature, too, that we want is reality and information. Do not let us be directed by the cry, that the positive analytic spirit carries with a the death of literature. For the passions of men are the comal facts, and what is imagination itself but a lovelier centry ?"

What we are called upon to do is to lay the foundations of a new larming, which shall be the expression of a new society, real as life weal, young and vigorous like the Spain we are building up, and using truth its only rule, nature its only master. Liberty in literature as in art, in industry as in conscience,—there is the motio of the epoch, and the standard by which we must measure all things. In our critical judgments, what we have to ask of a book is, "Can but teach as anything? Are you the expression of human progress? In you helpful to us? If so, you are good and may pass." We had not make any single country our master in literature, still less may nearly all man or opoch; for all taste is relative. We recognize the make all man or opoch; for all taste is relative. We recognize the makes all man or opoch; for all taste is relative. We recognize the makes all the supposed that such a point of view makes the critic's

task easier. On the contrary, it makes profound and serious study more necessary for him than ever. It compals him to acquaint himself with man and human life, it will not be enough for him, as it was for Reibavi, to open his Rorace and his Virgil and despise Lope and Shakspeare. It will not be enough for him, as it is for the Romantic of to-day, to place himself under the banner of Victor Huge and put all rules out of sight with Molicre and Moratin. In his living Ariosto will range beside Virgil, Raoine beside Calderon, M. L. or beside Lope, and Shakaspeare, Schilber Goethe, Byron, Victor H. M. and Corneille, Chateautriand and Lamartine, will all form part of one great army of letters. What we look for a literature which shall be the daughter of experience and history —a literature in which we may find the beneou light of our future, which shall be studied analytic, philosophical, profound, thinking everything, saying very thing, in proce or verse, in such a manner as to be understood of the multitude, an Apost deal propagandist literature, teaching train to those who need it, and showing man, not what he ought to be, but what he is, that he may know himself."

It would be difficult to find anything in the French or English criticism of the time more sane, more instinct with a sense of truth, of things as they are, than this utterance of the young Spanish journalist of twenty-six. The special note of his style however, its stmin of melancholy satire, is better illustrate by the following passage, which is taken from a well-know article on the 'Antiquities of Merida,' Larra passed throat Estremadura, and visited the ruins of the once powerful Ement Augusta, on his way to Paris and London in 1835, when the Carlist war was at its height and the country was groaning under every sort of burden and inconvenience. Taxes well crushingly high; the army was only kept up by levies who withdrew the necessary labour from the and, and threatened t produce another famine like that which had visited Macrid 1810, and the soul of every thinking Spaniard was vexed by incorparity of the Government, whether in the affairs of peace or war, and by the serious risk that Don Carlos might win to cause, and bring destruction on the whole painfully-reace edifice of liberty. Larra describes himself as leaving Madid still haunted and pursued by the sounds of the capital, by the clamour of the barristers and poets in the Cafe del Principe, by the comic songs of the theatres, and the hisses with which the Madrid populace was wont to revenge itself upon any genius to was unwelcome to it : --

At last, however, the hublab deed away, and Castille unrelle before me the and surface of her desert beaths, as a beggar day in before the eyes of the passar-by her ragged and scanty clothes, to making a mute appeal to him for aid and pity. The newsy remains of the cuty had subsided, but a dull prolonged grean seemed to have taken as place; it was the wail of the taxpayers echning through the decreed plain. "Happenees" had been the word borne to me, though with a thousand trouveal intensations, in the sounds wafted from the city.—"Misery!" see ned to be the cry of the country, promound with every tone of truth and of despair. My way was not thely it seemed, to be stepped by any frivolous interruptions in the support towns and villages. As one travels through Spain, indeed, as faceses oneself Noan's dore sallying forth to see whether the country is hubitable. The carriage wanders on alone like the ark, he one moving thing in the bare and deschate housen. Not a house, at a village. Where, one asks, has Spain hidden herself?

Three lays we relied through vacuity. Towards the end of the ferri, a boundless plant spread before my eyes, and in its far distance, spanst a pule and cloudy sky, rese the lofty and confused buildings of a magnificent city. Here are men at last," I said to myself. I have no; men had been there. What I saw were the ruins of the

Michel Emerite Augusta.'

The whole sentiment of central Spain, with its sandy heaths and unpeopled stretches of plain, is in these graphic lines, and to the spirit of the place Latra has added the spirit of the moment, in of restless lumilistion and despair. But this despair was to ful for itself still more vivid and powerful expression. The track on Ali Souls' Day, 1836, is one of those pieces of arting which stay in a nation's memory, because of the sharpness and force with which they have penetrated a situation in the national history. Latra describes himself as listening in pround melancholy to the bells which ushered in the Day of the Dead. Even the bells seemed to him doomed. They also the Dead. Even the bells seemed to him doomed. They also the about to perish at the hands of the Progressists and modern seetly, which will make no pact with dead superstitions, and to sad tones have in them the rattle of the death-agony. At it, however, reaction overtakes him, and he tries to throw off the gloom which has settled upon him by plunging into the sacets, and following the crowds who are hurrying out of Madrid to order to pay their yearly homage to the dead:

There were multitudes pressing along the streets winding from the to another like long coloured snakes and crying, "To the country! to the country "and making for the gates of Madrel." Let us be sure that we see clearly," I said to myself; "where

"Let us be sure that we see clearly." I said to impact ; "where a till connective, outside or inside?" A strange bowd brunent took provident of me, and I begue to see clearly. The environment is invoked that at Madrid itself is a comotory—a vast burial-ground, in which were true as the grave of a family, each street the sepulchro of an event and every heart the funeral arm of a hope or a desire. So that, which was thought themselves among the living were hastening

to the dwelling of these whom they were presumptious enough to call the dead, I began to traverse with all the devotion and passions of which I am capable the streets of the great graveyard. "Rook!" I said to the passers-by. "Are you going out to visit the dead? Have you re mirrors? Has Gomez "nade an end even of the quicksiber of Madrid? Look to yourselves, oh! men of little sense, and read on your forcheads your own spitaphs. Are you harrying out to moura beside your fathers and your grandfathers, when you yourselves are the dead men? They live, for they are at peace, they are free with the only freedom possible on earth—that of death; they are not called upon to pay taxes out of nothing; they are not mobilised or called upon to pay taxes out of nothing; they are not mobilised endated; they are not imprisoned or denounced; they green no longer under the jurisdiction of the nearest barrack; they alone enjoy the liberty of the press, for they speak to the world, and, however loss their voice, no jury will dare to convict them. They recognize to law but one—the imperious law of Nature—which has placed them where they are,—and this they obey.

""What menument is this?" I exclaimed, as I began my wall

"What meanment is this?" I exclaimed, as I began my walk through the vast conetery. "Is it itself an immense skeleton of trecenturies that are gone, or the grave of other skeletons. At the palace!" And on the front of it was written, "Here has the through it was born in the reign of Isabel the Catholic. it died at La Grange. Below were seen a sceptre and a crown, and other ornaments of the royal dignity. Legitimacy, a colossal figure of black marble, we above it. The street boys had amused themselves with throwing stones at it, and the mutilated figure bere the cruel marks of that

angratita le.

"And this manuschem to the left? The ormoury—What is written upon it? "Here has Castilian valour, with all its appurtanaeces R.I.P." Opposite are the two Ministries of State, with the maintena. "Here has the half of Spain, it died of the other half." Further on—"Here lies the Inquisition, the daughter of Faith and Functions: she died of cld age." I looked everywhere for remarkation of resurrection, but other aone had yet been placed there

or merer would be.

'What is this? The goal. "Here reposes liberty of thought." Ob, heavens! this is Spain! in a country already educated by frequentiations! Something brought back to me a colobrated optage, and I added involuntarily, 'liere thought reposes, in life it restoletover." Calle de les Correes, Calle de la Montera. These are not sepulchres; they are common graves where, confused and tossed about, lie the remains of commorce, industry, good faith, and trade. Venerable shades, until the valley of Josaphat—adiou! The Brace." 'Here has Spanish credit.' Is it possible, I asked myself, that the vast building can have been erected simply for the sake of burying elemant a thing? The theatre! "Here rests the Spanish gemus.' Not a flower, not a record, act an inscription!

But it was already night, and time for me to retire. I throw a last glance over the wast cometers. The great colossus, the whole uncess capital, seemed to move like a dying man struggling in his write. It was as though I saw but one vast sepulchre with an messus stone about to full upon it and cover it from sight. No messes had yet been placed upon it; the sculptor bad no wish buy what was untrue; but the names of the defunct were every-

"Away!" I cried, "with this horrible nightmare!" Liberty, con-tains, national opinion, amogration, shame, discord,—all these words mad to be discord into my care at once by the last echoes of the chosening bells which ushered in All Souls' Day, 1836. A dark dend cuveloped everything. It was night, and the cold of night free my reins. I sought violently to find some way out of the herrible propert. I tried to take relige in my own near, that a little street of illusions and dourse. Oh, heavens! yet another grave! If teart, too, helds only the dead. What is written on it, and who is therein? Territle inscription! "Here lies hope!"

'Oh, silence! silence!' recepted. I tried to take refuge in my own heart, full a little while

As to the respective literary importance of Larra and Esprontods, the judgment of the foreign critic will probably differ from that of the Spaniard. While the Spaniard sees in Larra writer whose work is inseparable from the political circumtances which surrounded it, he sees in Espronceda the principal lok which binds the modern literature of Spain to that of other pantries. He thinks of him as standing side by side with Broop, Musset, and Leopardi, and his work represents for him he most important contribution which Spain has made to the min stream of European letters. On the other hand, the boigner will probably regard Espronceds as little more than a upi in a school wel.-known to him, while in Larm he will liscover something fresh and independent, something which Pould have existed if Byronism had never been, and Faust and Masfred had not succeeded in penetrating Spain. Espronceda, owever, is an accomplished and brilliant representative, so far be goes, of the Byronic school—that school which on the conbisent has meant so much, and in England comparatively so line. His career was the typical literary coreer of a tune when be a poet meant to be a revolutionist bound by no laws but time of simpulse, and convinced of no supremacy beyond that rains, or, in other words, beyond that of the poet's own im-Born in 1810, in the middle of the War of Indeperious ego. Palence, Espronceda was growing into manhood, when Ferdi-

The translation of this passage is not quite 1 terol. For foreign renders it is the system and the passage some of large a political adusticis.

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Fig. 120.

nand's despotic régime was at its height. Some seven or ciryears before the formation of the Parnasillo Club in the Cadel Principe, he and his friends had founded two societies, or the literary Academia del Mirto, and the other the Sociedad los Numantinos, which was apparently political in its object Both were suppressed by the police, and the Numantinos we ecattered in different directions. Inspronceda, then fitteen, we sent for a disciplinary period to a convent at Guadalajara, who he throw humself into his first epic poem in 'Pelayo.' On the return to Madrid, the police surveillance under which he we placed was so irksome that he determined to leave Spain for time, and accordingly he set out for Lisbon en route for London

An anecdote, which he tells himself, of his arrival at Lisbon throws light on the reckless temperament of a youth will already at seventeen, had entered upon a long quarrel 🕬 The ship in which he entered the harbour boarded by the agents of the sanitary commission, who d manded in return for their inspection and licence a of three pesces from each pessenger. Espronceda present his sole remaining duro in payment; two pesces changer returned to him, which he flung accountally into sea, remarking that 'it was absurd to enter so large a city wil so little money.' In London he was extremely happy, learning Roglish and reading Shakspeare and Byron with a fervour at devotion which coloured irrevocably his own poetical tales From England he went to Paris, lought on the barricades 1830, and was at last recalled to Spain by the amnesty of 183 He was a relative of Cea Bermudez, and by that minister influence be obtained a post almost immediately in the Roy Body Guard. But Espronceda was an inconvenient prete and his Republican principles were not yet in fashion. lost his appointment, and was compelled to retire for a time the provinces. In 1835-36 he was to the fore in all the stre troubles of Madrid, preaching Republicanism in the press. a witness in a court of law, or from the height of a barriese with equal eloquence and equal ignorance of the milien and people with whom he had to deal. After the return of the Moderados in 1837, he had to retire for a while from public life; the revolutionary movement of 1840 brought him to the front again, and in the following year the Progressist Minusternt him to the Hague as Secretary of Legation; but the codamp climate of Holland chilled and depressed him, and very soon returned to Madrid as deputy for Almeria, injut in health by his journey to the north, and showing crade signs of exhaustion after the continuous excitement in whi

he had lived for many years. A short illness proved fatal to him in the spring of the following year, and he died at thirtytwo, already worn out and prematurely old in body and mind.

'In course of time,' wrote his biographer Señer Ferrer del Rie, 'be came to resemble a jewel which has fallen into the mid and bit all its brilliance and purity, and yet he wen the love of all who had to do with him, and upon each of his vices he knew how to impress a certain stamp of grandeur. It is now three years and a half since his friends lost him, and his grave during all that time he never lacked its garland of everlastings.'

'The sect of the Romantics,' writes a Spanish critic, 'which came to us from France, like all other fashions, adapted itself priectly to our inclinations and character, and became as spanish as if it had been born in Spain. For, if the word Romanticism means anything, there is no country more Romantic than ours. Another critic, of the same nationality, porting the charge that Zorrilla is nothing but a copy of Victor lugo and Lamartine, and Espronceda an imitator of Hugo and Byron, indignantly decrares that France has received all she possesses, and only returns to other nations what is their own, writes lidefonso Ovejas, 'may be called the crier of the world; all the streams of knowledge and of intelligence flow wards France, meet in her bosom, and spread thence over the world the civilizing force of the century. France herself conabutes very little; in many cases nothing more than an sment of charlatanry; but nevertheless she does her appointed Every nation brings its tribute to this acute and facile Pople, and she, taking from all the best they have to give, goes her way crowned with the varied riches of the world. deleron were to be born again, with the modifications proper to be time, we should find him in France; for France has absorbed Glieron just as in her Romantic movement she has absorbed al diffused Goethe and Shakspeare. The champion of Spanish independence, from whose interesting essay we quote those lines, ogets that in the 'little' that France adds lies the whole "portance of French literature. For this 'little' or this 'all,' cording to the point of view from which you estimate it, is the, and style alone gives vogue and currency. The Spanish Smantic studying Victor Hugo or Alfred de Musset is like a spirat watching his master working upon and transforming his The effort of the whole school may be said to be the den of the pupil seeking to transfer to his own work the touches which the master keeps the secret. Zorrilla has learned his hasen imperfectly, and is but an inapt pupil. But Espronceda barathis with extraordinary facility, and applied what France or England riety, the whole attitude of the poet towards, e whole run of the verse, is copied from 'Detter from Doña Elvira to Lizardo, in the fin Student of Salamanca,' is imitated, and here a ted, from the letter of Donna Julia in 'De bincidences of the same kind are to be found, ork.

Still, for all that, Espronceda was a brilliant eserves to be read. His versification, in the paniards, is admirable, and his command of ources of the language unfailing. He has south is sweeter and simpler verse, such as the addre n the second canto of the 'Diable Mundo,' has wn, and a beauty which will live. Almost all to the 'Diablo Mundo' is fine verse; without an or philosophical force, it has a passion, a wa llow, which keeps the pleasure of the reader p in it the poet presents his hero to us as an leath, seeing in a vision the two forces wh between them, Death, and Life or Immortalit aim peace and eternal rest; Life, a radiant vision, offers him everlasting youth and an uner He chooses eternal youth; and the lovely chant the fatal gift is conferred upon him, is melodiou in a high degree. In the remainder of the intended to be a sort of Spanish 'Faust,' as

panges, with the true Byronic ring in them, such as :-

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A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

From the far golden limits of the East,
Girt by the spreading pearl-enriched sea,
To the dark threshold of the Western sky,
The fringes of thy burning vesture sweep
In pump inspectio, sovereign king of light!
The world lies bathed in thy pure beams, and day
Eternal day-brook—flashes from thy brow!

Three-fourths of the poem are filled with images of the permanence and splendour of the sun. What ages has it seem to by, what empires rise and fail! When the Deluge over-abs med the world, it alone reared its throne above the tempest, and velocated the new world as serencly as it had parted from the old—

'And once again new centuries
'Thou sawcet come and fly,
Rising and falling like the chasing waves
Which asset and vanish on wide ocean's face,
Still lost, still ever new!
Whilst thou alone, radiant, immutable
O Sun, in triumph rising,
Didst tread a thousand thousand ages under foot.'

The school of Neo-Catholic reaction, which had already made theif felt before the death of Espronceda, and which in Spain, is France, absorbed half the energies of what we call the Romantic Movement, had in the peninsula a striking beginning, and one which brings home to us with picturesque force the close efficient of those writers, who under babella's maturity devoted themselves to a blind championship of Catholicism and the spain of the Middle Ages, with the body of men who, in 1833, had won for themselves through struggle and revolt the wider betties and ampler means of culture by which their differently minded successors were to profit—

'It was a February afternoon,' writes a well-known critic, Nicomodes Paster Diax, in his prologue to the collected works of José Zerrilla—'a funeral car was passing through the streets of Madrid. Rundreds of young mon, with sal looks and downess eyes, followed it in silent procession. On that car was a coffin, in the coffin the remains of Larra, and lying upon it a crown. It was the first crown which in our days had ever been offered to talent; the first time, perhaps, that genius had ever been thus openly declared the equal of power and of aristocracy. Envy and hatred were silent; the mealists had put off for awhile the task of tearing an unfortunate to press, and no one gradged our friend the honours of his faneral trumph. All sed, all drowned in grief, we carried our poet to his capital.

capitel, to the cometery beyond the gates, where the hands of friendship had prepared a place for him.

The funeral service was gone through, and still the crown lingered; it seemed as if Spain had deposited what was more ardent and brilliant in her national Life in the grave of Larra and her despair was symbolized and brought home to her in the miserable death of the poet. One of Larra's intimate friends, the Señor Roca de Togores, now the Marquis de Molino, and Spanish Ambassador to the Vatican, read a funch discourse in which, says Diaz, 'Larra bade us farewell through the mouth of his friend, and told us for the last time the facile nating story of his feverish and unhappy life.' The hearts of all were stirred and shaken, and a gloom born of private loss and of a sense of national anxiety settled upon the immense gathering.

'Suddenly in the midst of us, as if he had issued from the total itself, we saw a youth spring up, almost a child in looks and unknown to any of us. He raised his pale face, fixed his glanes first upon the tomb and then on heaven, and, letting us hear a voice which sounded for the first time in our ears, read in broken and trembling accent some vorces which Señor Roca stratched from his hand, because overcome by the strength of his amotion, the author himself could not finish them. Our astonishment was equal to our enthusium, and, a soon as we know the name of the happy mortal who had poured out upon us such new and heavenly harmonics, we hailed the new pot with all the fervour that we still possessed, we theseed Pronacus which had so evidently raised up one genius on the tomb of another and we, who in funeral pomp had conducted the illustrious Larra to the resting-place of the dead, issued from those precincts beauty another poet in triumph back to the world of the living, and proclaiming with enthusiasin the name of Zorrilla.

The story of this, his first appearance in the world of letter, has clung to Zorrilla, and is one of the familiar anecdotes of modern Spain. And yet, strange to say, it was not long beam Zorrilla himself was eager to disavow the act of sympaths and homage which had made him famous. For circumstances carried him over beyond recal into the camp of Catholic reaction. The tide was already turning when he wrote his dirge on Larra, and ten years later there existed a Catholic literature, of which the beginnings had hardly been suspected in 1853. For some time after their re-appearance in Spain, letters and education had been the hands of the Liberals, and to read was to be a revocationist. The party of the Church and the Court had practical found no expression in literature, and had held themselve towards it as towards an enemy. But as time passed on, and the old weapons whereby the demon of change and speculation

once been kept in check fell out of use, the partizans of the Spanish traditions, whether in Church or State, were fain eshe themselves to tuo forces and instruments which had d of such deadly effect in the grasp of their opponents. there was a time when the Court was extraordinarily sucil in its new policy. All the discredit which the Liberal es had brought upon Liberal ideas, all the wounded selfof a nation which was tired of playing the monotonous of black sheep in the European flock, and all that sentiattachment to the religion of his fathers, and that pride country of his birth, which lurks in the heart of every Spaniant, formed so many kindred influences which comto inspire and maintain a new school of writing, in which pun of Lope and Calderon should be defended by men ing on the lines and borrowing the ideas of Victor Hugo Lamartine. Checked and controlled as it was at every by the revolutionary spectre, the Court had still enormous power during the ast twenty years of the reign of Isabella. country where literature proper hardly brings a man and-butter, it could make the life of a young poet or at easy to him by providing hun with some governpost or palace stucture, or simply by ensuring him pathetic public among the rich and noble. Blundishof this kind it brought freely to bear upon the lite-class, and the effects of such a change of policy on per were considerable, and in many respects disastrous. duced a crowd of writers who, without anything fresh y or any serious convictions, repeated again and again cil-worn themes of the sixteenth and seventeenth cenin tasteless fluent verse or a too-abandant prose; and e birth to a pseudo-natveté and a pseudo-sentiment, from Spanish literature will take long to shake itself free. one, indeed, can deny to the movement a few authors of bility: Fernan Caballero, the gifted enthusiastic woman, stories are perhaps the only products of the modern are of the Peninsala which have any real currency beyond reners, was one of its chief representatives; and Zurrilla, er poor in intellectual grasp his work may seem to a see, has yet a charm and music, a facile wealth of ation, which no one who wanders through his innumerable can fail to realize. But the fatal defect of the school is a of selid basis, the absence of any living and truttful between it and the world around. The writers of with Larra at their head, had sought to build up a are which, in Larra's words, should be 'real as life is

real, which should attack all questions and all knowledge win equal courage and sincerity. The object of the school Zortilla and Caballero has been the precise opposite of the The aim of its representatives has been, to divert the mind Spain from the tormenting present, in which she plays necessity so small a part, to the dim and glorious past, wheher word gave the law to Europe, and the sea, to quo Quintana's famous words, 'flow where it would, was checked by Spanish coasts;' to shame the feverish restless city multitudes, with their love for foreign innovations, by bolding up them the unchanged and patriaschal country life, steeped in the sentiments and the ideas of Catholicism, and untroubled

any consciousness of changed times or broken faiths.

So strong is the sentiment of Catholicism and of country, the even those Spaniards who have thrown off Catholicism and & most bitterly the backwardness of the society to which the belong, are carried away by Zorrilla's charm and by the course with which Caballero holds up the country life of Spain as some thing which other nations may envy but can never rival. dramas in which Zorrilla has revived, as nearly as a model can, the types, the passions, the intrigues, of Lope and Colders the facile 'Cantos del Troyador,' in which the legends of & Romanceros and the tales of monkish tradition were told and for modern listeners in a fluent musical verse, which demands no sort of intellectual effort for its comprehension, appeal to audience drawn from all parties; and Don Juan Tenorio, a play in which Zorrilla has followed Tirso de Molina in dressis up that Don Juan legend which has exercised so old a fascin tion upon Europe, ranks with 'Don Alvaro' and Esproneeds Diable Mundo, as a landmark in the literary history of the century. To a foreigner it is unreadable, and the nearer Spaniard approaches to the common level of European cultus the less toleration will be show for a kind of writing want bas 'a genius for anachronism, which is pseudo-national as pseudo-Catholic, which only half believes in its own message and sacrifices the true interests of the national literature those of an intolerant Clericalism.

Fernan Caballero's stories have been so often translated at criticized in this country, that it is hardly necessary to dwell up them here. Her successor, Antonio de Trueba, a native of Basque provinces, made himself famous, at least among what the called good society in Madrid, by the Libro de los Cantare a book of popular songs, breathing the most ardent devotion church and throne, which appeared at an opportune moment 1846, during the conservative reaction which had set in unit

the guidance of Narraez. He followed up his success by a samber of short stories, collected under the titles of Popular Tales, 'Rustic Tales,' 'Cuentos Cosor de Rosa,' and others, which have a certain vogue in Spain, and satisfy the needs of those who have never been introduced to anything more penetrating and intelligent in literature. Nor indeed are they without merit. Trueba was a genuine Basque, with a natural time for graphic description, and his native district of Las Encartaciones, lying between Bilbao and Santandez, forms a charming background to his stories, with its blossoming therry orchards, its gorges stream-filled and fresh like those of leronshire, its white-walled farmhouses, and naive delightful thindren. But Trueba's simplicity is not a simplicity which workes the reader, it tends rather to provoke him, suggesting at does a determination to ignore three-fourths of lite, and to supon two or three obvious and elementary themes as alone

southy the attention of the artist.

The Catholic reaction however, after all, represented only the cort and certain portions of the upper classes. Throughout be later years of Isobella, however ardently Trueba or Cabilero might preach the doctrines of Medievalism, the nation an steadily advancing towards another great revolutionary ons. The middle class was impatient for a less disorderly and corrupt government, for men and measures which might suc Spain out of the state of degradation she had fallen into in te eyes of Europe, while the populace of all the large towns sa developing a Jacobinism as herce and sanguinary as any in Escape. The rising of 1808 brought matters to a climax, and stella retired from the country which she and her father had suggestmed, never to return to it as queen. During the Rerelie and under Amsteo, interstate enjoyees, which opened be reign of Alfonso XII., a certain number of literary men thic and under Amadeo, literature enjoyed unqualified freedom. affered in position or emolument for their Republican opinions, and at the present moment, with the return of Señor Cánovas, pain is witnessing a revival of press persecutions, which mears ill for the stability of the new regime. But the necesutes of government, in a country in which the Conservative idea is both envenomed by Ultramontanism and confronted by · fee-thinking and passionate democracy, cannot be measured ly those of any state blessed with a long tradition of constitutional freedom. And the essentials at least, both of literary and regions liberty, have been secured since 1868. Education too spreading and improving: the universities have been reorranized and reformed, and the rise of a cultivated public is beginning

beginning to make itself felt in the world of letters. So considerable, indeed, has been the Spanish literary production during the last twenty years, that it will be impossible for us to give any account of it in detail. A few illustrations of different schools and tendencies must suffice. The verse of Ramor de Campoamor and Gustavo Becquer must represent for us the poetry of twenty years ago, while, coming down to more recent times, we may dwell upon the work of Perez Galdos, the most eminent Spanish novelist now living, and conclude our sketch with Senor Juan Valera, the author of at least one excellent novel, and the most witty and accomplished of Spanish critical

Ramon de Camposmor was born in 1817, in the same year, we believe, as Zorrilla. He thus escaped the storm and stress of the Romantic movement, and his natural lightness and gaiety are unahadowed by the graver and more passionate feeling which spoke in Larra and Espronceda. One long work of his, indeed, remains to illustrate the way in which the heightened interest in art and letters, and the desire for more vival and realistic literary methods, characteristic of 1853, became the auxiliaries of Catholic propagandism in a later generation. But the Universal Draina, with its strange mixture of classicalism and Christian legend, is already forgotten. It was Campo-amor's attempt, as the Diablo Mundo' was Espronceda's, 10 auggest a poetical philosophy of life; but Camposmor had 10 Goethe-like grasp and distinction of mind to bring to bear apor so difficult a task, nor any of the passion and command over the melodies of language, which secure for the similar effort & Espronceda a high place in Spanish poetry. Where Campaamor has won a real and lasting success has been in his about lyrics-delicate, fantastic little poems-which play with the well-worn themes of the shortness of life, the fleeting charms of youth and beauty, the difference between the ideals of youth and of old age, woman's perfidy and man's disillusion, with a touch which is often remarkable for subtlety and finesse. He to published some five or six volumes of poems, from one of which, 'Do.ores,' we quote the following lines. The mechanism of the verse is so dainty, and the whole depends for its effect of largely upon the exact turn of expression employed, that we have only attempted a prose rendering as close to the original as possible. The poem in which they occur is called Love of the Wing, and forms a playful address to a child of six year old, warning the little maiden that as she grows older and enters upon life, she will be the happier for taking all thing lightly, loving lightly, hating lightly, and passing rapidly from one passion to another like a bird upon the wing. 1

'If you wish to see for yourself whether your apostle's preaching is true—that what seems fixed is passing, and what flies is the only mily, turn your face, my protty child, your face screne as you our sky, now to heaven and now to earth, and it will soon be made oun to you how the richest and the best things are those which agirly fly or softly flant, - whether it be foun upon the sea or plance in the sky, or income on the altar, or flowers upon the trees, e clouds before the wind, or sounds upon the breeze, the life which within our senses, or the thoughts which float within our life!

"Be advised, then, little one; love -but on the wing , and remember but the way is leng, so long, and the time is short, so short! Be est, my child, but not pertidious; breathe round thee a flame that to not burn; love as one who loves not, and always, as now, may the receping be a cloud which passes, and thy smile a light which

arror faders I . . .

Although greatly superior in point of reality, of cultivation ac originality of view, to the crowd of court versifiers of whom ther popular poet, José de Selgas, is a fair representative, the Campoamor was throughout careful to identify himself and the Ultramontane upper class. He depended upon the court society for his public, and, atthough the court ladies had sosional misgivings as to what they were assured were the putheratic tendencies' of some of his poems, his public was the whole faithful to him, and rewarded him with all it had a give. In Gustavo Adolfo Becquer, on the other hand, we an brought in contact, almost for the first time, with a Spanish man of letters, pure and simple. Becquer's career, indeed, is a indication that the absolute dependence of literature upon Police, which has so deeply influenced the Spanish writers of o century, is coming to an end. He dated at any rate to arte for writing's sake, because he was a poet and an artist, and the world was wide and beautiful. From the beginning be determined to have nothing to do with politics, and he wore Lizzelt to death in the effort to keep his resolution. the last years of Isabella it was still practically impossible to take a living out of literature apart from policical journalism. Bequer made the effort, and died at thirty, having borne all the hardships and privations which his disinterested love of at and of ideas had laid upon him, with a sweet unfailing water, a patient force of resistance, the memory of which all moves the hearts of his friends. His Levendas, or take in the manner of Hoffmann and Edgar Poe, are picture jue, and written with that flowing wealth of language which is the natural heritage of the literary Spaniard, but they expresent hasty work, and in reality do his talent no justice. He

was accustomed to write them in a newspaper office, catch up suggestions now from one friend and now from another, often filling in his names or choosing his locale from a his reference to the office map. It was not by work of this is whatever might be its merits, that Becquer laid the foundat of that lasting reputation that seems assured to him. He behind him half a volume of poems, which have already cised a wide influence in his own country and in Spannerica, and will probably succeed eventually in making known even in Europe, where modern Spanish literatures yet so little currency. They form a series of short poems, and tell a tragic story of a passionate love, a fait mistress, despair, parting, and death. Translation can give little idea of their vivid colour and rapid careless grace, be venture to give a reproduction of the following little poem what is as nearly as possible the metrical form of the origin

'I know where her the source
Of all thy lingering sighs,
The cause of all thy secret languers, sweet—
I know, I know it all!
Thou smil'st, but yet one day
Thou too wilt know, my child,
Thou dost divine it now—
But I, I know.

I know what are thy dreams,
The visions of thy sleep,—
As in a book, what thou dost hide from me.
Upon thy brow I read.
Thou smil'st, but yet one day
Thou too wilt know, my child;
Thou dost divine it now—
But I, I know!

I know why close entwined
'Thy tears and laughter lie.
And to the deptus mysterious I plunge
Of thy soft woman's heart.
Then smil'st, but yet one day
'Thou too wift know, my child!
For while thou feelest all, and nothing know'st,
I, in whom feeling murdered lies, know all!'

Among the novelists now popular in the Peninsula, B. Perez Galdos holds perhaps the first place. The Catalan E. whom his countrymen rank as the Spanish Dumas, has moventiveness; and his stories of adventure succeed so we he has been able, as he himself proudly boasts, to keep

and journalism and still to make a living. Manuel Gonzales feeds the same taste for novels of intrigue on as that to which Escrich appeals, but his work ther to the old picaresque school-the school of e Tormes and Gil Blas—than to that of Dumas. His adventures are relished in Spain; out of it, in shich have enjoyed for generations a settled and lawcial life, they are not likely to attract much attention. and subtlety are well represented among the novel Pedro de Alarcon, whose most famous book, the brilliant 'Sombrero de tres Picos,' is an excellent rese story-telling. But the only writer who can be an the best European lines, to attack the problems of and thought seriously, and to show a delicate and comsense of character, is Perez Galdos. At the same time, are national and Spanish in subject. They represent and often bitter fidelity the conflicting interests and Spanish life: the struggle between Catholicism and aght is their dominant theme; and one whole series, odios Nacionales, are concerned with the various panish political history during the quarter of a century wed the outbreak of the war of independence. But in which Galdos deals with his subjects is either of George Sand, as in his charming study of peasant mela, or the method of George Sand's successors, realists, as in some of his later novels, 'Leon Roch Desharedada.' He has no desire to pin himself to ive Spanish tradition; his aim is to bring his work neral stream of artistic effort, and to make it interest-The feel and think, whatever may be their nationality. ng of the same kind may be said of the writing of But, while Galdos's work is often marred by a political or religious partisanship, Valera never srtist in the propagandist. In his most famous novel menez, in its way a gem of delicate description and sinting, he takes for his subject the same antagonism ideals of Catholic ascencism and the healthy force inflection, which Galdos treats in Dona Perfects, or the 'Fontana de Oro.' But he bandles it more th more skill and measure, and the result is a novel of a but of greater artistic perfection. This skill and are still more evident in his critical essays, which are reading by anybody who wishes to acquaint himself pies and the interests, the hopes and despondencies, of mish society. In these charming papers, whether

he is reviewing a modern book or giving his opinious up Cervantes, or Shakspeare, or Faust, Valera has his eye alway fixed upon Spanish life, and is perpetually comparing it wis the life and the ideals of other countries. His remarks upon are equally interesting, whether he is confessing with a sign the except Turkey there is no country in Europe which surpass us in ill-being, -in this point, at least, we are a power of the fit order —or venturing a modest and doubtful hope for the future

That pelitical future no one can as yet forecast with any or The smister legacy of Ferdinand VII. has in all pe bability not yet worked itself out. But whatever may be if troubles in store for her, it is clear to any one who attempts. enter into the modern life of the peninsula, that Spain is no making vigorous efforts to bring herself socially and intelle tually into line with the rest of Europe. We shall find traces these efforts in her novels and poems; we shall find them in the interest with which a country, as yet unable to produce anythin of importance for itself in metaphysical or economical specultion, welcomes and ponders over the philosophy or the economic of other nations; and we shall find them above all in the scholar care and devotion with which the national antiquities, wheth architectural, historical, or literary, are now being studied at cared for. We have no Spanish science or Spanish philosophy says Valera, in effect, 'but we study our own past and we study it well." The many excellent books which have been the fro recent years, the elaborate history of Spanish literature by Amade de los Rios, to which in England we can show no parallel; the fine series of Documentos ineditos, in which the riches of the national archives have been at last made use of; the uneven edited but indispensable Biblioteca de los Autores Espano of Ribadenevra; the various specialist publications on the of theatre, on the bibliography of local history, on the minutize of town Fueros, the admirable work of such a scholar as Gayango the great government series of the * Monumentos Arquitections de Espana, or the continuation of the 'Espana Sagrada;' the and many more bear eloquent witness to the reality and force (the present revival of letters in Spain. The only hope of modern state lies in knowledge, that is to say in the possession of a scientific force of intelligence which may be applied Spain has been and still is deficient in knowledge, as her social and public life has been proportionately sterde at disorganized. But the passion for knowledge, for intelligent for ideas, has entered into her, and in the degree to which will succeed in leavening and conquering the hostile element opposed to it lies the whole interest and problem of her future

Axt. 111.-1. Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United Sales, for 1884. London and New York. 2. The Hannal of Statistics of Railroads, &c. New York, 1884.

Will popular superstition that boundless wealth is to be got from the West, by dint of a little adventure-which in then days means speculation will die hard in the English and. It has always exercised a peculiar kind of fascination, at only over us, but over other European nations, especially be Spanish and the Dutch. It is now as strong as ever, shough it no longer works in the old-fashioned way. We do set fit out expeditions for the discovery of El Dorado, or to go in search of Captain Kidd's treasure, or to get the doublooms out of the sunken vessels on the Pacific coast; but enterprises which have as little promise of success as any of these rarely ful to find ready support in this country. When a man surtenders himself to the pleasing dream of making a large fortune apilly, or a small capitalist resolves to double his income by bing a cheaper security yielding a large interest, his thoughts poserally turn to the modern substitute for the Argosy of old-Se American Railroad. It is estimated by practical persons, she are well acquainted with the facts, that three hundred of see railroads have been paid for with European capital tring the last thirty years; and what has become of many of ben, we do not know where we could find anybody, either here or in America, to tell us. Some of them seem to have cappeared altogether; others are still in the hands of pirates; tew are living on prosperously under new names. To give an unaple of what we mean. Not very long ago a lady died, mong whose effects were found a number of bonds with rapons attached, carrying interest at the rate of seven per cent. Ins interest was upwards of thirty years in arrear, and the last the coupons had long since become due. No one on the the bonds; its very name was forgotten, its history unknown. At last, a gentleman who has had a long and an eventful expe. ince in connection with transatlantic railroads, was begged to me the trustees the benefit of his opinion. He examined the leeds, and something in the name which they bore awoke a usuat echo in his mind. He thought, and thought again, and at last he remembered that there had once been such a impany, and that it had passed through the linguing diseases "receivership" and "reorganization," which have been renleted so sadly familiar to English investors. Finally, it had

been bought up by the great Pennsylvania milroad, which at once redeemed bonds and coupons in the most honourable manner. We know of very few narratives of American invest-

ments which have so satisfactory an ending.

The history of American railroads is a romance which would ruin any professional writer who was rash enough to take his incidents from it; the public would desert him, and the critics would say that he had gone mad. When the fashionable American novelists have quite exhausted their little stock of mysteries and moralities, perhaps one or other of them will discover that it is not quite correct to say that 'all the stones have been told' while the wondrous tale of the Eric milrod, or of the Atlantic and Great Western, remains unwritten. In these two railroads, which have never passed through an actually solvent year since the day they came into existence, not a shilling less than thirty-five millions of pounds has been hopelessly and irretrievably sunk. At the most moderate estimate, sixty millions of our money is invested in other lines, of whom management, history, capabilities, or profits, the best informed of the investors knew very little, and the majority knew absolutely nothing. Not long ago, a gentleman consulted some our who had made a study of American railroads as to the prospects of 'Wabash.' It appeared that the enquirer had a friend who had put nearly all the money he had in the world into the Preference shares of this road, and that he had bought them 15 May, 1881, at the price of 98. In June of the present year they were at 13-a fall of 85. And what made your friend intest in Wabash?' asked the person consulted. 'Did he know any thing about it?' 'Nothing whatever,' was the reply; 'he read in some broker's circular that the shares would be certain to go up. his banker expressed pretty much the same opinion, and so be went in and bought. The render will at once say that this The render will at once say that this must have been a very rash and foolish man; but if there were not thousands like him, the Eric bubble, and scores of others at bad, would have burst long ago, instead of being kept affoat to make the fortunes of receivers, agents, and railroad lawyers.

The losses sustained in England by the financial collapse of Wabash'—for it passed into the hands of a receiver in May last—have been enormous. The brokers' circulars, which for their way through the post into every country house an rectory, were at one time full of Wabash. Not one person in a thousand had the least idea where the road was, or whence it drew its traffic, or what sort of men conducted its affairs. The advertisements and circulars gave a brilliant secount of a there had been a consolidation, new regions were to be open-

remendous interest might be expected. It was an old but why should anybody invent a new story when the creeds so well? People rushed in to buy the shares with eves shut. They were not aware although they might become so had they taken the trouble to enquire-that the like the Erie, had always been rotten; that in 1858, it a the hands of a receiver, that after the usual trickery of traction, consolidation, and all the rest of it, it went into insolvency and receivership; after which there was reconstruction and hocus-pocus. In 1880 and 1881, an ting expedient was put in torce to tempt the English or into the ring. Dividends of six per cent, were paid the preferred stock, and there was a confident promise ery soon the common stock would come in for part of the shower. It is tolerably certain that the dividend came capital; but of course the Englishman rose to the bait Some one behind the scenes in usual alacrity. ica had a houseful of shares for which he had paid a mere and which he was delighted to sell to his very good John Bull, who was of the same blood as himself and the same language. The result is, that the Englishman out 19,0000 into the stock in 1881, has now nominally lett of his money; but he would not find it too easy to eren that.

Americans, with far greater shrewdness than we possess, boked to the East instead of to the West for the true When they have had anything to sell which was oud enough for themselves, whether it was a railroad, e, or a cattle ranche, they brought it to England, and thus sh gold has over and over again gone to retresh, if it could rtifize, the sage harrens and wild wastes of the great blic. The Englishman in his own eves may be a lion, the American he seems much more like a sheep, fat and With a fine fleece which it needs but a few turns of the lankee hand to take from off his back. A milroad or e is a 'sure thing;' in prosperous times no enterprising or banker thinks of coming over for the summer without ag some such little parce, in his trunk. It is part of the pean outfit. During the last year or so, the business has sen so good, because the intended victims have got scared, nufe having gone considerably below the fleece. But see at least a score of pushing gentlemen still waiting in or London for an opportunity to sell a carefully salted or a cattle ranche from which all the cattle will be taken the moment the purchase-money has changed hands. It 1. 15b. - No. 315.

is unfortunate, perhaps, for these patient persons, that a new plank' has just been inserted in the Republican platform protesting against 'non-resident aliens' owning the national lands. This resolution ought to do something towards opening the eyes of Englishmen to the fact, that it is not prudent to take it for granted that America is the safest place in the world for

their surplus capital.

Among the Companies which have sought large amounts of money in England, there have been good mixed with the bad, but the great majority have been bad-so bad that there was no chance from the first of any return whatever from them. The course of the railroad got up to sell has been very simple in its main outlines. A tempting picture is drawn of the fertile lands in Kansas, Oregon, or Texas, only waiting for the appearance of the locomotive to become inexhaustible treasures of wealth. There is sure to be gold or silver ore somewhere in the region, grant in quantities past all computation, cattle panting for the market and the butcher's knife, fruit worthy of the garden of Eden. The estimates given are all large, for the American projector understands by this time that if he wants to 'fix' the Englishman, he must make everything look as big as his country. A seven per cent, mortgage is issued, probably at 75, so that people may be led to believe that they are going to get ten per cent. for their money The common stock is sometimes thrown in as a bonus - the whole of it to be 'wiped out' in due season. For two or three years, unless the projectors are in a great harry to got off with their gains, all goes well, but at the end of that time there are rumours of difficulties, and soon there is an application for a receiver. The President of the road, who is the cause of all the mischief, is appointed to the position, and then comes reorganization, by which the receiver and his friends make their tortunes. The English investor is called upon to an assessment of a pound or two per share, and his America. cousin congratulates himself upon the fact that the land of tlack South Sea Bubble is still full of 'greenhorns,' and that he is the man of all others to turn them to good account,

In the absence of caution and a reasonable degree of suspicion in England, there is no limit to the extent to which the smaller class of capitalists may be imposed upon, for in one respect the good and bud railroads in America are all of a piece. They are universally managed in the dark. Neither the law nor public opinion has any terror for the managers. No public meeting of the stockholders are ever held; no facts are given, except the few which it may suit the purposes of the President to dole out there is no independent audit; the 'floating dobt'—that bane o

American

can railroads—may be secretly run up to any amount. President is virtually beyond control. The Directors are ds tools or vassals; the consultations which occasionally lice are held with closed doors; the statements of accounts e genuine or not, but there are no means of putting them test. No one rightly knows the amount of floating debt of the New York Central or the Baltimore and Ohio rail--two of the richest and safest in the United States. The ent of the first is a millionaire; but he has very judiciously alf of his own holding of the stock in his road, on the ple, perhaps, that too much of a good thing is as bad as stile. The dividend on New York Central shares is by the published accounts, not to have been carned last and there is some doubt as to the fund from which it was A passing word on this matter may not be misapplied. haderbilt would do far better to pay six per cent, out of extraines than to earry out his father's policy of paying it to do it he has to trench upon capital or reserve. If the ctors of the road could meet him, they would endeavour to this sound principle to his mind, but they have as much s of ever seeing him, except in the street, as they have of g with the Mikado of Japan. He manages his business in on way, and he probably holds that a system, to which the icans themselves are forced to submit, is good enough for bmen.

Baltimore and Ohio railroad has invariably paid its and ans always, apparently, been well managed. With wed lines, its operations extend over 1612 miles, and for time past its carnings over expenses have averaged not ort of 1,000,000 t. a-year. Its mortgage bonds carry an a of from 41 to 6 per cent. This immense property is Sed with the Garrett family of Haltimore, and they, like aderbilts, conduct it much as if it were their own, meral balance-shoot issued at the end of each year, but it little light on the obscure subject of the floating debt, derstand that Mr. Garrett denies that there is any such and it is efficially stated that there is a surplus fund, all liabilities, of nearly forty-four millions of dollars. It eso; and it may safely be said that if this road is not in d and florishing condition, there is not another road United States which is. It cannot, then, be to the real at of the Garretts to have it put on a level, from a strictly as point of view, with Eric and Wabash.

I less can it be to the interest of investors to persist in an of giving supreme power to a President, and enabling 0 2 him

him to embark in new and perhaps bazardous enterprises, volving a large expenditure of money, without the sanction the proprietors. Here, before anything of the kind can done, the consent of the shareholders must be asked, and of Parliament must be obtained, and the money procured calling up new capital. In the United States, these securil against wrong-doing are all dispensed with: the money wh the President wishes to spend is taken out of the treasury charged to the account of the floating debt. The system radically bad, even when applied to unquestionably good perties, such as the two we have named; where it is applito mere stock-jobbing roads, it necessarily produces the m which have of late caused so many heavy losses in both countri A large section of the English public were greatly dismay when, at the beginning of June last, the news arrived that I Philadelphia and Reading railr ad had again made defaupon one of its mortgages, and that it was to be placed in hands of another receiver-having only been delivered for that functionary a comparatively short time before. Everywhile surprise was expressed at this catastrophe; why, we know a The end ought to have been clearly foreseen. This made buried fatuoms deep in aebt. The distance from Philadelph to Reading is only 98 miles, the main road-while the bras lines of the Company extend over 228 miles; the lines less or owned making an aggregate of 840 miles. This proper has been so industriously 'financed,' that the capital stock represented by the enormous sum of nearly 7,000,00 M, and h various bonds and mortgages by about 18,000,000c more. habilities of the road when it suspended last month cannot put at less than 50,000,000%. Its resources have gone chiefly ambitious and wasteful purchases of coal fields, or in acqui-tions of terribly costly leases. These investments may or the not prove lucrative hereafter, but what is certain is that the would never have been sanctioned if the proprietors could be been properly consulted The road and all its affairs had be for some years in the hands of an able man, Mr. Gowen, was intent upon creating a great monopoly in coal, and invariably forgot to measure his ends by his means. His go faith does not appear to be semously questioned, but he was I sanguine and too imaginative, looking always to the future a never to the present, obstinute to the last degree in pushing with I is own so iemes, and conducting what ought to have by a paying milroad deeper and deeper into the abyss of debt. all arose from the want of publicity and from the absurd post which are entrusted to a ' President.

After many disappointments and broken pledges, Mr. Gowen came over here again with a new scheme for mising money. His plan was not deficient either in ingenuity or audacity. The and was notoriously in difficulties, the interest on the stock was still in default, promises of dividends had been made time out of mind, and never kept. But the President was not at ail cast down. He was a fluent speaker, and every American has observed that fluent speaking, in politics or in business, is half the battle in England. Mr. Gowen, confident in his powers of speech, and in the very large map hung up over the platform, which made his road look as if it ran all across the United States, came forward with this proposal—that a totally new somes of bonds should be issued, never to receive any interest antil all the pre-existing liabilities of the Company had been The value of each bond was fifty dollars, but it was issued at fifteen, so that persons who put faith in Mr. Gowen should not lack a generous reward. On the very face of this proposal, was clear that the chances were ten to one against the Purchaser of the bond ever seeing principal or interest again. or the amount raised could not free the Company from its embarrassments, or enable it to earn its expenses. It was only aciding, wantonly and fruitlessly, to the immense debts already Encurred by Mr. Gowen. But even this new manifestation of his facility in eastle-building did not put the English investor his guard. Some thousands of the bonds—the precise Purchasers at 10. They are now below 5, and their precise value is accurately indicated by the sign 0.

Mr. Gowen returned to Philadelphia, well pleased with his Superiment. He assured the English stareholders, almost in the very language of Mr. Micawber, that he never would desert * Beem; Le would stand by the property until it had been placed pon a sound and paying basis. In January of the present Year he suddenly retired, with the somewhat droll statement hat his pledge had been redeemed, although the unfortunate *tockholders were looking in vain for their interest. They were soothed with assurances that it should be paid in fall in June. taif could be paid then and there, but the Company did not like to do things by halves; they would wait a few months, and pay the whole. June soon came round—too soon for the Company, which, having already been reduced to the humiliating necessity of paying the wages of its servants in promissory notes, made default on one of its mortgages, and once more went in receivership. The stockholders and the purchasers of the 'defenred income bonds' then understood better than they had

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done in January what Mr. Gowen meant when he talked of

having put the road upon a paying basis.

Such, then, is one of the properties in which the English people have persistently sunk large sums of money. But if anybody desires to find a much more remarkable example of their incurable propensity for chinging fast to 'bogus' tailroads, he has only to turn to the annals of 'Erie'—more replete will tales of daring, with extenordinary adventures by flood and field, and with thrilling virissitudes of fortune, than all the novels of

Eagene Sue and Alexander Dumas.

This famous road has been practically insolvent, as we have intimated, ever since the hour of its birth, and yet we late known its common stock run up to 125. That was in 1804. We have seen the same stock down to 41-in 1877 Orl three years ago it was cleverly worked up to 51; of late it has been at 14, or thereabouts. At the higher prices, Englishmin only have Lought it. When it fell to the lower ranges, the American has usually stepped in though merely as he would step in to the gambling saloons at Monaco. Most of the great railroad kings, past and present, have had a hand in here at one time or another-Commodore Vanderbilt, Daniel Dres. Jay Gould, James Fisk, each has had his day; and while have has always been hankrupt, the men who 'ran' it, or who speculated with it, have managed to get rich by it, even il some of them lost the plunder afterwards. Mr. James Fisk was the only thoroughly infortunate member of the group, but Ere was innover t of the most tragic part of his fate. He was a valgar buffoon, not destitute of a certain degree of shrewdress. and possessing a good deal of himour; but he was one puppet in eleverer hands than his own. One day as Le was descending the stairs of an hotel, a man whom he had injured 'put a ballet into him; and it was said at the time that the Tammany people with whom he was associated took care " him-such care that they kept probing for the bullet until be was dead. I isk had robbed his slayer, not of Erie shares, biof something upon which both men were pleased to set a mark higher value.

Daniel Drew was originally a cattle-drover, and afterwards a public-house keeper; a low illiterate person, with a natural gast for deceiving others. He went into Wall Street, prospered, and began to lend money to the Frie railroad, taking its bonds and shares in large lumps as security. From time to time be had an unpleasant habit of suddenly forcing these shares and bonds upon the market. Prices would naturally fall heavily in one day they fell from 95 to 45—and Drew, who was always

brat, gathered up the spoils and retired. But he was no ch for Commodore Vanderbilt or Jay Gould, and, after by curious experiences, he succumbed in 1876, and died a afterwards, broken in purse as well as in spirit. For a s. however, he fought on equal terms with Vanderbilt, in poliny days when the Erie Treasury was regarded as a strate object of plunder for any one who had the address to Sometimes the Tammany Ring were the lucky tors; sometimes the persons in authority were Messrs, Fisk The management of this firm was, perhaps, the a amusing, for everybody except the stockholders. But we not attempt to give even an outline of the history. A thick me would scarcely hold it, for the Eric Had does not go a natshell. It may, however, he said that, in the time of and Gould, the milroud was more economically innuaged it has since been under a 'Reform' administration, and the property generally was in a better condition. Yet in days there was not only a railroad in operation, but a theatre was open in connection with it, and magnificent mers went to and from Long Branch, with Fisk himself ed up as a Port-Admiral. Champagne flowed for everybody day long, and at night the festivities were transferred to theatre, where a corps de ballet was specially engaged to to before the Directors and their friends. Erie then exerd almost as great an influence in politics as in Wall Street, necessary funds for its operations being still found by John I. It had its own judges, who signed any orders, injunc-, or warrants, which the managers might happen to want; in the course of two years, as its account-books show, it aded over a million and a half of dollars-300,000?.--in s to members of the State Legislature for hills of various For the Legislature was often catled upon to act, and is no part of public business in which its members show such seal as in the consideration of Railrond Bills. The sait Mr. Vandethilt could give the world some very integrate on that subject, if he dared. In 1867, a senator anded twenty-five thousand dollars (5000%) for his vote on Il affecting the New York Central, and no doubt he got the ey, for the Bill was passed. Prices at Albany may have in a little since then, but when times are bad, and botelers are clamorous for their money, there is no resource so sual for 'raising the wind' as that of getting up a Striker's mittee, to threaten a railroad. In the midst of the great gle for Erie, which went on during 1867, a good authority stated that 'an individual is reported to have received a hundred

hundred thousand dollars (20,000L) from one side to influence legislation, and to have subsequently received seventy thousand dollars (14,000L) from the other side to disappear with the money; which he accordingly did, and thereafter became a gentleman of elegant lessure." During this contest, it is believed that nine millions of dollars were taken from the Erie strong-box, and used by the Directors for stock-jobbing and

other illicit purposes.

For years previous to this, English investors had bought largely of Erie, to the amusement of the Americans, who kees that financial y the road was worthless. The English public thought otherwise, and they refused to listen to anybody who could have taught them better. They stubbornly deceived themselves. 'When our national bonds,' says Mr. Adams, 'went begging at a discount of sixty per cent., the British capitalist transmitted them to Germany, and refused to touch them himself.' He bought Erie, and Atlantic and Great Westers. instead, with a little Confederate loan to give "stability" to list venture. The s.x per cent, bonds of the United States, now all called in, were at that very time quoted at about 45 on the London Stock Exchange, and one of the few men in London who had the wit to buy them was the late Mr. Peabody, who made no small part of his immense fortune by putting faith a his own country at a critical time. The English investor preferred Erie shares, which went down to 44, and Confederat loan, which was not worth a dollar a cartload. Eric shares wer turned out from the printing-press as fast as they were needed to supply the demand, without reference to the 'Charter,' and without the knowledge of any one except the Directors. A certain number of shares had been assued as the capital stock a the road, but if any of the Directors sold 'short,' and could not deliver at the appointed time, he went to work and printed a many more as were wanted. Thus, between 1867 and 1841 the total number of the shares had been increased from 250,05 to 865,000, and when Mr. Fisk was asked about it by a Legislative Committee, he confessed that he did not know whether the issue of the shares was legal or not. As he tests fied on another occasion, 'I signed everything that was put hefore me; after once the devil had hold of me, I kept so signing; I don't know how many I signed, for I kept no count after the first one; I went with the robbers then, and I have been with them ever since,' And when another Committee enquired what had become of some money made out of sindu

^{*} See ' A Chapter of Eric,' by Mr Charles France Adems (Bost m. 1871 . p 33. Wansactions,

transactions he replied, 'It is gone where the woodbine twanth.' That was about all the information which could ever be extracted from Mr. Fisk; and his associate, Mr. Gould, was not more barren as a witness, for the moment he was placed ware a Committee, his memory addenly and mysteriously breated him—it was often only with great difficulty that he

oud remember his own name.

Let the Englishmen kept on buying a l through this régime, un when, in 1871, Mr. Jewett was appointed Receiver, they all continued to buy largely, and wahout their money the Company could not have gone on. The otherals, however, were drava sure of high salaries. An investigation into the subject 4 m way management in New York was held in 1879 by the Mar Assembly, and Mr. Sterne, a lawyer, offered to prove that It Jewett had been paid forty thousand dollars (8000-L) as keover, and a salary of twenty-five thousand dollars (5000L) as fresident of the reorganized road, ' in addition to an advance of freen thousand co.lars a year for ten years, making a total of s tundred and fifty thousand dollars. But Mr. Sterne was renonstrated with by one counsel for 'indelicacy,' although his staments were not in any way challenged, and then Mr. Balch, a official of the road, was examined He said, Mr. Jewett's place was fixed at \$50,000 per year; Mr. Jewett received \$50,000 as President, and \$15,000 in advance for ten years, parable in notes of the Company; \$20,000 or \$30,000 of the over were paid after the road went into the hands of the We must assume that Mr. Jewett carned all this PKetver. score, as also did the firm of lawyers in New York, who seeved about a hundred thousand dollars in a little over two But judicious people would not tears for services rendered. some a property thus managed for the investment of their money, unless it was a matter of indifference to them whether her ever saw it again or not.

Fifteen millions of pounds have been sunk in this road, and sheat twenty millions in Atlantic and Great Western. It is as ply impossible that this money—or, as we think, any part of the can ever be recovered. Occasionally, when Iresh fands are saited, an attempt is made to give an appearance of vitality to being morband enterprises by circulating rumours of disidends, of roca by going through the fative of paying a dividend, with the bires be riowed for the purpose—as was done in 1873 by the bire Directors. They declated a dividend of one per cent on the tour mon stock, at a time when an effort was about to be made to raise a new loan in Linghard. A New York paper denounced the whole performance as a 'swindle,' and the loan somehow or

other fell through. If the journal in question had been published in England, there would have been no difficulty in silencing it by ega, process, although it based its charges on transcripts from the Eric books. That general opinion in the United States is rather unfavourable to the law of libel, and that juries are unwilling to connect for that offence, may sometimes prove advantageous to the public, although, no doubt the wide treedom thus conferred upon the press is often greaty abused

One of the most practical of milroad authorities in America has calculated that Erie might be made to pay on a basis of twenty-five million dollars in shares and about thirty millions Now as bonds have actually been issued to the in bonds. amount of 70 millions, and stock to the amount of about 85 millions more, it is easy for any one to judge what is the intrinsic value of an Eric share. In America, the document x still used for gambling purposes, like the acc of spades, but no man alive would think of buying one to keep, with expectations of a future dividend. Yet thousands of English investors have bought Erie shares with that expectation, and will probably keep on buying them, for we can scarcely hope that de warning which we now deliver to them will be more effectual The fatal web val than all the others which they have heard. continue to entangle many a simple country rector or thrifty widow, who wishes to annihe a little money, and in going of

Erie, takes the sure and certain road to lose everything.

What, then, is to be said for the other railroad which will chiefly made with English capital the Atlantic and Great Western, or, as it is now called, the New York, Pennaylvaniand Onio? Whatever may lave been the merits or demens of its original design, its career has been associated with so many intrigues, and with so much foul play, that we search know where to look for a creditable page in its history. It was opened for traffic in 1865, and less than two years afterwards it was already in the hands of a receiver. Then it was lessed to the Erie Company, by way, perhaps, of sinking it beyond all hope of recovery. Whatever the motive may have been, the new road was brought nearer than before to death's door, and very soon it went again into the receiver's hands and once more still it went there, and then it was leased again to Erie. 'The last lense,' as 'Poor's Manual' briefly relater, 'had been in operation only a few months when the road was again placed unter a receivership, December 2th, 1874.' The receivers, the agents, the lawyers, all made money by this seesaw performance, but the road was being drained of its vitality,

and the unfortunate proprietors were utterly powerless to held is in 1880, it was sold under foreclosure, and in 1883, in apite of the lessons of the past, it was once more leased to here. The consent of the shareholders was doubtless asked, but the var in which these things are managed is so well understood is the City, that this statement would only excite a smile. had can the helpless and ignorant shareholders do, but agree to any scheme which is put before them? In all such Com-putes, the shareholders are represented chiefly by proxics. Most of them live in the country, and have no knowledge of Charman, or the Trustees, or whatever the person or persons se are head of affairs may be called, must be 'trusted all in all must at all,' and we again assume-for we are dealing with a sistem, not with individuals—that these officials invariably act is good faith. They are well paid for their work, as a rule, and ought to be glad to do the best they can for their share-But they are human, and may err, or be deceived. The "sanction" of the share-inders, so often pleaded as a judheation for everything-what is it? A meeting is called, such of the shareholders as may attend listen to their 'eloquent Charman' with open mouths, and if any one ventures to arreize his statements, or even to ask a troublesome question, ie is instantly put down. Nothing is more astonishing to an isoperienced looker-on who goes to such a meeting, than the ingness of the persons present to get at the truth se attaid of discussion, because it may lead to disclosures "the would further depreciate the value of their securities. Azer all, then, public meetings of shareholders are not of so ext value, as a means of protecting property, as most people stopose especially when the milroad is in the United States, all nobody present knows anything about it except the Chairand he only what he has been told by the 'Receiver' or to American President. Perhaps one or two of the Directors lare been over to the United States to blook into affairs,' and has laste gone to the offices of their lawyers, and been supplied ark as much carefully prepared material as they cared to take may with them. But they are not in the real secret; or, it by are, it rarely happens that they allow anybody to share it Wate them.

That ever-insolvent milroad, the Atlantic and Great Western to give it its haptismal name—is now so surrounded with results habilities, that there is scarcely the most distant gleam hope for it. The lease to brie is worth just what previous were worth. It has a bonded debt of 18,000,000d., and

stock is out amounting to 9,000,000% more. Its first mortgage bonds, which nominally carry an interest of seven per cent. are at a heavy discount; a third mortgage bond of 2001, supposed to be a five per cent, security, can be bought for 61. liv. The first mortgages, by some extraordinary piece of managerang. were worked up to 70, three years or so ago, and many worthy persons bought them at that price, thinking their fortunes were made. The common stock-now quite out of sight-sold it Who 'engineered' this brilliant stroke on the Stock Exchange we are not prepared to state, nor does it much Thousands of persons were concern our present business. Thousands of persons were tempted to part with their money, a few astute operator gathered it all in, and 'Atlantics' are now as common in country houses and parsonages as 'Wabashes'-and there they

are likely to remain.

There is one important point, however, which must not be misunderstood, We do not refer to the fluctuations in the prices of American shares or honds as in itself a decisive test at their value; for the best, like the worst, are subject to these The difference is, that the good will recover, the vicussitudes. bad may do so, but such an occurrence is improbable and unusual. For a short time in 1873, New York Central share were selling at 78, whereas four years previously they were cagerly bought at 217. But both occasions were exceptional In 1869, Commodore Vanderbilt had allenced all opposition and 'cornered' his opponents; consequently he could put my price that he fancied upon his stock. In 1873, a panic was raging, far more severe than that which was witnessed last Ha Everybody can out into Wall Street eager to sell all the stock he had, and even people who had abundance of ready money to them—and they were not numerous—were afraid to buy Bothose who did happen to purchase New York Central shares could not have fared badly, for within a few weeks the pure advanced from 78 to 115. Since then, this same stock has seen many changes. In 1881 it sold in New York at 155, while recently it has feller to 155. recently it has fallen to 96 the dividend throughout having invariably been eight percent. It is whispered that the divideal will be reduced to six per cent., but even that would not warrant so great a fall. It can only be accounted for by the deep distrast which prevails among the American people concerning the ! own ratiroads, and by the alarm which for the moment has been created in the Linglish mind by the constant and improve depreciation that has been going on for four or five years past in nearly all classes of these stocks. For here, again, the distraction between shares and bonds must be well observed. Even

the recent panic was powerless to affect the best description of bonds; for several years past, all through the period when socks were falling, they have increased in value, and although it is impossible to foretel what may happen, in the unsettled site of American industries, there is at least a reasonable proboilite that they will hold their ground. In 1878, the five per cent, bonds of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad were at 9: their ordinary price is now from 108 to 110. The seven reent, bonds of the New York Central railroad were at 112: the range now from 130 to 138. Similar advances have taken place in other loans which are universally reputed to stand on a and foundation. Sometimes, in seasons of depression and panic, very fair opportunity for a more or less speculative investment are offer itself. In 1877, for example, Central of New Jersey tares could be had at 6; in 1875 they had been sold at 120, and in 1881 they again touched 112. To give one more cample. The Chicago and North-Western railroad is a fine roperty, though, like most other American lines, it is too lardy weighted with habilities. Its shares have before now wa at 190; in 1877, they fell to 15, and any one who bought been at that price had no occasion to repent his boldness, for in low) they touched 130. But to make fortunate strokes of this an requires very special knowledge, and even with that on his Union Pacific we the investor may find himself deceived. hates were thought very cheap when they were at 100, not long to. But more recently they have been down to 34, and where his fall is destined to stop no man can say.

The only safe rule for English investors to follow, is to hold boof from American railroad shares altogether. They cannot bossibly be behind the scenes to know what is going on, nor an they tell when the saure qui peut is about to begin, and ben the millionaires are going to make a hearty meal on the millionaires are going to make a hearty meal on the maller fry. All 'information,' whether imparted through the empapers, or in a more confidential manner, is delusive. The greatest of financiers may, no doubt, be able to tell now and then when a rise in a particular property is likely to occur, tor, ded he has taken the precaution to get the greater part of ander his own control. Some years ago, one of the Wall treet kings saw a celebrated railroad going begging. It had been great mismanagement; altogether, the line was in a transmite plight. The keen-eyed financier determined to make this wreak his own, but first of all be opened an attack appears, and sent its price down to a nominal sum—to five or air dollars in the hundred. At this rate, it was not difficult

for a man with a few millions lying idle to pick it up. When it became known that this particular individual had acquired it, people stood off with apprehension, anticipating a snare; but the fact was that the millionaire had wisely resolved to make the road pay its way honestly, and, being a man of great ability, he set to work overhauling the entire management of the line, reducing the expenses, improving the faculties for doing basiness, and looking after every detail of expenditure. Thus his scheme was elevated out of the usual region of stock-Jobbing. As he saw his way clearer, and as the public begon to understand what he was doing, he 'marked' up the paer of his stock. One day he caused some of it to be sold at 10, the next day, when buyers came back and asked for more, thes were told that none could be had under 15; then there was a sudden jump to 42, and people made haste to realize their gains, and the price dropped back to 14. But in a few years the stock was made to pay a regular dividend, and its price was 130. The whole project was, so far as the outside world know, an entirely legitimate transaction, but of course the English people never heard of it until the highest price was reached, and then, when it was too late, they began to buy the stock, and the Americans took care that they should have as much as they wanted. The present result is, that the English purchases have lost from one-hall to two-thirds of their money. But they are not so badly off as the shareholders in the West Shore railroad -extensively supported in this country which went into bankruptcy in the middle of Jane.

A long series of such incidents is apt to inspire the being that the entire railway system of America is rotten, and that incompetency or dishonesty enters largely into the management of every line. But this conclusion goes beyond what is warranted by the facts, although it is far from being nafounces. It must not be lorgotten that a railroad is the most mosers making machine ever introduced into commerce, and if it is # some extent a failure in America, it is because it does not receive fair play. Sometimes it falls into the hands of a 'mag, and is unmercifully plandered by everybody, from the Director down to the car-conductors. We have seen the latter seding tickets to passengers on the 'cars,' entirely on their own account, and putting the money in their pockets. lines, freight trains are frequently run of which no account if given, the profits going to the officials and the employes. They are technically known as 'ghost trains.' Mr. James Wellear states, on the information of 'one of the ablest authorities a the United States,' that 'not one-tenth of the carnings of Americat

ican railroads that is to say, not one tenth of the amount b) the people from whom these rainfords receive their asses and to whom, after their proprietors, their first duties -reaches the treasury; and (he adds) I unhesitatingly e, from my personal knowledge, that not one half of the ats really paid to the railroads reach the treasuries of many tant Companies. The proprietors are deceived, and the are detrauded, through the machinery of rings, pools, rebates, under the administration of autocratic presidents. rings generally act with capital supplied by the railroads, generally consist of railroad managers and their friends, merican paper, the 'Kailway Review,' has recontly published ollowing .- In one prominent case now before the courts arge is distinctly made, that the officers and Directors of acroad Company actually made such arrangements with the ity that the interest on the bonds was allowed to default, hostoning a foreclosure, by which certain persons with they were interested became the new owners.' In other ces, contracts have been made by the Directors which d in heavy losses to the railroad, but to the great profit of rectors. We could easily give specific proofs of this, but ould be led too far into controversies, which could only be cted in this place under circumstances of the utmost rantage. First, then, we have extravagant management, ormous salaries paid to Presidents and Directors; then a ted traffic, and injudicious or fraudulent contracts; an be of intelligent supervision, and a general system of ulness. At last, when the line has been thoroughly looted, wer of foreclosure is put in force, pernaps by collusion, ive-sixths of the nominal proprietors find themselves d of their money,

then they stop short of this, it is impossible to know what seve about an American radiumd. The assections of the fitter can never be depended on. Towards the end of last, the following despatch was published in the London from the President of the Philadelphia and Reading d: We are quiet, and no reason to prevent our taking fourselves —meaning that no serious financial difficulties impending. Somewhere about the same time, another ent was put forth, on the authority of the President, and in London from a Philadelphia paper. It announced from present appearances, the Company will do as well as ar, when there was a surplus equal to 7 per cent, upon the red stock, and 0 per cent, upon the common stock. And

vet, a few weeks afterwards, the Company was obliged to pay in wages in paper and make default on one of its mortgage bonds. If the President acted, as we do not question, with perfect integrity, what can be thought of his knowledge of the condtion of his road, or of his power of forming a judgment on its future? No doubt there is great allowance to be made for Mr. Keim, who has inherited a vast and complicated mass of difficulties from Mr. Gowen; but henceforth it will be difficult to place credit on any statement which may come from the Company. In the same way, the Eric authorities announced down to the beginning of June that the interest on the second mortgage bonds would certainly be paid. Of course, it was not paid; but people who put faith in 'Erie' thoroughly deserve that kind of treatment.

It is evident that the solid main lines, such as the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Bultimore and Ohio, have s great traffic, and nothing is known to warrant the supposition that there is anything in the management of either road calculated to shake the confidence of the public. Commoder Vanderbilt built up the immense property which is associated with his name by various means, some of them extremely questionable in their character; but his son is a man who has steadily walked in the recognized and legitimate paths of business, and he has proved that he has a capacity for protecting his roads at least equal to that of his father. In a word, the sharp practice which has been associated with many of these lines at one time or another was the work of the founders; there is no necessity for it now. The feeling of the Scotts, the Vanderbilts, the Garretts, and the Goulds, will henceforth be strictly conservative. Their interests all lie in the direction of honesty and fair play, for they have much more to lose than to gain by any course which would inspire distrust. It will be well for them if they take to heart the lessons which the present year ought to have taught them if they avoid the error of being led into ambitious projects which can only weaken then present strength, and if they resolve to content themselves wat improving the enterprises which the industry, the ingenuity, or the daring of their fathers left to them.

For it is quite certain and this is a point to which we hepe the reader will pay particular attention-that there are too many railmous in the United States; too many for the population, and far too many for the traffic. It may well be that, in the course of time, profitable employment will be found for al. the lines now in existence, but before that day arrives, the receivers and the lawyers, we may be sure, will drive a roaring

rade. Weak lines will be absorbed by the strong, share capital val be 'wiped out,' interest will be lowered, and many a road rigo headlong into bankroptcy. This is the inevitable result of the rage for raintoad-making which has prevailed for years one and which the English public has so raskly encouraged, one of the greatest experts in the United States wrote as in the United States wrote as works some little time ago to a friend in this country; "I have cen so many worthless issues of railway bonds floated abroad lining the past few years, through the instrumentality of the bighty respectable banking firms who have seemed only intent to earn the large bonus always paid on such transactions—the wore worthless the bond, the greater the bonus-that I feel sure us only a question of time when a collapse will come. A loss of confidence will be sure to result in all railroad securities, in which the good and bad will suffer indiscriminately.' This pageecy has been fully verified. Railroads have been got up ke too mere purpose of blackmailing lines already in existence; of both countries have been loaded with what are known as American 'chromos'-shares printed 'elegantly,' but having to value apart from the showy picture in the corner. Upon an sterage, about ten thousand miles of new ratiroads have been constructed annually for some time past, and the amount of becared millions of dollars a year. The rander, and floating the amount which is actually spent upon the milroads, either in beir construction or maintenance. 'It is safe to estimate,' say spen all the milroads of the United States within the past three ours did not exceed a thousand and fifty millions of dollars, cam \$973,016,342 less than the increase, in the period named, capital and indebiedness of the several companies.' What came of the surplus? The answer can be given in two plain ands; it went by jobbery and robbery, The whole adminisration of American railroads is brought into discredit. in times of stress, the good, as our American correspondent has ud, suffer with the bad, and at no time do they stand on really cours ground. The prices of the very best of American bonds be much lower than they would be if the public had confidence other stability. Look at two or three simple facts. At the rry time the eight per cent, stock of New York Central was ing at 96, the four per cent. loan of the United States overnment was quoted at 125. In our own country, tae per cent. stock of the North-Western railway readily mands 167. Why are not New York Central shares held Vol. 158 .- No. 315.

at a corresponding price, which would be 178? The reason must be clear enough to Mr. Vanderbitt. In this country, new stock in a railroad cannot be created without the consent of the proprietors, and everybody feels that the responsible management will not be guilty of dishonesty or trickery. There may be good seasons and bad seasons, but the shareholders knew that their property cannot be made away with in a night, and that the money carned upon their road will not be used by speculative Directors to make good their losses on the Stock Exchange. A nerican lines will never afford so good a field for propert investment as the English, until the right to issue new shares and bonds at discretion is taken from the managers, and until the 'President' and his colleagues—in many cases they should be called his 'confederates'—are deprived of the power of accumulating indebtedness, and working the property in their

own private interests.

In May and June last we all saw what happened, and what must continue to happen periodically, in consequence of the last basis on which this important part of the business of the United States rests. For three years previously, there has been a great and almost continuous decline in rainoc securities, and we cannot wonder at it when we consider the out of 125 stocks, not 40 paid a dividend. The depreciation is value of the best only of these stocks, during 1883, amounted a upwards of one hundred million pounds (\$500,000,000 , and the sum has to be doubled if we take all stocks into calcultion. We have already mentioned several descriptions, sold largely in England, in which the decline was reinously heave There were others, however, in which the Americans themse see were for once the chief sufferers—such as Denver and Ra Grande, which fell from 114 to 12, Louisville and Nashville. which went from 110 to 27, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, form 54 to 15, and so on. The business homes which farled las year were 9200 in number. The wheat crops did not sell were and there was great stagnation in general trade. We doubt con much whether American wheat will ever again be so profitable a crop as it has been in the past. The immense gains made be the farmers between 1875 and 1882 caused a much larger area to be put under cultivation, and the Western farmers counted securely upon a practical monopoly of the English and British Indian markets. But the great fact-destined to affect most vitally the whole of the Western States-has since been much manifest, that not only can India supply its own wants, but the it can send grain to England to almost any extent, and on sad terms as to compete with America, in spite of the disparities of Classachon

In 1873, the value of Indian wheat exported was val. 167,690L. In 1882, the value was 8,869,562L. Belgium alone bought wheat from India to the amount of 2,000,000%. to 1882 83) against 1200L in 1878. All that is needed to develop Indian commerce is improved facilities for transportston; and this want the Government, if it were wise, would apply. India would then have a fair chance in the world, and we should find a magnificent market for our own manufectures. But even as it is, she can compete with America in wheat, and this is a condition of affairs which no one ever anticipated until four or five years ago. The 'great West' has lost its supremacy beyond all hope of recovery, although the American people may not yet be fully alive to the fact. It would be immensely to our advantage to buy our wheat of lidian growers rather than of the Americans, for the former would take our wares in exchange on fair terms, whereas the inter impose all but prohibitive duties upon them. A generous policy pursued towards India now would repay us a thousandbill in the course of a very few years. And it must be selfevient that, if the United States are to lose a large part of Usir gmin trade with foreign countries, they are destined to meet with a check to their prosperity such as no one has dreamt daince the war of 1861.

It was certain, then, even at the beginning of the year, that trents were working round for a panic which, if not equal in trently to that of 1873, would be strong enough to shake tewn many a house connected largely with the railway business. isere had already been a succession of failures, when at the ad of April the fall was announced of the Californian alleonaire. Mr James Keene, the most dashing of speculators, to not the wisest. Not long afterwards, New York was exended to hear of the failure of the Marine Bank, owing to defalcations of the unlucky firm of Grant and Ward, in that General Grant was a 'special' partner and his son a squar partner—a distinction without a difference, so far as General Grant is concerned. He has never been a good man of business, and in this deplorable affair he evidently feel a tipe to his associate, a Mr. Ferdinand Ward, who is under urest. Mr Ward received money on deposit, and made away with it as fast as it feel into his hands, paying interest, as he treaters, at the rate of 20 per cent. per month. When under translation the other day, Mr. Ward explained how he amaged to do this, though we confess that to us his explanation a not so clear as it might be. We quote from a New York PATET:

100 The Romance and Reality of American Railroads.

Upon all those transactions of yours what rate of interest or prof: did you pay :- From my recollection I nover paid less than twenty per cert, per month. How much money has gone in that way?—I can't maswer that . . . What made you pay such enormous returns for the me of money?—That's bard to tell. Well, hard in one sense, but not How much money has gone in that way? - I can't difficult. You must have had some reason for paying twenty per cent a mouth for the use of money. You were not making that profit, were you?-No, sir. You had no contracts, and did not specifically must this mency in any particular way, but used it in the general business? -Yes, sir On your own account? -Yes, sir. And turned some of it over to Grant and Ward? Used it in the general business in both I borrowed it from Poter to pay Paul . . . Well, in order to accounts. pay or retain this money you had borrowed or received, you seewilling to contract to pay about twenty per cent, a month?-Yes, I that that was it. You didn't do it for the fun of the thing, did you !-No, sir . . . How long have you been in such a condition that you could not pay your debts without raising money at the rate of twenty per cels month?—It would be impossible for me to tell. Certainly to years, haven't you?—Yes, ar. And you have known it for two years, haven't you?—Well, I don't know."

At the time of the suspension of the firm, its unsecured debts amounted to at least three millions of dollars. Yet on the vercay before the failure, Mr. Ferdmand Ward went to General Grant and told him that certain advances, amounting to a number and fifty thousand dollars, had to be repaid, and that if this sur could be borrowed, all would be well. General Grant was in complete ignorance of the facts; he went to Mr. Vanderbal and asked him for the loan of the money. It ought to be said that all the members of the Grant family had previous, spin everything they owned into the firm. In a city like New York, the true position of such a house as this can with difficulty be concealed, and it is currous that Mr. Vanderbilt, with his extensive means of knowing al. that was going on, should not have been able to inform General Grant that he was falling a dope to a rascal. But Mr. Ward had kept his secret well, sat Mr. Vanderbilt, who was probably in a horry to go to church it being the morning of Sunday-took a pen and drew a cheque for 30,000l. A few hours afterwards, General Grant found out the worst, and his mortification must have been not a little increased by the reflection that he had placed himself under a great obligation to Mr. Vanderbilt without doing the smalest There was, perhaps, an unconscious touch of wast is generally called American humour in the despatch which was telegraphed to this country the following day- General Grant accks seclusion,

Mr. Perdinand Ward is evidently a remarkably *sman

ma, or he would not have been able so completely to hoodwok his acute fellow-citizens. He appears to have been genetaly known as the 'rising young financier,' and his theory of hunsess is that which prevails too extensively in the present day—namely, that nothing should be permitted to interfere right way to work, as it turns out, but for a time he prospered, and we are told that his share of 'profits' last year amounted to 100,000%. Even now, admiration for his 'go-aheadism' and 'pluck' evidently mingles largely in his native city with disapproval of his moral principles. The reporters have fivoured the public with as many descriptions of his appearance and habits as if he were a popular actor. He is in jail, but that does not interfere much with his comfort. We learn tut coffee is served to him three times a day with religious regularity, and that in the morning he 'manages to dispose of a porter-house steak, an omelet, and few minor dishes. The Glowing sketch serves to show that the way of the transgressor is not particularly hard in New York :-

While the table was removed from what might be called the diang-cell, Mr Ward retired to his bon bir or private cell to indulge ma moditative eight. He sat half-buried in the depths of a great am-cione, with his legs on a table. He was in his shirt-sleeves, had a egg "gar in his mouth at an angle of 45 degrees, and chatted my cheerfully listening to the gossip that his friends brought from the outsile world and retailing in turn his prison experiences. He pressed his visitors to stay to dinner, promising them a moal almost qual to any Delmonico might serve, and offering to send for any trand cluma they chose.

There are three rooms in his suit, all nicely furnished and very confertable. His reception-room, almost as large as an ordinary paner, has soft sofas and lounging chairs scattered about a murble-typel centre table. The langings of the room are of a soft nontraitried brown, very restful to the eye, and accord well with the heavy trustle carpet. Through the open windows a cool breeze floated a letwest the bars, rendering the apartment delightfully cool and army the pages of the magazines on the table. Keeper Flynn behind emphatically that the rooms were "cooler than in any hotel atte city, because the walls are so thick."

Mr Ward was in custody on a civil suit, but any one who has usted 'murderer's row' in the Tombs will be aware that, even sacer the worst possible circumstances, prison life in New lock may be combined with much enjoyment, if the prisoner money. Mr. Ward had perhaps reserved the Vanderbilt matabation to his firm for his own necessities, but in any

case he was well supplied with funds. One of the popular preachers of the day, the Rev. Mr. Talmage, seems to have taken him as the text for a Salchath discourse, in which he draw what it is to be hoped is an over-coloured picture of social he across the Atlantic:—

"There are 5000 women in New York and Brooklyn each of whom expends on dress over \$2000 a year. It has got to such a pasthat when we go to church to weep over our seas we must write any our tears with a \$150 handkerchief. (Great laughter.) There are scores of men who live in the midst of every luxury, who spend everything on themselves, and when they die their children are thrown on the charity of the world. The death of such a man is grand laveny. (Laughter) He swindles the world as he steps the bis coffin. His bines ought to be self to an anatomical massing for the henceft of his children (Laughter.) I draw the knife as that it cuts close. I thought many of you might get angry and leave the church. You stand it well." (Great laughter.)

This affair, coupled with the failure of the Marine Bank threatened to bring about a wild and general panic, but fortanately the banks stood firmly by each other. But in spire of all that could be done, the injury inflicted upon credit and general business was very great. The second National Bank was placed in difficulties owing to its President, Mr. J. C Lno. having 'used the bank funds in unfortunate stock speculations. Railroad securities of all kinds again fell heavily, and the shrinkage in the value of the stocks held by Mr. Jay Goold is estimated to amount to fully fifty millions of dollars. Another leader in Wall Street actually paid out six millions of dollars in one day to cover his losses. There are few men prominently connected with milroads in America who are not to-day, whatever may be their resources on paper, in a position calculated to cause them many serious misgivings concerning the future. This being the case with the persons who are bush able to protect themselves, it would seem that the English people ought to need no great persuasion to induce them to keep on of this market a together, or, if they must go into it, to move much more warily than they have done for many years pass But there are other reasons for caution, and we will name of or two.

There cannot be a doubt that the railroad interest across Atlantic, as well as other departments of business, will have pass through a severe trial before the firm ground of sately again reached. Over-speculation and over-trading have bride ever since the war, and the only check to them has be brought about, not by a return to prudence and common-see

at by the outbreak of a panic, which has rained hundreds or bousands, and left the whole community poorer than it was fore. The war itself gave size to no small part of this evil, is in the North there were large classes which throve upon but was a great misfortune for the nation, and the lever for eculation was promoted by the demoralization which the re made and lost in a few hours, and the slow processes by uen money is accumulated in trade of the regular kind came distasteful to the younger men. The Wards and the as of the recent panic are types of a too numerous section the new generation, misled by the lavish display of wealth hed they see all around them, and by their recollections of days when, by a rise or fall in gold, a man made more profit a few hours than ordinary industry would produce in a whole ut. When the man of business takes with him to his office e spirit and habits of the gambler, his fate is only a question

There is, it is needless to say, a very large part of the trading emunity which is free from this reproach, or it would fare ill ith the country. But it is also true that the safe channels of sie have been too often and too widely forsaken, and we have to see the consequences of this fatal error. They are only ranking to show themselves. Moreover, there are still other hes at work to aggravate the evil. The resources of the ated States are undoubtedly very large, but they are not imitable, and many of them have been producilly dealt to. The land, which properly belonged to the nation, has an given away brondcast to speculators, and the bond fide her has now to betake himself to more and more distant els of the country, if he wishes to obtain a promising holding hir terms. The shipping trade has been discouraged, and tage part of the profit arising out of the commerce of the latry has gone to foreign nations. Immense efforts have a made to foster immigration, on the old supposition that the new-comers are worth so many dollars a head to the non. But there is a possibility of pushing this favourite colation too far, especially when the immigrants land witha penny, and show an unconquerable disinclination to move of the large cities and towns. The foreign element may yet found to predominate too largely even for the material welfare the native-born citizens-for as regards the adverse influence ich it exercises upon politics, there is scarcely any difference opinion. Continually, as time goes on, greater concessions to be made to the naturalized citizens, and the Republican

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party does not conceal the fact, that its nominations to be Presidency this year are largely designed to secure the law tote. Both candidates are notorious for their dishke England, and for their avowed eagerness to pursue a polynomial. which would give rise to formidable troubles in Canada. Blaine is intensely anti-English, but he is moderate in his vis in comparison with General Logan, who might be Presid one day, and who as President of the Senate must exert great influence. Should these candidates be elected, we do hesitate to say that it would behave English people to be tre cuations how they invested their money in the United State They will do well to watch the course of events very close How little disposition there is on the other side of the Atlan to deal generously with England, may be seen by the con pursued in reference to the dynamite conspiracies. Papers published fomenting these conspiracies, offices are open for receipt of subscriptions, and the explosive materials discorn here are known to have been manufactured in the United Sor It the circumstances were reversed, it would not be long bethe American Minister at this Court received instructions for his Government to utter something much more peremptory the ordinary diplomatic remonstrances. Rightly or wrongly, Americans have come, like other nations, to believe England is not dangerous, except to the weak, and that, the presence of a power as strong as her own, she will alw meekly bend her neck. But without dwelling a moment los than is necessary upon this, we repeat our warning, that some time to come the greatest circumspection should be in regard to American investments. The facts which we be given are alone sufficient to suggest the wisdom of this con at all times, but it is especially incumbent upon people moderate means to follow it now For it is by no means certain as some Americans profess to think, that the word the storm is over, and that the year 1884 will come to an without another startling collapse of a great railroad, or a retition-perhaps on a grander scale-of the strange story Mr. Ferdinand Ward.

Arr. IV. -- Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia: A Study of Historical Biography. By Eugene Schuyler, Ph.D., LL.D., Author of 'Turkistan.' 2 vols. London, 1854.

WHEN, twelve years ago, the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Tsar was celebrated in the apital which bears his name, among the measures taken to inpress upon the world the vastness of the space which he occupies in its history was an endeavour to form a complete estalogue of the literary works, in other languages than Russian, stack have him and his doings for their subject. The result one certainly of a very imposing character. That the hero of Miscovite story and legend, who was the first to force his native country on the astonished eyes of Europe, and who virtually hunded the huge empire which stretches right across two consents from the Baltic to the Pacific, should have come to fill in immense place in the literature of his own land, could have sacited no surprise; but it was a very different thing to discover an almost equally present in all the languages of Europe. let it was no less than this which the attempt brought to light. The issue of it was a thick volume, edited by R. Minzloff, under 4c title 'Pierre le Grand dans la litterature étrangère,' and conand ag notices of above a thousand distinct works, which fill many times that number of volumes, and are all devoted to the randation, in one way or other, of this extraordinary man, "staunt adventuring on the enormous mass of similar works thich are locked up in the Russian tongue, the graver reader my here make his choice among some six dozen formal ographies, and the reader of lighter tastes among a score of ferent collections of anecdotes, besides numerous poems ud dramas, parallels, culogies, and critiques; while for the statent of history there are scores of contemporary memoirs, many voluminous collections of historical documents relative to by transactions of Peter's reign, and special treatuses almost brond enumeration on his wars, treaties, reforms, and other putticular points of his policy and administration. It would be " exaggeration to say, that he has a monument in the literature If the civilized world not less remarkable, and perhaps even of rore enduring quality, than the splendid equestrian effigy of am in bronze which rears its colossal proportions in front of the Cathedral of St. Petersburg

The earliest serious endeavour to write the life of Peter for Lumpean readers was made nearly forty years after his death, by Veltaire, whose agreeably-written work still retains, we

believe,

believe, much of its popularity as a school-book, notwithstanding the superficial and inadequate character imposed upon it by the reluctance of its lively author to submit to the labour of grappling with the numerous bundles of dry historical papers, placed for the purpose in his hands. Its key-note is to be found in the terse phrase in which the debt of Russia to its renowned. That is summed up. One is reminded by it of Pope's wellknown couplet, designed for an epitaph to commemorate the creative energy of Sir Isaac Newton in the domain of physical science:—

> Nature and Nature's lave lay hid in night; God said, Let Newton be! and all was light.'

After describing the previous chaotic and barbarous condition of the country, and saying that before the time of Peter Russa had not a single vessel on the seas, nor even a word in its language for a fleet; that military discipline was entirely unknown in it, the most rudimentary manufactures received no encourage ment, and even agriculture, the basis of all prosperity, was orglected; Voltaire, with a flash of epigrammatic genius, indicates in a single smart plarase how the country sprang from its torpor into vigorous life as soon as the destined regenerator appeared on the scene. Enfin Pierre naquit et la Russie fat formet And this, in spite of the flavour of exaggeration in the phrave, has become the accepted sentiment, not in Russia alone but generally, about the making of that immense empire. Not that protests against this estimate of Peter's achievement were not heard at the time, before the lapse of years had cast a soften ag veil over his vices and cruelties; a curious instance of which may be found in an anonymous satire, representing the shade is the hero addressing his biographer in the following terms: 'You repeat a thousand times that I was a great man, I should never myself have suspected it, and I cannot believe that the world it of your opinion. All I did was to give my people certain arts which I should assuredly have driven out of the country. had found my people already in possession of them.' But in Russia itself the debt was never questioned. How accurately Voltaire reflected the native feeling towards the memory of Peter, was strikingly shown, when an euthasiastic thanksgiving service was held in the cathedral of the capital in 1770, for the naval victory won by Count Orlof over the Turks off the island of Scio, which ended, thanks to English assistance, in the tool destruction by fire of the Ottoman fleet. In the middle of ha sermon the preacher descended from the pulpit, and crossing over to the tomb of Peter embraced it amidst the acclamation

of the vast assemblage, exclaiming with team of gratitude, 'It is not who have gained for us this triumph, for it was you who

bult our first ship!"

Since Voltaire's time hundreds of hands have laboured to correct and enlarge his sketch, and to present the character and act of Peter the Great under every possible aspect. Yet, at est in English literature, room was still left for another endeaour to separate the legendary from the historical part of his say, and to give an uninspassioned and impartial account, rawn from original sources, of what this barbaric hero really was a tamself, and with how much of the regeneration of Russia be my be justly credited. The special qualifications of Mr Schuyler by supplying what was yet wanting may be gathered from is statement in his preface to the two bulky volumes before do gent study of original documents in the archives of various contries, of the Russian collections of laws and State papers, of the memoirs and accounts of Peter's contemporaries, of the weks of Russian historians, and of most of the important works at tien on the subject by foreigners.' No one could have done stat Mr. Schoyler has accomplished, without that familiar exaintance with the Russian longuage, and that free access to we masses of historical documents stored up in the Russian thires, which his diplomatic position and experiences fortu-tely brought within his reach. By the help of these rare trantages, he has been enabled to test the current popular ruens of the story, to modify them where they are erroneous, amplement them where they are defective, and to give us the trend, passionate figure of Peter in its native unadorned simparity and truth. His style neither possesses, nor makes prebe searched in vain for dramatic narrative, elaborate word-Printing, sparkling antithesis, or subtle delineations of character. laca pervading features are plainness of diction, calmness of =, impartiality, and homely good sense. The tale is simply 34, and the reader is left very much to himself to form his a judgment on the subject of it. We cannot, without a connierable amount of qualification, call it pleasant reading; but is almost as much the fault of the substance of the narrative is of the outward form in which the narrator has clothed it, The story of Peter reeks too strongly of barbarism, brandy, and od, to suit the taste of outsiders; the hot spice of native enotism is needed to render it palatable. One thing we miss, which we should have been thankful if Mr. Schuyler had ea fit to give it; and that is, a critical summing up and final sentence,

sentence, as the issue and crown of the narration. As it is, the author's judgment on the subject of his biographical pottraiture must be read between the lines; and, seeking it there, our inference is, that in Mr. Schnyler's eyes Peter was st ingrained barbarian to the last, and that the eccentric genus and turbulent energy which illuminated his extraordinare career were by no means productive of unmixed benefit for his country.

From this estimate, which, as we have said, is contained by implication in these volumes, rather than put forth in any precise and definite statement, we are not inclined to dissent Only, in expressing our general concurrence with it, we would guard ourselves against doing injustice to the great Tear, by frankly allowing that the revolting and monstrous half of his character was a fatal inheritance, for which is would be hard to hold him strictly responsible. When we undertake to sit is judgment upon him, very large allowance must in fairness be made for his faults. made for his faults, on the score of the race out of which be sprang, and the social barbarism amidst which he had he bringing up. If he was coarse, sensual, cruel, alternating between his of outrageous folly and demoniscal ferocity, in il that he was little else than the old Russian stock impersonated in a colorsal form, with a fiery, explosive temperament, which ** always gooding him into extremes and allowed no repose. Ha genius was his own; his savagery he shared with his county at large. And since the apology for his vices and devilries # to be found in his ancestry and surroundings, we feel that it will not be possible for us to present him fairly to our readers without first giving a somewhat fuller picture of the Russia into which he was born than Mr. Schuyler has had room to pe before us.

Jealously closed as the Muscovite dominions for the most part were, before the time of Peter, against the curiosity of the civilized world, glimpses of them were now and then obtained and put on record, which, taken together, are sufficient to cost us to form a tolerably complete idea of their condition. For the seventy years, especially, preceding Peter's birth, we have series of notices of the state of society and the manners of the inhabitants, from peasant to noble and Tsar, furnished by ego witnesses, whom business of one kind or another led to face the difficulties of penetrating into the country, and residing for a time in its chief towns, and who consequently enjoyed ampli opportunities for observation. Of these, four may be single out for mention, as giving testimony on which full reliance may be placed. First comes Marguret, the captain of a French tradion lading vessel, a shrewd observer, who visited Russia at the comrescement of the seventeenth century, and on his return was numissioned by Henry IV, of France to draw up an account of what he had seen. His narrative excited great interest, and as been frequently reprinted. Next follows the 'Relation' of he Earl of Carlisle's embassy, sent to the Tsar Alexis, Peter's ther, in 1663, by our Charles II. This was written by one of be suite, and enjoyed a large circulation both in English and reach. Later, we have the 'Present State of Russia,' by Dr. smael Collings, who for nine years was physician to the same iss Alexis. And lastly comes the 'Relation curiouse et nouvelle le Moscovie,' by a Frenchman, Poy de la Neuville, who was cominstead to pick up information respecting the Russian policy, as made his way to Moscow in the character of an envoy from he King of Poland. This was in 1689, when, after the death their brother Theodore, the lads, Ivan and Peter, were joint Ism, under the regency of their sister Sophia. All these locks speak with one voice of the strangeness, the poverty, and be general barbarism, of the Muscovite people; and putting gether the detana given in them, with the addition of a few particulars gleaned from other contemporary sources, we obtain picture of the Russia of that century which may be accepted hout misgiving, notwithstanding the strong contrast which it resents to the Russin of the present time. That picture we an endeavour briefly to sketch in outline.

Hemmed in, at that period, on the west by Sweden and Poland, and on the south by the yet unbroken empire of Turkey, Russia did not possess a single province that touched the Baltic or the Black Sea; its only port and means of ommercial intercourse with the rest of Enrope being Archsizel, on the White Sen, which was visited by a few advenarous English vessels in the summer months, after the breaking p of the ice in the Polar ocean. So mean and insignificant as this single avenue of foreign trade, that it had not been ought worth while to station a British consul there, and the Eaglish Factory, if the establishment might be dignified by at a title, was a rude log Lut. Of the interior of the country large part was a boundless expanse of forest and morass, werran by hungry troops of wolves, and occupied by a sparse repulation, mostly serfs, roughly calculated at an average of tout five to the square mile. The roads were scarcely passable, papt by sledges in the prolonged winter season; and travelling and all the more incommodious from the entire absence of inns wany places of hospitable entertainment. Strangers, whose effectory nerves had not had time to undergo a Russian course of discipling, shrank with horror from the squalid dwelling scattered along the routes; and, when forced to enter them temporary shelter, were compelled to take the prelimin precaution of having all the windows thrown open to remier atmosphere endurable. Moscow, the capital, said to cont half a million of inhabitants, was chiefly composed of so wooden houses, described as being no better than the pigwie France or Germany; and its streets, instead of being par were laid with transverse faggots or logs of pine-wood. were so frequent as to attract little attention, unless the s flagration spread over thousands of the wretched hovels a stroke. Plenty of churches existed, but mostly very small i mean, and in illustration of the intelligence of Russian devote we are told that at Whitsuntide the custom was to strew the with branches from the sycamore-tree, under the fond persua that it was on the folinge of that tree that the Holy Spirit ferred to come down, as manna was supposed to descend on leaves of the oak. The most esteemed and popular priests, i added, were those who could mamble off the greatest number

prayers in a breath.

Of the character and habits of the people during the set teenth century, our authorities concur in giving a very unipossesting account. Margeret describes them as coarse bearish, destitute of courtesy, addicted to the most sham vices, without faith, without law, and without conscience. lings, whose long residence in the country made him unasa familiar with their ways, asserts that in most of their acti they differed from all other nations, and were so full of made that all the hellebore of Anticyra could not have purged it as He adds, in corroboration, that when some ingenious foreign was employed to make some public clocks for the capital constructed them with a fixed politer and revolving disl; justified the eccentricity by saying that, as the Russians at in a contrary way to all other people, it was proper that the clocks should be fashioned so as to match them. At the c of the century de Neuville finds no improvement worth speak of in the Russian character; his verdict upon the people is they were barbarians, suspicious, cruel, gluttonous, mise cowardly, filthy in their habits, and addicted to abomins vices. In support of these testimonies reference may also made to the experience of the celebrated Scotchman, Para Gordon, who in 1661 entered Russia to take military sers under the Tear Alexis, and afterwards rose to be generalised of Peter's army. Readers of Byron's letters to Mr. Murray recollect his doggerel on this famous adventurer :-

Then you've General Gordon,
Who girded his sword on,
To serve with a Muscovite master.
And help him to polish
A nation so owlish
They thought shaving their bearls a disaster.

from the diary of Gordon, of which some account was gree in the number of this Review for March, 1852, we learn tut when he first crossed the Russian frontier from Poland, set was the sickening disgust which he felt at the stench and autiness of the squalid towns, the extraordinary moroseness ad stinginess of the people, and their outrageous hostility to reigners, that he had much ado to abstain from breaking short is engagement, and turning his back on such a cursed land. a couple of years afterwards we find the gentlemen of Lord Cultisle's embassy complaining bitterly, that in the quarters as good them in Muscow by the Government they were reured to herd together in a single ill-furnished sleeping-room, ad were told in derision that it was their best protection cunst being carried off by the rats. The barbarous custom of agging together, and sleeping naked in foul coverings, was formon among all ranks down to the end of l'eter's reign flow the representatives of the Tsars showed abroad, on the are occasions of missions to foreign Courts, has been made miliar to most readers of history by Lord Macaulay's account the Russian embassy to London in 1962. It is not easy to beget his sketch of them in their barbaric magnificence and bullsomeness; dropping pearls and vermin from their persons; progeously arrayed that everybody crowded to stare at them, so filtry that no one dared touch them.

la keeping with such habits was the state of the country, as egards education, manufactures, and the arts which beautify its. Few persons could write, or even read; and books were scanty, that even a high ecclesiastic's library would commiss little more than a few unbound manuscript rolls. When beer visited the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, his limited specience even of the outside of books was shown by his adamation, that he could not have believed that there were so any volumes in the whole world. The universal such-like loss of the people struck travellers in Russia as monstrously a outh; their feeding as coarse and disgusting; their manners lastitute of polish and e egance; their dancing as mere that and indecent posturing; their music as simply exeemble laced. Of this last we glean from our authorities two manns notices. On their entry in state through the walls of

Moscow.

Moscow, Lord Carlisle's party were struck with alarm at an outburst of noise, which suggested the occurrence of some serious tumult or disaster; but on its tarning out to be nothing more than a harmiess welcome by the Tsar's trumpeter, they had a good laugh over it, comparing it to an exaggerated cackling of all the geese which saved the Capitol. College piles up his sarcasm with a more liberal hand:—

'If you would please a Russian with music,' he writes, 'get a concert of Billingsgate nightingales, which joined with a flight of seroech owls, a nest of jackdaws, a pass of hungry welves, was hoge in a winter's day, and as many cuts with their co-rank, and to them sing Lucymus, and that will ravish a pair of Russian lightester than all the music in Italy, light airs in France, marches af England, or the juge of Scotland.

One barbaric custom, which figures prominently in all our accounts, was the universal practice of the women, even of the lowest ranks, to smear their faces thickly with coarse paint: much to the discomfiture, we are told, of the courtly Howard, when his politoness led him to salute the cheeks of the priest's wife who entertained him at one of the halting-places between Archangel and Moscow. Another and worse una in the long catalogue of the faults imputed to the Rassau people was the all-prevalent drunkenness. Brandy and o'est hery spirits were evermore streaming down their seasoned throats. Their only form of entertainment was the drinking orgie, which often ended with the burning down of the house, and always with the insensibility of the guests. Ministers of State could not transact business with foreign envoys without swilling rups of ardent liquors with them, nor could the card festivals of the Church be duly honoured unless men, women. and clergy got drank before the celebration was over. In carnival time, such was the frenzied intoxication of the croms which roystered through the streets of Muscow, that foreigners upon whom the native population at all times looked askantdared not for their lives stir out of doors,

Another token of the social barbarism, on which our reporters by much stress, was found in the position assigned to the female sex. Even a Tsar's daughters had much to one plain of: for they were very seldom allowed to marry, and they were generally immured for life in a convent. In a ranks the women were treated as inferior beings, and governor by the lash; and, except in the case of the peasants and servant almost oriental seclusion was their lot. A husband might flog his wife at his pleasure, and even if she died under as

hand

it the criminal law failed to touch him. The wife, on the s hand, who might be guaded by his cruelty to the marder er husband, was ruthlessly barred alive. Collings gives us mious details, which occasionally provoke a reminiscence bream savagery. At marriages, for instance, when the stepped out of church, handfuls of hops were thrown over with the wish that her children might be as numerous; or ek clad in sheepskin saluted her with the prayer that her might be as many as there were hairs on his jacket. Her on reaching her new Lome, was to pull off one of her ind's boots, a whip being conceated in one of them, and a in the other; if she chanced to light on the latter, she tor her pains; but if on the whip, by ill-luck, she got a bride-lash over her shoulders, the carnest-penny of her entertainment. Obesity seems, as with many other es, to have been the woman's most attractive charm. feet and slender waists were accounted agiv, and a lean an was shunned as unwholesome. 'Those inclined to be e, says Collings, 'give themselves up to all manner of vism on purpose to fatten themselves, and lie abou all day drinking Russian brandy, which will fatten extremely; they sleep, and afterwards drink again, like swine lesigned ske bacon. Besides, he adds, to give a fashionable shape ke bacon. Besides, he adds, to give a fashionable shape are eyes, they strain them up so hard by their head-tyres, make it difficult to close them; and they stain their very his black, as well as their teeth,

hat our travellers report of the method employed to select for the Tants affords further illustration of the backwardof Muscovite civilization in that century. Instead of a suitable alliances with foreign Courts, or among the families at home, the custom was, when a Tant was to be ied, to issue a proclamation, inviting all marriageable girls od position and tolerable pretentions to beauty, to present selves at Moscow on a given day for his Tsarish Majesty's ction; and after a careful acrufiny of the hundreds of fair blates for the great matrimonial prize, the royal cloice was anced to the nation. But there was still room for the pial slip between the cup and the lip. Disappointed lies were apt to seek revenue for the failure of their canby endeavouring to 'get at' and disable the successful In 1617, one of these brides-elect was drugged by the clique at Court, and thrown into such a state of apparent e, that she was pronounced incurable, and banished with relatives to Siberia. Soon afterwards another actually of foul play, on the very day fixed for her wed ling. 158. -No. 315.

When Peter's father, the Tsar Alexis, was contracting his fint marriage in 1647, and the elect maiden was being arrayed in the royal robes, the ladies-in-waiting were bribed to twist her hair so tightly that she swooned in his presence, and the conplaisant physicians were induced to declare her hopecests epileptic, with the usual result of exile to Siberia. own mother, the protty dark-haired Natalia Naryshkin, who became the second wife of Alexis, narrowly escaped a similar fate. She was the niece by marriage, and also the ward, of the Tsar's principal minister, Matveof, at was house the royal widower noticed her when she brought the refreshments, fell in love with her, and offered her marriage. ringe. It happened that a proclamation had been already issued, summoning candidates for the Tear's hand to present themselves in Moscow for his inspection and choice; and if Matveof's entreaty, to give less handle for realous intrigue and opposition, the girl was directed to present herself with the resand appear to take her chance among them. The expeditahowever, failed of success. As soon as the royal selection was known, every engine was set in motion to render it abortive. Her guardian was accused of bewitching the Tsar with mage and sorcery; a long investigation followed, carried on, as now. by the free infliction of torture on all concerned; and mismonths passed before the intriguers were baffled and the marriage was solemnized.

This mention of torture brings us to the last which we shall specify of the barbaric features of the old Russia, out of wast Peter sprang. His father was considered unusually mild and gentle for a Tear, and, indeed, had been named * The most Delonair'; but even under his reign there were fifty offer I executioners in Moscow, whose hands were incessantly red with their ghastly functions. Every judicial investigation involved the infliction of horrible tortures all round: torture of suspecial persons to extort confession; torture of witnesses supposed a know more than they revealed; torture of criminals to force them to betray their accomplices. Sometimes it was influed by the alternate strokes of rods wielded by a couple of executioners, who kept time in hammering away at the bare back of the prostrate victim, as smiths are accustomed to hammer at in anvil. Sometimes by the horrible flail-like knout, which cut a deep furrow at every stroke, till the back was ribbed and crossed from top to bottom. Sometimes by the continual dropping of boiling water on the top of the head after it had been shared Sometimes by reasting the naked back of the accused over a fire, above which he was suspended horizontally by a wooden Whit.

Hanging and decapitation were the most common hods of inflicting capital punishment, when their work had already been done in the torture-chamber; but suspension a books through the flesh, breaking alive on the wheel, and alement on stakes, were by no means unfrequent. Even ate individuals enjoyed a large freedom to torture and kill serfs and dependents, of which ample advantage was a; and even as late as the regency of Sophia, Peter's half-, a special edict was required to deprive creditors of the to make perpetual slaves of their insolvent debtors, and to main and kill them at their pleasure

depulsive as many of these details are, it has been necessary ar purpose to exhibit them, since they furnish the key to mazing mixture of savagery with genius in the character babits of Peter the Great. Of that old Russia which we described he was the genuine, full-blooded child; its d expression in him, and attained their full growth under impulse of his strong animal passions passions so fierce one of his physicians accreed that he was possessed by a legion of the demons of sensuality. When we take unt of the stock from which he was bred, and the surroundamidst which he grow up; when we watch him passing agh his boyhood without the discipline of education, or influences of refining companionship, and in the bot flush outh becoming absolute irresponsible master, not only of elf, but of a whole nation which lay prostrate at his feet, larled to supply even a public sentiment to curb the caprices is autocratic will: the evil side of his character ceases to be jutery to our minds, and in proportion to the abatement of wonder at it, our moral judgment is persunded to admit a ating plea for his terrible eccentricities and crimes.

this connection some account must be taken of a morbid tion, spreading its malign influence over mind and body , to which Peter was subject from his youth. Of its origin tent accounts are given. By some writers it is ascribed to ock he received in his early boyhood, just after his election be throne instead of his imbecile elder brother Ivan, when insurgent Streltsi or Janussaries, who formed the only fery of old Russia, burst into the mom where his mother sheltering him, and, dragging her uncle Matveof from her cting arms, savagely cut the old statesman to pieces. attribute it to poison administered by his sister, the nt Sophia, to secure the throne for herself and her para-Prince Golitsyn. Whatever its cause, it gave a sinister

look to one of Peter's eyes, produced involuntary twitchings is has facial muscles, and rendered him liable to fits of gloom an nervousness, attended by distressing spasms and convaluous. These fits were compared to the demonic seizures, from which the first king of Israel found rehef in the sweet sounds of the harp of David; but the remedy employed for them us curiously different. From M. Stachlin-Storcksburg, whose position in the Russian Court shortly after Peter's deal enabled him to collect authentic information about the famous Tran, we learn that as soon as the fit came on, the practic was to lay hold of any pretty and lively young woman all was at hand, and push her into the Tran's room with the words, 'Here, Peter Alexievich, is the laty you wished to see.

'The surprise,' says our nother, 'necessioned by the sight of protty face, a handsome shape, and the pleasure of soft conversating gave a turn to the animal spirits; his convulsions soon coased, in after a few minutes of this innocent and unexpected enjoyment trecovered his former serenity of countenance, and appeared in highest good humour.'

'Honi soit qui mal y pense,' we hope may be justly sail this prescription for the royal disorder. The morbid affects at any rate, is so well-attested a fact, that it must stand for some

thing in the strange tale of Peter's life.

As our object is limited to presenting a sketch of Petri peculiar character and genius, we shall not trouble the read with any more historical details than are needed to serve as tramework for our illustrations. Born in the sammer of 167 Peter was in his fourth year when his father died and wi succeeded by his closest son, the sickly Theodore, then fourted years old, who reigned six years, and left no heir. Date these years, Peter with a younger sister lived in retirement with their mother at the Preobrazhensky villa, three miles one Moscow, where he had a tutor, and picked up some mean tudiments of knowledge. The death of Theodore left to possible candidates for the throne; Ivan, the elder brother, D son of the Isar Alexis by his first wife Marie Milialand billind, lame, and half idiotic; and the son of Natalia Narys at the strong, healthy, and clever Peter' (i. 41). Which of the " should reign was left to the choice of the M scow crowd, and they cried out for Peter, he was proclaimed Tear in his tenth in Before he could be crowned, Lowever, the sanguinary not 🛌 Streatsi broke out, occasioned by the rumour that the Naryst 14 had already poisoned Ivan, and intended to get rid of Pet that they might secure the throne for themselves.

that Ivan and Peter were crowned together as joint Tsars, e supreme power slipped into the hands of their sister whom de Neuville describes as 'monstrously fat, with as large as a bushel measure, a harry face, and ulcers on s, but a born Machiavellian, whose mind was as subtle as dy was course, and who was capable of any crime likely firm her power.' The rule of Sophia lasted for seven at the end of which the aristocratic party, by the help of I Gordon and his troops, immured her in a convent, and nace Golitsyn to languish out his life in the frozen north

ree sous a day for his maintenance.

ing this period, and for several years afterwards, Peter part in public affairs; but lived a rough, boyish sort of thout restraint or ceremony. We hear of his making as and building bonts with his own hands, acquiring skill in a dozen different handicrafts, playing at with a boy-regiment which he prised, lifting up his in church choirs and with itinerating carol-singers at ass, drinking deep at carousals, getting rid of his superenergy in al. kinds of coarse horseplay, baffoonery, and al jokes. It is true that his family made a marriage for ben he was barely seventeen; but the fact went for little ife, for he never cared for his bride, Eudoxia, who was rears older than himself, and it was not long before his ties became flagrant. He had a great leaning towards all rolony of foreigners in Moscow, where the social life him amusements not to be found among the Russians: re be acquired an insatiable thirst for increourse with The Frenchman Lefort was his chief intimate, and owing extract from Mr. Schuyler will give an idea of t of fooling, of the more harmless kind, into which the dong threw himself:

Peter appeared at Lefort's with a suite of twenty-four all "of remarkable tenuty," and all on horseback; and a few les. Poter and Lefort rode out into the country to exercise aisture cavalry. In 1615, the court fool, Jacob Turgomes, ried to the wife of a scribe. The wedding took place in a cted in the fields between Prophrazhensky and Semenofsky. a great banquet, which lasted three days, and the fostiviaccompanied by processions, in which the highest of the nobles appeared in ridiculous costumes, in cars frawn by ate, dogs, and even swine. Turgenief and his wife at one o in the best velvet carriage of the court, with such grandees Colitayns, Shorometicis, and Trubelskoys, following them on the triumphal entry into Moscow the newly-married pair rode a camel, and Gordon remarks, "The procession was cordinary fine." Although the jesting here was perfectly natured, yet it may have been carried a little too far, for a few after poor Turgenief died suddenly in the night."—(i. 268.)

It was not till he was well advanced in his twenty-fourth; that Peter began to take life seriously. In 1695, in the osten rank of a bombardier, which he whimsically assumed, he so panied the expedition that made such a miserable failure of attempt to capture the fortress of Azof from the Turks, and an opening for Russia to the Black Sea; and by this tark real war the instinct for government was once for all arouse him. The following year, renewing the attack on Azo greater earnest, his troops contrived to blunder into posses of the fortress; and Peter returned in triumph to Mor determined to realize his dreams of creating a fleet, and me Russia felt as a power in the political system of Europe. content with importing companies of shipwrights, and deep ing half a hundred of the noblest youths in his dominion learn navigation and naval architecture in the principal yards abroad, he conceived the extraordinary idea of setting in person on the same errand, and presented to the astoni gaze of the civilized world the Autocrat of All the Ra labouring as a common carpenter, with horny hands and o blouse, in the dockyards of England and Holland. From tour he was hurried back, in the autumn of 1598, by the t of the formidable revolt of the Streltzi. Before he could a Moscow the firmness and energy of Gordon had saved the the and it only remained for Peter to wash his feet in the bloo the vanquished. His vengeance was terrible; and he advantage of the occasion to make a considerable clear also in his own family circle, by forcing religious vows his wife Eudoxia and his sisters Sophia and Manha. became known in their respective convents as Nun He Nun Susanna, and Nun Margaret. His next step was the the ball of reform rolling at home, by shaving off the ball and cutting short the sleeves and skirts of his subjects, is ning with his own hands on his courtiers; while about entered on a war with Sweden, to gain for Russia a forced the Baltic. Of this military enterprise the beginning disastrous enough, for his army, which was besieging was annihilated by the 'royal madman, Charles XII.; and emisting defeat was grimly commemorated by a medal, a senting on one side the Tear warming himself over the fit his mortars which were hombarding the fortress, with the

iption, 'Peter stood and warmed himself'; on the other, the running away, batters and swordless, and wiping his ming eyes, with the inscription, Peter went out and wept r.y. Four years later, however, Narva was taken, and five more dreary campaigns the decisive battle of Poltava ed to Russia the possession of the Baltie provinces. The with Turkey which followed was less fortunate; instead of ning access on that side to the Mediterranean, the Tsar extremely lucky to escape total ruin, at the cost of Azof and he other stations which he held on the Ottoman border. rest of his comparatively short life was spent in pushing forms at home both in Church and State; campaigning omerania, Finland, and Persin, for the extension of his ories; and visiting foreign courts for the purposes of macy. One sombre tragedy darkened it, stirring once the amazement of Europe. In 1718, his long-standing with Alexis, his only son who survived infancy, came to a t; the unhappy prince was put on his trial, several times ed, then sentenced to death, and once more tortured in his 's presence; a few hours after which he expired, whether ally or under fresh violence is uncertain. Three years on the signing of peace with Sweden, Peter assumed the of Emperor; and early in 1725 he passed away, in his third year.

attempting now to fill up this bald historical outline with trange personality of the subject, a certain degree of nee is forced upon us, otherwise the sober decency of our would be imperilled. To exhibit a photographic portrait ter the Great is impracticable. There are features about which must be left to the imagination, or at most indicated the lightest touch of the pencil. His native coarseness I never take any polish; it repelled even the varnish of ration as oil repels water. He disclaimed the ordinary leties of life, and felt no shame at being foul in his habits behaved in his passions. We write, therefore, under restraint, exhaps, after all, we shall be considered to need an apology

much truthfulness.

Peter's personal tastes and manners Lord Macaulay has short work by saying, that 'to the end of his life he lived palace like a hog in a sty, and, when he was entertained by sovereigns, never failed to leave on their tapestried walls livet state-beds unequivocal proof that a savage had been. The language is hardly too strong. As a young child had been made familiar, in his father's palace in the lin, with some degree of luxury and unguificence. We

rend of his handsomely decorated nursery, his velvet cradies at their silken bedelothes, his frocks embroldered with gold if troop of dwarfs to amuse him, and a brilliant miniature of drawn by little ponies, for his out-door exercise. But find everything of this sort he broke away before emerging zol childhood, and soon came to disdain the ordinary combits (existence, and to feel more at his ease in rudeness and squake When William III, hastened to welcome him in Eugane. was found in his shirt-sleeves, pigging with a number of besuite in a small bed room, in Norto,k Street, off the Street the atmosphere of which was so noisome that the King was not enter till the window had been opened to let out the Evelyn's favourite virla at Deptford was hired newly furnished by the Government for his residence, while worked in the dockyard; and 'right nasty,' we are tolk-became under his hands' its elegant rooms befoaled, its betiful gardens ravaged, and their stately holly-hedges broken by the amusement of riding through them in a wheelbarn At Amsterdam he took his ease in the common dram-san When, twenty years later-it was in 1715-we find him w the Tsantsa on a short visit of ceremony at Berlin, has is still the same. The Queen's dainty house in the submaffectionately named by her 'Monbijon,' was assigned for accommodation, the precious ornaments having been removed. for precaution to a place of safety; and, as we learn non-Baireuth, after three or four days of his occupation the of lation of Jerusalem was everywhere in it, and it was so that as almost to need rebuilding. The particulars of the visit reported by this levely lady, must indeed be taken with a ge deal of qualification, especially the four handred wencaed Catherine's suite, most of them carrying richly dressed has in their arms, who were presented to the Queen, and, in the to ber enquiries, dropped a Russian coartes), one after anot saving, 'Le Tsar m'a fait l'aganeur de me faire cet enfait But after every deduction has been made for playful esse ration, abundance remains to show that, even when put ceremonial visits to foreign Courts, Peter was regarded by very much in the light of a bear in a drawing-room.

The most curious, perhaps, of the barbaric elements in Perhaps of ridiculous burlesque and buffoonery. Besides showing it in all kinds of coarse fun and practical joking, it often three air of absurd travesty over the most serious affairs of States sometimes it was consistent with a rough buisterous good-na-

at other times it betrayed him into gross debauchery, savage ourage, and obscene and blasphemous mockery of religion. We have already mentioned that he chose to make his first campougn in the rank of a bombardier—a rank which he had intimates, Prince Ramodanofsky, had been already elevated by him to a burlesque throne, with the title of His Majesty, or the hazer; and to this mock potentate he amused himself by making regular reports of the operations against Axol, signed, with expressions of profound respect, 'the bombardier Peter.' The absurdity, once begun in boyish Irol.c, was kept up during the greater part of his life. At its proudest moment, on the nath-field of Poltava, where he served as a colonel, in the full hush of his triumph over Charles XII., he wrote to the sham swereign to congratulate His Majesty on a victory such as has sever been heard of in the world;' and followed the first despatch with a second, giving humble thanks for the promoion conferred upon him for his services. We quote the second ieter from Mr. Schuyler :-

Sir, the gracious letter of your Majesty and the decree to his Enclinery the Field-marshul and Cavatter, Sheremetist, by which have been given in your name the rank of Rear Admiral in the feet, and of Licutenant-General on land, have been aunounced to a.c. have not yet descrived so much, but it has been given to me safely by your kindness. I therefore pray God for strength to be able to be serve in future such honour. Poter.—(ii. 156.)

Five years later, on the almost equally intoxicating occasion of his first important neval victory, won in an engagement with the Swedish fleet off Hango, the farce reached its chimax by his receiving, in full Senate, the rank of Vice-Admiral from the lands of the same sham monarch, who occupied the throne in 1904 trappings. In further illustration of Peter's fooling may be quoted the report made to Menshikof, in 1703, of the founding of a new town in the favourite's honour. This report was written by Peter's own hand, but subscribed by a score of his follownammers as well as by himself, his own name coming third as 'Pittrim Protodiacon,' or Peterkin, the chief deacon, the two preceding it purporting to be names of a mock metropolitan and a mock archdescon. The last words refer to the consection just begun with Catherine, the future Empress, then lung as a dependent in Menshikof's household:—

Mein Herz; here, thank God, we have been very merry, not loang a single place go by. We named the town with the blessing of Kef, with bulwarks and gates, of which I send a sketch in this letter.

letter. At the blessing we drank—at the first hastion brandy, at a second see, at the third Rhine wine, at the fourth heer, at the if mead, and at the gates Rhine wine, about which the bearer of the letter will report to you more at length. All goes on wall, a grant, O God i to see you in joy. You know why.—(i. 519.)

By the same whimsical spirit the arrangements were inspir for Peter's first and most famous journey to the south. I resolved to go as a private member of a great embassy of h nobles, under the plain name of Peter Mikhalof, and to resi his presence was made a capital offence. To keep up farce, he used to be introduced by backdoors and up prive ataircases into the presence of the monarchs whom he vis.to who afterwards, on receiving the embassy in state, had to ke their countenances as they could, while they gravely enquir after the health of their august brother sovereign at Mosco Of course the presence of Peter was everywhere known, for Europe was on the tip-toe of curiosity about him; and sight of the day was his tall figure, in a rough carpenter's jack wielding the hatchet, or handling the ropes, or perched high the cross-trees, while solemn ambassadors toiled up the right for an interview. The ladies tried to tame him, but indifferent success, for the consciousness of his own book manners made him incurably shy in the presence of elega-and refinement. Occasionally, after much resistance, allowed himself to be feted, and was even persuaded to up in the dance; of which experiment upon him the Electric Sophia of Hanover reports that, on feeling the whaleboart his partner's corset as he grasped her waist, he gave utteral to the opinion that the German ladies have devilish be bones.'

One of the forms in which Peter's farcical temperament matested itself is extremely revolting. As early as his eighted year he had formed a society or club of his intimates, being the title of 'The most mad, most frolicsome, and advanken Synod,' commonly shortened into 'The drunken Synod and this monstrous institution he kept up to the hour of death. It was a gross parody on the Church. At the boof it for nearly thirty years was Zotof, who had been Petitutor, with the mock dignity at first of Patriarch, and afterward of Pope. This ribabl chief was attended by a large sand sham prelates and clergy, and had even a lady abbest and nuns in his train. Every member of this unholy synod receip some indecent nickname, and its meetings were foal of lasting for several days together, and recking with obsets

and drankenness. When Zotof died in 1717, instead of letting the degraceful scandal expire, Peter held a new election to the appears office, and the choice fell on the Admiral Ivan Buturlin, andasmed by Peter the Polish King, who was consecrated Pance-Pope with a blasphemous ceremonial and lascivious ness. Even when this second mock head of the Church was carried off in 1724 by gluttony and intoxication, and one rould have thought that Peter, in his fast-failing health, must have had more than enough of such outrageous nonsense, he proceeded to a fresh election, in a 'concave' of which Mr. Schuyler gives the following account:—

In a hall in Buturlin's house a throne was erected, covered with suped material, on which Bacchus presided, scated on a cask. In the text room, where the conclave assembled, fourteen compartments verceoustructed, while in the midst was a table with a stuffed bear and a menkey, a cask of wine and dades of food. After a solema precession, the Emperor shut up the cardinals in the room of the mather, and put his scal on the door. No one was alk wed to come to until a new pope had been chosen, and every quarter of an hour in members of the conclave were obliged to swallow a large special of whisky. The next morning, at six o'clock, Peter lot him out. They had disputed among themselves for a long time, and at they could not decade on a pope, had been obliged to hallot for him. The lot fell on an officer of the commissariat, who, with caree and obscence ceremonics, was then placed upon the throne, and all were obliged to kiss him shipper. In the evening which followed, the guests were served with meat of welves, force, bears, esta, and late. —(ii. 638—9.)

Akin to his farcical humour was his love of playing practical times, about the nature of which he was little scrupulous. A und Jrinker himself at times, to the undermining of his robust function, he delighted to make those around him drunk, and set them on ridiculous or dangerous exploits. He even timed his orgies to political account by laying traps for his celes in their cups, and is said to have found in these demuches a convenient means of getting rid of officials or committees a convenient means of getting rid of officials or committees a convenient means of getting rid of officials or committees who were distasteful to him. The Sieur de Villebois, two was in his confidence, relates how some sharer in his revels, painst whom he had a grudge, was, while lying open-mouthed and sense eas with drink, grimly dosed by Peter with fresh upplies of brandy poured down his threat by a funnel; the lalow, adds the reporter, has never awake yet, and is by no needs the only sleeper under the Tsar's supported draughts. Sometimes Peter would regale his nobles with unclean means, disguised

disguised by the dressing, that he might enjoy their grimsoland disgust when they made discovery of what they had bee swallowing. He would set them to fight with bare swords following and their or make them drive their sledges over it secretly pierced with holes, that he might laugh at their struggle to save themselves from drowning. In stories of this kind the contemporary memoirs abound, and make it very evident that

he never outgrew the pleasures of the savage.

The ingrained barbarism of Peter's nature was in nothing more apparent than in his habitual relations with the other set -a part of his history impossible to be passed over, yet at mitting of very slight reference. For female virtue and honou he had no manner of appreciation; he was not even suscepable of the attraction, nor sensible of the refinement, which the pri sence of cultivated women, though they may be Aspassas La Vallières, has been found to infuse into social intercount It would do too much honour to the indugence of his pass of to apply to it the terms, lave and gallantry, even in their base Wherever he went, he picked up and threw ande it instruments as so many unconsidered trifles.' It was cyme indifference, quite as much as any sort of magnanimity, which on one occasion inspired his singular elemency to Vi lebed who, when sent by him with a message to Catherine, but entered the bedchamber where she was reposing, and her flushed with nine, had grossly insulted her. Poor fellow was Peter's remark, he will forget all about it to-morrow but it must not be quite passed over: on which, sparing his the usual fate of a trial with torture and decapitation, he orders him two years' detention, but remitted it at the end of a months, and restored the man to his service and confidence The story of Catherine's fair but trail maid of honour, Mi Hamilton, is too illustrative of Peter's character to be omitted After a casual intimacy with him, the bestowed her tendems elsewhere without interference on his part; but when, to tatt cate herself from the resulting embarrassments, she took to it tantierde, he brought her to trial. Condemned to decapitation s ie moantea the scaffold in a dress of white satio trimmea wi bows of black ribbon, looking more levely than ever. But a alone: Peter appeared at her side, and, straining her to breast, lamented that the Divine law forbad him to spare be A moment after, the beautiful head rolled from the block at k feet; and lifting it by the ear, he imprinted a last kiss on t still quivering lips.

The only woman who played a considerable part in Peter life was Catherine, whom from being a peasant sers he raised

the brone; and her story, when stripped of its legendary monare, tells the same tale of his insensibility to the qualities risca are the truest glory of the sex. She was the child of lironian peasants, and at three years old came into the hands of he Lutheran pastor, Gluck, at Marienburg, who brought her up his household. She grew to be very pretty and clever; and it paster, to save his son from her charms, married her at sixion to a Swedish trooper, who after two days of her society rent to the wars, and disappeared from her life. Marienburg as then captured by Peter's Field-Marshal Sheremetics, who propriated the handsome girl to himself as a sport of war, from aim she passed to Menshikof; and Peter, noticing her in of avourite's house, was so struck by her brightness and ready is, that he eagerly installed her in the place which happened he moment to be vacant in his affections. When she had one him a couple of children, he privately went through a serony of marriage with her, his own lawful, but repudiated ie, Ludoxia, notwithstanding; and several years later, after st.sastrous campaign on the Pruth, during which she accomwied him, and was his chief support in his terrible fits of epondency, he acknowledged the marriage, and confirmed it a public ceremonial. From that time she was everywhere te ved as the Tsaritan, although no valid divorce of the id living Eudoxia had ever taken place; and a few months thre his death he solemaly crowned her as Empress, and creby opened to ber the succession to his throne. Such is unadorned history of this extraordinary connection. It was unequivocally that Peter found in her just the kind of onan that suited him; useful, clever, alert, resolute, above or ther below jestousy, complaisant to his perpetual infidelities, raide of comprehending his plans, and encouraging him in execution of them. But with the mutual affection and part, which are the charm of wedded life, it is impossible to est them. Unless we are to reject a large amount of stemporary opinion, neither his honour while he lived, nor memory after his death, was entirely safe in her keeping. hat she shortened his life by poison, though widely believed, probably false; but it is certain that for some time he had come seriously estranged from her, and she had grounds for in ig his violence.

We have still to take account of the ferocity latent in his maintain, and always ready to break out at the alightest procession. Voltaire, in his history, has for private reasons ared over this terrible feature; but in his Philosophical (tomary, with as much truth as plainness of speech, he calls

the great Tsar 'half-bero and half-tiger,' The use of the car was common enough in Russia, but in Peter's hands it assume a prominence which was as disgusting as it was ludicrous. He threshed all round, from peasant to prince, from the scullion of his kitchen to his highest Ministers of State. He would stay up from the dinner-table, and soundly belabour the Lost whe was entertaining him. He would station himself at daybres at the door of the Senate-house, and flog each senator as arrived, for his unpunctuality. Monshikof, even when rise to be second in the empire, had to take a share of beature proportioned to his dignity. No one was more valued by Pea than Lefort, yet even he did not escape being flung down and kicked on the floor, when entertaining his master at his ow table. If the wrong person, as it sometimes happened, got the pounding, the Tsar with a burst of laughter would promise w credit him with it in advance against the next offence. In Li worse fits of rage, he was known to slash promiscuously around with his drawn sword, careless of whom he might wound. He governed by the scourge and the axe; and to civilize is subjects he became their executioner. No rank and neither se escaped his horrible severities; nor did the closest blood-relation ship to himself avail as a protection against the fury or bit wrath. One of his sisters, if not more, was whipped in the presence of the Court with a hundred strokes on her ber shoulders and loins. His son, as we have seen, was tortured in His lawful wife, Eudoxia, was flung into a convest without means of maintenance, and afterwards was shut up to a prison-cell with no attendant but a crazy old female dwarf, in whom she was obliged to perform the most menial services while her supposed lover, Gliebol, was persistently tortund a Peter's presence for six weeks together, by the knout, by red-be trons, by burning coals, by being fastened down on plants studded with spikes, after which he was publicly impaied. It is almost a satisfaction to read in Villebois' Memorrs, that a Peter's last attempt to extort a confession which might but justified capital execution on Eudoxia, the poor mangled wretena be writhed on the stake, spat in his face. Then, again, to Princess Golitayn, Cutherine's inseparable friend, for his sympathy with the ill-tated Alexis was publicly whipped the soldiery; Abraham Lopukhin, Eudoxia's brother, we tortured and broken slive on the wheel, on a like charge; and even the mitre did not save its consecrated wearers, who we suspected of favouring the Tsarevitch, from the same hor is fate. An equal severity pervaded Peter's administration of W criminal law. Coiners were sometimes despatched by that

the money being poured, molten, down their threats. Pecuator in the public service, including princes and governors
of provinces, were knowled, burnt in the tongue, slit in their
aucs, broken on the wheel, beheaded, or hung. Persons suspeted of disaffection were tortared into confession, mutilated of
bur arms and legs, and finally beheaded, their heads being
aposed on stakes. Even the dead were not safe from Peter's
fur, if their relatives fell under suspicion. The body of Ivan
Mioslavsky, the head of one of the great families, was fifteen
purs after his death exhumed by Peter, and drugged by a
sex of swine to the scaffold on which some of his race were
a sefer, where it was so placed that the blood of the decapitated

quied into its face,

But all these severities were eclipsed by the atrocity of Peter's respeance on the revolted Streltsi. For a parallel we may look in vain to the sanguinary rites of Dahomey or the human sacrifices of ancient Mexico. It had not even the exense of error; for the revolt had been entirely suppressed by Gordon being the Tsat's arrival, and thousands of the rebel soldiery and already been mowed down by artillery, shot by decimation, or otherwise put to death. Peter in his mad fury began anew work of carnage, and for months turned Moscow into a lekening shambles. In a very rare quarto volume, advined in quaint woodcuts, a copy of which may be consulted in the British Museum, is preserved the Latin diary kept at the time y Korb, the secretary of the Austrian Envoy then resident at loscow; and the horrors which it prosaically records are mough to make the blood run cold. A single sentence may be then as a sample: The whole month of October was spent a butchering the backs of the calprits with the knout and with ire; no day were such as continued to live free from scourging and resisting, or else they were broken on the wheel, driven to the bebet, or beheaded. The torturing fiends whom the medieval maters delighted to portray, could they have started from the anyas to spend that winter at Moscow, would surely have mixed to find themselves mere tyros in their art; when they sued at the glastly array of torture-chambers, gibbets, and tholds, and tracked the Tear from prison to prison by the owlings of the victims in their agonies, or saw him glosting ver the final slaughter, keeping the reckoning of the heads that and the corpses that swung, and ever and anon seizing the se and striking off rows of heads with his own hands. To sult his aister Sophia, whom he supposed to have encouraged e revolt, hundreds of wretches were hung in front of her event; and close to the window of her cell, during the whole

of that dreadful winter, swung three corpies, holding out a petition to her with stiffened arm. One additional horror that is told is scarcely credible, though it is said to be vouched for by the official despatches to his Government of Prinz, the Prussian Europy. At a banquet during this carnival of blood, Peter, he reports, sent for a score of the rebels, and at each glass that he drained struck off a head, inviting the envoy at the same time to share in the horrible amusement. Of twenty thousand Streitsi who were concerned in the revolt, it is said

that scarcely five hundred escaped with their lives

Such was Peter the Great on the barbaric side of his character, the side which was disastrously fashioned by heredity, physical temperament, and demeralizing association. By so grievous sburden of savagery and vice was the genius, which was all bu own, weighted and obstructed in its action. But his achieve ment in launching his country on its career of greatness was by these enormous disadvantages, rendered all the more remarkable. When, however, we attempt to analyze the better side of his character, by virtue of which he regenerated Russaand carned for himself the title of Great, we find its element difficult of precise definition. One cannot single out say particular line of action, or of administrative function, in which he can be said to have been conspicuously excellent. For mechanics, doubtless, he possessed a great aptitude, and would have made a capital artizan or engineer; but fa m wielding the blacksmith's nammer, binding books, and building boats it is a long way to the creation of an empire. For soldiering be had a strong passion, and a still more engressing one for navigation; yet neither by land nor sea did he ever show himself a brilliant tactician or far-sighted commander. The more we look at his efforts and methods, the more does he remind us of some broad-backed clumsy giant, shouldering his way through on obstructing crowd by sheer weight and persistency. Its He found his country of no account in Furope; and what he lived for was to make it a power that could meet the foremost nations on equal terms, and compel them to recken with it in their political schemes. For this he needed an army, and by created one; a ficet, and he inaugurated the building of it with his own hands; ports on the sea, and he went to war with Sweden and Turkey to obtain them. For this he revolutioned the social life of his people, by the introduction of fore gn habits and culture; for this he promoted education, many factures, and commerce; for this he broke through the tradtions of his race, by seeking family alliances with foreign dynastics

and maintaining embassies at foreign courts. For ned his back on the sacred city of his ancestors, and new Capital in a malarious swamp, at the cost of of thousands of lives, that it might be as an eye to non Europe, and a loophole through which the light civilization might be admitted into the darkness of barbariam. For this he centralized the internal aion, abolished the ancient Patriarchate of the digathered up the entire force of the empire into the grasp of the momenth, to be wielded by a single will. All for this single end, that Russia might a despised land of barbarians, and be able henced its head high amongst the Powers of the civilized

working out what, from the hour that the instinct of in his breast, he had made the object of his life, he into many mistakes and incur many failures, was Force of character is no preservative against the of ignorance. Strong as his hands were, they were wielding the sceptre. To his bitter disappointment, it far easier, by peremptory edicts, to clip the hair, the beards, and shorten the flowing skirts of his han to create in them habits of industry, polish their and enlighten their understandings. Civilization, lence, is a plant of slow growth; and his idea of it at a stroke by the exercise of arbitrary power but prove abortive. But by dogged perseverance he ed to compensate for the mistakes of ignorance. agging constancy he toiled on, meddling with everyhis autocratic fashlon, ordering and counter-ordering ney took possession of him, with scourge and axe in the motive force of his reforms. If he saw abroad ntion or manufacture which struck him as useful, compel its adoption at home, without considering his interference. The shapes of the hocing and mp ements used by the peasantry, the breadth of the be wosen, the process by which leather was to be red, the materials of which clothing was to be made, egulated by decrees enforced by heavy penalties. exports and imports would be encouraged, in another ibited, till manufacturers and merchants were driven its' end. As Mr. Schuyler snys, it was *always force, inpulsion.' And the results were anything but on for the continual changes, the minute regulations. and -No. 315.

and the harassing supervision, naturally frightened trade, an lessened instead of augmenting the wealth of the country. On can readily credit the story that when, on his visit to Paris Peter was shown the statue of Richelieu, he embraced it, exclaining, 'I would give the half of my empire to a man like join

who would teach me how to govern the other half!"

Yet in spite of all blunders and failures the Russian nation under the Tsar's energetic handling, grew by degrees into shape and became formidable. Abrosa, he hammered away with hi newly-formed armaments by sea and land, till he wearied on his antagonists, and appropriated new provinces to himself No rending can be more dreary than the narratives of hi tedions campaigns, destitute of any brilliancy to relieve 🖦 bratal story of massacre and devastation; but he had not staying power' than his rivals, and the result was that be force Russin into the politics of Europe. At home he kept the nation alive by continual agitation; and, setting the prepalic of his people at defiance, he opened a hundred inlets for Eart pean ideas to creep in and exert a transforming influence. The imitativeness, so common to a certain stage of the emergence out of barbarism, contributed to the work of regeneration. H must have his Senate, his official departments, his foreign ministries, his code of jurisprudence, his Academy of Science his sucans, his fashionable assemblies and balls; and the novelties, though exotics at first, became in time the general of progress, and assisted in humanizing the rude northerners Muscovy, and forming among them a society of which decess became the rule, and where intellectual accomplishments we honoured with esteem.

On such historical facts as the foregoing the claim of Perto be considered the founder of his country's political greates securely reats, without the need of recourse to the curious deciment, which, under the title of 'The Testament of Peter & Great,' has for more than half a century excited the curious of the world. Of the document thus styled it is certain that a trace is to be found in the Russian areaives; nor was it exchanged in the found in the Russian areaives; nor was it exchanged of it, nearly a century after Peter's death. The earlier mention of it is in a work published under the direction of the French Government in 1812, on the eve of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, and intended as an anticipatory justification of the political crime. This volume is a work of five hundred page entitled 'Progres de la Puissance Russe depuis son Or manifold and Common cenent du xix." Siecle; and it is known to have been compiled by C. L. Lesur, an official of the French Foreign Office, although the title-page only states that it

W. I. " " ".' It is in a small-print note to one of the pters that the pretended revelation is smuggled in. The or begins by saying, that it is reported that in the private bases of the Russian Emperors there exists, in Peter's handkag, a secret memoir recommending to his successors a plan the subjugation of Europe; and of this plan, without a of explanation how he got hold of it, he coully proceeds re a summary in fourteen Articles. Of these, the first be merely put into the form of rules the policy pursued by sia up to the date of the writing, and thus discharge the not difficult task of prophesying after the event. The reming two, which really refer to the future, are scarcely an the scope of practical policy. When Russia, they say, become supreme in the Baltic and the Euxine, the time have arrived for the final stroke. Secret overtures are to hade to France and Austria to share with her the empire be world. Should either accept, it is to be first used to the other, and then is itself to be crushed. If both refuse, are to be goaded into war with each other; and as soon as are exhausted, Russia is to pour forth vast fleets, laden countless bordes of Cossacks mad for punder, and at the time to launch her armies southwards through Germany, by this means she will infallibly make herself mistress of ope. Such was the first stage of the document. The next hes were given to it in 1833 by a back French littérateur, Saillardet, in a romantic life of that strange hermaphrodite emutist, the Chevelier d'Lon. He takes Lesur's sketch but acknowledgment; partly re-writes and n-arranges it be form of a Will selemnly headed, In the name of the and indivisible Trinity; adds the substance, not the text, in alleged preamble; and makes the whole end with the mation, 'Thus Europe can and must be sub ugated.' The that remained to complete the document was done by the J. L. Chodzko, three years later, in a curious misary of fact and fiction, entitled 'La Pologne historique, raire, monumentale, et illustree.' Out of his own conscious-le capives the facts that Peter first drew up this Will after battle of Poltaya in 1709, and gave it its final form in #; and whereas Gaillardet had only furnished the substance the preamble, Chodzko boldly re-writes it in the first on, and inserts it in the document as a genuine part of the Such was the genesis of Peter's Will. Need it be added, whether we consider the suspicious growth of the docut, the discredited hands through which it comes, the entire absence of any authentication of it of any kind, or the gul between its ideas and language and those which history ascribe to the great Tsar, our verdict must be that it bears on its from as clear marks of fabrication as ever branded the most impuded

of forgeries?

Peter's dealings with the national Church deserve a particular mention, both because of their lasting importance, and of his own estimate of them. From Villebois we learn that the Tsur in one of his milder moods, was told of a paper which Steele ha written in the 'Spectator,' drawing a contrast between him and his contemporary Louis XIV., much to the disadvantage of the latter. The paper may be found under the date 9 Aug. 131 and is certainly not overburdened with knowledge of Peter character and doings; for it describes him as a god-like prince and hazards the assertion that it would be 'an injury to any o antiquity to name them with him,' in the sense that it would be cruel to expose them to be eclipsed by his superior radiance Peter's comment was curious. He did not, he said, pretent to rival the grand monarque, but in one particular be claimed to be his superior; he had subjugated his clergy to his will whereas the French monarch had allowed his clergy to get the better of him and rule him. It must be remembered that if the old constitution of Russia, the Patriarch of Moscow was not than the first subject in the realm; he played the part of potentate co-ordinate with the Tear, occupied a rival throne, as posed as the 'spiritual emperor,' with the power of life and death. Such a divided supremacy ill suited Peter; and was the patriarchal throne became vacant in 1700, he postponed it definitely an election to fill it, making other provision in 12 meantime for its functions. Questions of doctrine and disciple were remitted to one of the metropolitan suffragans; while to very extensive ecclesiastical jurisanction, hitherto exercised by the Patriorchal Chancery, was transferred to a Board called 120 Department of Monasteries.' This provisional arrangement lasted for twenty years; at the end of which the patriarchail was definitely abolished, and the supreme government of the Church was vested in a body called 'The Holy Governor Synod,' consisting of ecclesinatics and laymen, nominated by the Monarch, and presided over by him as the defender of 12 Church. These changes were accompanied by the suppresses of many of the monasteries, and the curtailment of others; le the chief permanent effect has been to transfer to the I sar 32 sacred character which formerly appertained to the patriotol and to make him the effective head of the Russian CharaThe following preamble to the 'Spiritual Regulation,' which defined the new ecclesiastical system, is worth quoting in illustation of Peter's views:

From the collegiate government in the Church there is not so med danger to the country of disturbances and troubles as may be seen about by one spiritual ruler, for the common people do not micratand the difference between the spiritual power and that of the atterst; but, dazzled by the splend air and glory of the highest pute, they think that he is a second severeign of like powers with the Autocrat, or with even more, and that the spiritual power is not of another and better realm. If then there should be any difference of epinion between the Patriarch and the Tear, it might emply happen that the people, perhaps led by designing persons, should the the part of the Patriarch, in the belief that they were fighting in God's cause, and that it was necessary to stand by him.'

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It would be a mistake to suppose that Peter's reforms carried out them any general approval, or that during his life he was regarded with affection and gratitude as the father of his Whatever posterity felt afterwards, it was quite the at the time. There was serious discontent on all sides. contrary at the time. his high-handed dealing with the Church provoked the hosti-ar of the clergy. The severity of the levies for military service and public works drove hundreds of thousands out of is land, and left some of the border districts half depopulated. The people suffered under an unmense and oppressive taxation. The introduction of foreign customs shocked the fanatical opponents of innovation, who denounced Peter as antichrist, ad believed the little cross, pricked into the left hand of the recruits, to be the mark of the Beast. In 1719, the Elector of sanover was warned by his envoy: Everything in this realm it have a fearful end, because the sighs of so many million icals against the Tear rise to Heaven, and the glowing sparks of rage concealed in every man lack nothing but a fair wind and a conductor.' Four years later, the younger Lefort wrote: We are on the eve of some sad extremity. The misery presenter from day to day; the streets are full of people who is to sell their children; and Mardefeld, the Prussian envoy, reported to Berlin, Discontent in all ranks could not well be mater than it is now.' Peter's unpopularity was still further agmented by his 6ts of savage moroseness, which broke out ith increasing frequency, and by the daily tortures and execuous through which he sought to terrify the disaffected. Court, obles, and people, alike were alienated from him; and when he end came with startling suddenness, it is said that neither by the associates whom he had raised to rank and power, no by the country which owed its greatness to his labours, was

single tear shed upon his tomb.

Taking Peter all in all, he was certainly not a man to inspir affection. To secure the future grandeur of his country, & cared not what misery he inflicted on its living inhabitant To the meal which fascinated him, he sacrificed the actual and present. Russia was at once his idol and his slave; and if his tyranny was ennobled by a great purpose, it was none this less the cause of unspeakable sufferings. Had he been he eager to force his country prematurely into the arena of Fare pean politics and struggles, its internal development would probably have proceeded at a more rapid pace, and subseque generations would have had far better reason to call and blessed. Every way his career must be a mustel both to the statesman and the mornlist. By the latter especially net mix can be added to the reflection, to which Bishop Burnet gard expression. After I had seen him often and had convergence with him, I could not but adore the depth of the prof dence of God, that had raised up such a furious man is # absolute an authority over so great a part of the world.

ART. V -1 The Expansion of England. By Professor Seeler London, 1883.

2. Ralance Sheet of the World, 1870-1880. By Micau Mult all. London.

3. Burke's Select Works. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by E. J. Payne, M.A. Oxford, 1874.

4. Article on Federation. By H. G. Parsons, in the 'Melbourn

Journal, January, 1884.

5. Further Correspondence concerning New Guinea. July, 188 6. Correspondence respecting Affines of Bushtoland. 1881.

N a letter written to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, about 1-4 Sit Walter Raleigh said of the infant Colons of Virgini aliuding especially to the trade connected therewith, the wall a pity to overthron the enterprise; for I shall yet live to see an English nation. The great pieneer of English commende and tolemzation oid not live to see his anticipations restored but subsequent events have proved how true his forecast wa destined to be. He saw the germ of an American empire, of was ready to pin his faith on it. There is no trait in his man 3136

wied character which strikes us more than his power to spiratand and guide, even at his own personal risk and loss, we true instincts of the English nation, a nation which was just beginning to awake, though rather late in the day, to its left cestiny of colonization and empire. These flashes of drivation, if we may so term this species of heightened positival judgment on the part of our leading statesmen of the past illumine the pages of our history, and give it a new force no a new meaning. Again in the genins of Burke, more than I'o years after Sir Walter Raleigh, we recognize this especial spatage for reading the future. Burke spoke of America as if what a distinct and polpable vision of what she would be. free it is that he perceives the 'seminal principle rather than de formed body,' but the power and virtue of the principle se quite enough for him to base his arguments upon, agoes from what is to what may be, but his postulate is no sumary one; it is a postulate that assumes the development de law which has already shown itself to be as true in its wiking as a law of nature. It was according to the principle of natural development that America should be great and penerful. The only error Burke made lay in underrating, if anything, the rapidity of the growth. It is, therefore, no specious argument for his own views that he brings forward, Then in rather a poetical fashion he places in the mouth of the Graus or auspicious angel of Lord Bathurst these well-known rords: 'Young man, there is America -which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage new and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now sursets the envy of the world. Whatever England has been proming to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in hy varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and envilving settlements in a series of seventeen hundred pears, you shall see as much added to her by America in the marse of a single life.' Yet Sir Walter Raleigh and Barke, tha all their faith and knowledge and rare political instinct, were as prophets crying in the wilderness. The former, as we 4 know, perished by a miserable and undeserved death, with his plans for England's true grandeur unappreciated; the later was so little listened to by the House of Commons that was facetiously termed the Dinner Beil, and upon his Resolution for Conciliation with the American Colonies the previous question was put and carried by 270 votes against 76. evertheless, Raleigh and Burke, though rejected as prophets a their own day, have been justified by events, and have shown, in

in Burke's words, that they had 'an immense view of what is

and what is past.

It is somewhat strange and unaccountable that the English nation with its world-wide ramifications should in one sense be so insular. One Colonial Empire has arisen and has passed away from us, but another has taken its place. But does the fact of this later Colonial Empire make us carry our imaginations very far ahead, or in the same way as those of Raleigh and Barke were carried? Do we not think too offer of 'This precious stone set in the silver sen, as a jewel that ca shine brightly and purely only in the waters off the north-west-Europe? Shakspeare has so immortalized England as an unassailable island of intrinsic and noble worth, that we find it difficult to think of England and Englishmen as constituting a Continental power. The poet has, by means of his mimitable art and undying language, so crystallized the current notice of England as she was in his day, that we owe it partly to han that we as a nation do not soar beyond the conception of this accepted isle,' 'this happy breed of men, this little world' that had Shakspeare lifted up the curtain of the present and looked beyond and seen what this breed of men was destined to accomplish, how from their loins vast communities, and even empires, were to spring, he might have uttered a more magniloquent description and ventured upon a loity vaticination. The voice of poet and prophet might have been bleased together in a sublime Direwan strain,

However, it is only now and then that colonial questics come to the fore, and they are invariably looked upon so subsidiary to other questions. In his 'Expansion of England, Professor Seeley remarks that we constantly betray by our modes of speech that we do not reckon our Colonies really belonging to us; for if we are asked what the English population is, it does not occur to us to reckon in the popular tion of Canada or Australia. Sir Henry Parkes complains tast the Colonies are regarded as not belonging to the English people at home in the same sense as one part of the notice belongs to all other parts in the United Kingdom. Perhaps it is that we as a nation have not yet risen to the height of the inspiration that Ruleigh and Burke did, or perhaps we we simply puzzled at the growth of a problem which has developed almost in spite of us, and has no historical analogy. 126 colonies of Greece and Rome were never colonies in the score that our English Colonies are. A very brief consideration will show us this. Much later still, the old effete colonial idea was that the conquered countries were simply the property of the

parral

at State, and existed wholly and entirely for her benefit. of the Portuguese and Spanish explorers added a crusading to their adventures, and set up ultars and crosses in all of out-of-the-way places, to show that the new country taken under God's tutclage as well as that of their king. very names they gave to islands and countries, such as suon, St. Croix, Natal, prove how reagion followed their rations. However, our ideas have considerably changed s subject; and with regard to the notion that the Colonies solely for the benefit of the parent State, we have gradually to see that this is a false one. Their independent growth elf-supporting life have forced the truth upon us; but we s surherently reflect how this altered relation may affect us. true colonial instinct is meantime busily at work, er Britain has succeeded upon Greater Spain, France, and and, and is bringing this new idea of colonization-new contrasted with the state of things eighty or a hundred ago-into fuller operation every day. The Dutch, our empetitors for a colonial empire, failed to grasp the idea independent and self-supporting life. For instance, in when the Cape Colony was taken by our forces under instone and Craig, they found there a simple outpost of atch East India Company, a few officials at the 'Castle' pe Town, living in exclusive and aristocratic grandeur as ats of a Chamber of Directors at Amsterdam, and not as sts in our sease. They ground down the burghers who there, and lived on the proceeds of extortions and mono-In fact, this Datch officialdom was so obnoxious at the with its stringent placeats, petty rules, and etiquette, that urghers of the Western Province were in actual revolt * Datch rule, and Lardly offered an opposition to our A parallel to this old effete idea of foreign settleis still tound in the numerous Portuguese possessions hout the world. The English idea is a very different one, e contrast may be shown from the annals of Cape history. years after our occupation of Table Bay, the British These men were permanent occupiers of the soil, and as a bulwark against the Kaffir tribes. Their descendants compose a rich and wealthy community of great value to nd. They illustrate the difference between the old and w colonial idea, the difference between Greater Holland breater Britain. It may be that some of our prominent cans wish to get rid of South Africa altogether, to leave agaish settlers there out of the Empire, and simply hold Table

Table Bay for commercial purposes, as the Batavian Republic did; but such a retrograde step as this cannot be found in

our colonial history.

Whether the parent State wishes or not to check the colonial spirit, and to limit Imperial responsibilities, still the whole problem grows, and grows very rapidly. Englishmen and Englishwomen are crossing the seas by thousands—in 1883 no less toan 115,449 left the shores of England for British North America and Australasis, and are thus fulfilling the dram of a second colonial empire. Nor are they the worst in pluck They are frequently of the best and enterprise—far from it. blood and sinew of England. Sir Henry Parkes observes that they are as a rule a bold, self-reliant, and prosperous class. And from time immemorial it has always required a certain self-sacrifice and hardthood for men and women to root up old ideas and associations, and face the unknown conditions of a new world. The Romans bore witness to the fact that the colonist was 'fortis' when they said, 'Omne solum for patria cat;' and the Greek recognized the character of a yenvalor, when he quoted intara xthen dulps yenvalor name. And so, whether by innate hardihood, or by a laudable we to better themselves, these fartes and yenvalor are crossing the seas and building up our second colonial empire. It must be remarked that this great exodus goes on very quietly in fact, so quietly that stay-at-home Englishmen seem scarcely to realize it. Professor Seeley remarks that there is somethan very characteristic in the indifference which we show towns this mighty phenomenon of the diffusion of our race and me expansion of our State, for we seem to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. But can we continue to govern it in an absent and indifferent kind of war?

Recent events have brought the question of the relations of the Colonies to the mother country into very marked prominence. First of all, there have been the South African difficulties, which have been so treated by the present Government, that a simple abandonment of the country altogether would be preferred to the vacillating policy they have adopted. Then there is the great Australasian question, which may involve England in diplomatic difficulties with France. Hitherto we have been marvellously free from any interruption in our colonisms efforts. No competitors have appeared in the field; and whilst Frenchmen and Germans were dying at one anothers throats in Europe, our Australian, African, and Canadian colonists were driving the plough and clearing the country. Moreover, our Governors have, as a rule, been very successful administrators.

administrators. They have been entrusted with large discretionary powers, and have ruled well as proconsuls. No class of men vested with such powers as belong to High Commissioners could, as a rule, have fulfilled them more faithfully and concentrous.v. But the telegraph has diminished their discretaining powers, and standing, as it were, at the further end of the wire, they have to await orders from the Central Government, his proportion as their responsibilities are lessened, so are those of the Central Government increased. And the Governor of the present day need be nothing more nor less than a faithful registering clerk. At the same time, these telegraphs and manays and steamboats have a wider and more important effect both upon the colonists and upon Englishmen in England. They bring home the idea, that Greater Britain is really an energement of the English State,' and that with this enlargement the authority of the English Government necessarily goes hand in hand,

Let us examine by the light of a few statistics how wide this margement is, and how correspondingly great is the authority and the responsibility. There are at present living in new lands wross the seas no less than ten millions of English colonists, and it is calculated that before the present century ends they and increase to nearly twenty millions. To give an example of Assertian progress. It is calculated that from 1851-81 the p-polation of the Australian Colonies has increased more than uxfold, and that the value of imports and exports is eleven or turive times greater in the last year of this period than it was in the first. Fifty years ago, Australia was known only as a penal ettlement. Now the population is nearly three mi lions. If we um to Canada we shall find that, according to Mr. Mulhall's By suce Sheet of the World, our four millions of colonists there terr on almost as large a trade as that of Great Britain at the beamning of this century. The trade has multiplied within emparatively few years, and at a rate four times greater than the increase of population. How great are the resources and son vast the fertility of Manitoba, may be gathered from the sords of Mr. Brassev, who states that a man may drive a gig for Mousand miles straight over open prairie suitable for wheatgrowing. The statistics of the growth of our Anglo-Saxon race. has be rather dry and uninteresting, taken by themselves and in ferm, but, looked at collectively, they point to a coloural at, which fosters the extravagancies of the imagination, Lord Dafferin, speaking at the Empire Club, and dwelling on the immense expansion of our race, prophesied that by the close of the next century the English-speaking people would probably Todatus number some hundreds of millions. And he spoke of the colonists as being justly considered to be 'communities of noble, high-spirited, and industrious Englishmen, whose highest amixtion is to be coheirs with Englishmen in her illustrious camer.' Ho, as well as others who have travelled, seems to have grasped the 'oceanic,' rather than the 'thalassic' nature of our Empire. As a man is touched with the spirit of ampler skies and a wider horizon, so will he, consciously or unconsciously, speak.

In his speech on Conciliation with America, Burke dwelt on the statistics and the comparative growth of the colonies. He took a period of years from 1704 to 1772, and found that the trade with America had grown from 500,000% to 6,000,000% and then he found that the export trade to the Colonies alone is 1772 was equal to the whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, in 1704. This might have appeared, and doubtless did appear, in the light of a fanciful and extravegant mode of argument, but the deduction was a true one. In fact. the whole of Burke's speech on Conciliation with America, delivered just one hundred years ago, may be advantageously read at the present time. The question then was, What shall we do with the American empire? Now it is, What shall we do with that second large and growing empire in Australia, Canson Africa, and elsewhere? Now, as then, there is an indefinite future before the second empire, and we have this advantage now -that we approach the question in a more peaceable frame of mind. The veil of the future shrouds from us the precise was in which the question will settle itself, but of one thing we may be certain, and it is this, that our colonial empire will not stop where it is, and that its relative position to the mother country will be considerably altered. Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of the Cape, speaking at the Empire Club, says, ' The question arises what will be our future relation with these ves communities of English extraction living beyond the seas? Is the result to be closer political association or disintegration partnership or dismemberment?"

The most remarkable feature of the colonial question is its immense complexity. Cicero wrote:—' list senatori necessarium nosse rempublicam,' and he explains, 'Idque late pate . . . genus hoc omne scientim, diligentim, memorim.' It the senators of Rome had some need of diligence and memory to managing the details of their government, the senators of England have a far greater need, their domain being vaste, their control more extended. The very geographical position

of our numerous and scattered settlements might prove a cashing-block at the outset. Many mistakes in our public keates and despatches might have been avoided, if a clear idea ad existed in the minds of the writers or debaters of the act geographical position of our settlements. But even when loglish statesmen have mastered the initial and simple difficulis of geography, there are the numerous questions of internal ministration, and the domestic legislation of these Colonies of m, which should be mastered in general outline or in detail. he important questions-whether it is advisable to restore contutional government to Jamaica, whether Natal should cease be a Crown colony, whether the action of the Home Governent in the Basuto war was justifiable, whether the Australian deates are raising just claims in the Pacific-are, amongst cas others, some of the most striking which should engage e attention and study of our Members of Parliament. And one than this, these colonial questions underlie many of our in difficulties at home. It would be one of the most intering as well as profitable investigations, to find out how far in what way colonial industries are acting upon, and are acted upon by, our own trade and commerce. If a landowner is a pinch in a remote county of England, and finds his tents duced, and farms coming upon his hands, he has to trace the ase of agricultural depression to imported wheat grown in our lonies, and to the beef and mutton reared in Canada and satralia. Every county of England is affected by the immense crease in the trade with our Colonies; and a Hampshire squire iv blame the productiveness of Australia for a fall in his rents. touch briefly upon another question that has been lately coted—the question of state-nided emigration. It may be inesting and profitable for philanthropists at home to discuss advisability of removing a vast pauper population from the at of London to the Colonies, but the colonists themselves will turally desire to say a great deal on the desirability of this p. They may say that they have through their agents-general Recent machinery for the purpose of sending labourers out to ear labour-markets, and they therefore wish to keep these akets from being flooded. In a scheme of sate-added emistion the co-operation of the colonists is absolutely essential. nd here we must point out that it is most wise, may imperae, to nourish most cordial and sympathetic relations between igland and her Colonies, not only for the sake of race sentiment, for our own imperial interest. In Burke's words, the hold have of the Colonics lies in the close affection which grows om common names, from kindred blood, from similar interests, and

and equal protection. These, he says, are ties which, though

light as air, are as strong as links of iron.

At the Empire Club Sir Hercules Robinson declared himself in favour of the consolidation of our Empire. These words seem almost ironical coming from him, as no man in the world could have been called upon to take part in more distastely negociations than himself. The motto of the Government by H. Robinson serves is disintegration. No Government could have more assiduously cultivated this tendency than that led by Mr. Gladstone and Mr Chamberlain. Whilst the key to tak colonial problem lies in the assured goodwill and co-operation of the colonists themselves, the present Government have wastonly played with this goodwill and amity. They have esdesvouted to clude the pressing nature of this question of the expansion of the Empire by disclaiming every kind of responsibility, but a terrible Nemesis has overtaken them. The South African difficulties have most abundantly illustrated their weakness and incapacity. They have never been true to any doctrize, not even to this feeble disclaiming of every responsibility, and the evils which Burke says followed upon 'the double Cabinet' may, mutatis mutandis, he appiel to South Africa. His words are: The Colonies are convinced, by sufficient experience, that no plan, either of lonity of rigour, can be pursued with uniformity and perseverance. Therefore they turn their eyes entirely from Great British. where they have neither dependence, nor friendship, nor apprehension from enmity: they look to themselves and to their ove arrangements. They grow every day into alienation from their country. Nothing can equal the futi ity, the weakness, the rashness, the timidity, the perpetual contradiction, in the manuement of our affairs in that part of the world. How truly his perpetual contradiction can be applied to the Government posicy in South Africa every colonist knows! He is beauttered, pazzled, and, finally, exasperated. At one time it seemed as if the 'double Cabinet' under which we live were intending to follow absolutely and entirely a policy of self-off-scement Now self-effacement, pure and simple, is an intelligible step in politics; but a floundering progress, made with timility and vacillation, and only redeemed from utter failure by a series of spasmodic efforts, is neither logical nor intelligible. Both 18 North and South Africa the 'futility' of this contradictor policy is abundantly illustrated. In three different places a South Africa the Government have been making irregular efforts. In Basutoland they have assumed a British Protectoria and sent General Clarke there as Commissioner; in Zuloland BUST

bre again making some faint efforts to keep the peace over tracted country, and we hold as a basis the 'Reserve' bry; in Bechuanaland they have appointed Mr. John thatie as their political agent, and have endeav med to to some definite understanding with the Cape Premier to the neare on the nestern burders of the Transvaal.

he peace on the western borders of the Transvaal.

above are all proofs that, however much the present al Government have disclaimed responsibilities, and have simply to 'rescue and retire,' they have in the end been d to act. It is an immense pity that, in all these isoenterprises of the Government, one essential condition unate success—whether we approach the whole question relations with the colonies or only a small part of them ald be wanting, namely, the cordial co-operation of the In that part of Greater Britain the Radicals brought it to pass that the mother-country is regarded as gry, ill-judging, irritating stepmother, not as a true and The fact, evident to all, is that enthusiasm requires plain definite aim around which to rally, but this aim has been even dimly foreshadowed by the Government. They tived in a hand to-mouth lashion, waiting for events to them a policy. They waited for the Boer war to give a policy, and it gave them one of rather an anexpected. The Cape Colony throws back the responsibility of sing Basutoland upon the shoulders of the Imperial nament, with curses rather than blessings. Natalians the muddle in Zululand with sullen indifference, and think that the Government, which would not listen to the live and unanimous protests of the whole colony in the of the restoration of Cetywayo, deserve the trouble they got into. In Bechusnaland the Imperial Government, of , stands alone, and must expect no sympathy from Freeor Transvaalers. The late appointment of Mr. John maie is not particularly popular, and the Cape Premier may a difficulty in persuading the Cape Government to vote for a border police to act with Imperial troops, but 'sub lis est, and we shall see. At three different points, therebe Radical Government have been forced to take up a position of a character not so absolutely negative and selfg as before, but so malacroit has been their administraso purbland their judgment in dealing with colonial ous, that we find that at these three different points they ewed, if not with positive distike, still with suilen indifand distrust on the part of all the colonists. They have d one of the essential conditions of success in governing

an Empire such as the British, the cordiality and goodwitthe colonists. Under their management the idea of an Afrikan flag has grown, and the talk about 'Africa for the Afrikanda and no one else is not all moonshine, as Mr. Faure, the magneter of the Transvaal Delegates, suggested in his article '

patria, which appeared in the 'Fortnightly Review'

Random efforts at annexation or protection can hardly red persistently had policy, for these efforts come as usual too. The moral of the Boer war is, that justice was instilled into minds of English Ministers by means of gunpowder straight shooting. This stern truth cannot be asserted too of as it is the political fact of the country. The moral of the 2 war and the sequel thereof is that, although English strat was bad, English administration has been still worse. English redeem itself at U undi, but there has been Ulundi in the history of the administration of Zulu affi which reached the maximum point of disgrace when Engl went through the farce of restoring a king she could not ! upon his throne. The case of the king is in itself a pitil one. First of all, he was given hopes he never dared, not fact, ought to have entertained, then these hopes were unreal ably deferred and finally dashed to the ground. His death freed the Government from a difficulty, but has left a blot a our annals; and now we see the Boers installing his son as successor, with the same forms of authority with which enthroned the father. Inexplicable, however, as the act of the English Government has been in Zulu affairs, whether judge of it on its own ments or in reference to the wider tion of colonial relations, the course pursued by Lord R berley in the Basuto war is even more perplexing. Bri speaking, the policy of his Lordship in the Basuto war created in the minds of the African population the idea of imperium in imperio. Such an idea, especially in Starica, must be tooked upon as singularly detrimental to moral unity which should pervade the Empire of which Engli is the centre. It is worth while to recapitulate briefly leading facts of the Basuto rebellion, which has ended in Colony of the Cape of Good Hope being saddled with at debt of three or four millions, and in the assumption of con over the Basuto nation itself by the Imperial Government.

The war arose from the attempt of the Spring Government the Cape to enforce the Disarmament Act of 1878. This had been of course duly passed by the Cape Legislature, and received the assent of the Crown. The principle of the Bilt that it was not safe to allow natives the indiscriminate possess.

afterrus. Lord Kimberley himself confessed that he approved if he principle, for in the copy of instructions to Sir H. Robinson (June, 1881) his words run thus: 'I am quite prepared to admit that in principle there was no good reason why the Basutos should have permanently remained an exception to me general rule, by retaining the dangerous privilege of the inheriminate use of firearms. But he refused to sanction the But he refused to sanction the proceedings of the Cape Parliament, and openly asserted, in traum and out of season, that no manner of aid should be given to the colonists in their efforts to enforce order. The war is amed an iniquitous war, and the 'Pall Mall' and 'Spectator,' in Government organs, wrote at that time as follows: 'The mes of honour and justice which prevail as between man ad man have no place in the dealings of a superior with an memor race; and again: Whatever the issue of the Basuto yu may be, one thing is plain; it is neither safe nor honourthe to leave the lature of the native tribes most of them Sow-sal jects of our own—in the hands of the white colonists, to have shown over and over again that in this matter they ar wholly without scruples and statesmanship.' let the monists were only trying to entorce an Act, which had been promally ratified by the supreme Government and embodied principle of which Lord K mberley himself approved.

Bat one of the most vexatious pieces of interference occurred at the time of an asmistice, when the colonists submitted egut conditions of peace to the rebels. Lord Kimberley, who and done nothing to stop the war or to help the colonists, ommunicated his opinion by telegraph, and stigmatized the conlitions as being both 'severe and peremptory.' The split as getting very wide between the Home and Colonial autho-The role nists answered by sending through the Governor a angrily-framed minute, in which they complained of the etion of the Colonial Secretary as singularly id-timed and mbarrassing to themselves. The rebels were vastly encouraged, and the message from the Chief Lerothodi is significant: "We es to place ourselves in your Excellency's hands as the high and distinguished representative of the Queen, under whose whe we always thought we were.' Notice the words 'the there,' not the colony. The co-onists are dissociated in idea con the Home Government, and so after a brush with the ag 'Gal save the Queen.' Here was a political deadlock! Here is the speciacle presented to us of our follow-Englishmen apag to enforce law up, order amongst a tribe of rebellious states, while the native himself is appealing continually to the Vol. 158 .- No. 315. Imperial

Imperial Government behind the back of the colonists, Colonial Secretary openly states that if Imperial troops and be called in to help to quell the disturbances very grave a siderations would arise an enigmatical threat which was m preted by the settlers to mean that, it they could not defend t borders and keep order there, they would not descrive self-gov The Kimberley policy is absolutely unintelligible. it not in the power of the Radical Government, in their position arbiters of the waole situation, to stop hostilities at any moun The only explanation is this, that the Gladatone Cab waited to see what the colonists would do with the Ban expecting naturally that they would soon quell the rebellion save the mother country the cost. As in the Transvani war, w there was a similar expectation and a similar waiting to events, they were disappointed. Then their virtuous indignaknew no bounds, and they saw moral guilt and blood-guilting these contests which they could have stopped. It would re seem as it a want of strategic skill and success constituted whole crime of blood-guiltiness. The result of their palte vacillation is most lamentable, if we consider it upon the gra of our broad colonial relations. The colonists, smarting of a sense of failure and a debt of near four millions—a tremen impost for a white population that does not reach be mil ion reflect upon the upshot of the Basuto war with kindly feeling towards the Home Government. They throw the responsibility of governing and educating the native to upon the Imperial Government, with expressions amounting How much better it would have been if exectation. Kimberley had looked a little further, shead and helped colonists through the war I. Such a statesmentike course we have presented debt and bloodshed, and lee, to the recogniof the real character of our administrative problem in part of Greater Britain, a problem which requires and dem A brere united action, not an 'imperium in imperio.' would most certainly not have created such a gap in the relabetween the African colonists and languabmen at home; it w have regulated native affairs upon distinctly in period consist tions, and would have taken the colonists into partnership.

The moral which the native himself draws must be a strange one. At one time at the mercy, it may be, of the Colicaveroment, at another of Downing Street; ru ed at one by men of peace, persecuted at another by men of war, punifor lovalty to Eng and by the Boers, hung for treasure at the Boers; putting his trust in and being decrived by friend foe alike; his cause used as a party cry of office-seekers at

Two and elsewhere; his name a shibboleth amongst peace existies and on mission platforms, described at one time as a monizing saint, at another as a destroying angel;—it is small worder that his simple and literal intellect, accustomed hitherto to the stern but nevertheless intelligible 'one word' of an kirelitary chieftain, is completely puzzled and distracted.

breditary chieftain, is completely puzzled and distracted.

The protectorate of Basutoland and the amexation of the Irankei will not mend matters. There will still remain the idea of an irreconcileable antithesis between Home and Colonial authority. The native will not understand this duality, and will always be appearing from one power to the other. The appearition, that underlies the new departure of the Imperial linerument in taking up their fresh responsibilities in South Africa, is the one expressed by the * Spectator, that the colonists tare neither the power nor the enlightenment to deal with the unive. Our Radical Government have been most remarkably minute, not only in what they deem their philanthropy and righteous horror of bloodguiltiness, but in their appreciation of utial facts. Whence und this cry of 'no confidence' in colon al legislation arise? It cannot have arisen from an oll ghtened study of facts. It is one of those things which it is sorssarium senatori scire, that the administration of the Tipe Colony has been of a singularly philanthropic character. Home-living people are apt to judge of border irregularities as I they were in keeping with the regularities of a settled Government like that of the Cape. It may not be generally bown that the law system of this colony is an extremely good var, and that it is at once more simple and less expensive in its greetical application than that of England; that on the statutebooks no clauses can be found with an unjust bias against the contred classes; that the civil and religious status of all are precisely the same. There are no 'disabilities' laws for Kaffirs and Hottentots. The constitution of the Colony, as distinguished from that of the Datch Republics, is on the widest Emocratic basis some maintain, for too wide. The franchise is in the power of any able-hodied man who likes to use his hads in some honest pursuit. In the Education Department singularly liberal State scheme has been in working order for mans years. The problem of education is the most difficult ulministrative proble a in South Africa, yet the colonists have addressed themselves to it with great zest and v.gour. They have long recognized the fact, that it is of little use to conquer or annex a native territory, unless efforts are made to educate he natives. Accordingly, we find that out of 960 schools no ess than 424 are found in the Transkei and on the border. Out

of the annual vote of about 90,000%, a large portion has been comtinually set saide for the purposes of native education. Nothing could be conceived more broad and liberal, in one sense, the the Cape educational system. It provides a regular educations ladder, from the 'kmal' or 'wigwam' schools to the University and any native can, if he chooses, place his foot on the lower rung and mount to the highest academical honours. In facthe system errs, if anything, in being too philanthropic. anticipates the future of the native. However, the Rance view in England, expressed in the words of the 'Spectator that it is neither honourable nor sate to leave the future of the native tribes in the hands of the colonists, who have shoot over and over again that they are who ly without occupies of statesmanship. The upshot of this view is, that the Imperior Government are politely requested to try their hand, not only with Basutoland, but with the large region of the Trunskei, in see if they can elaborate something better. But the Impro-Government must work by themselves, and perhaps one of the results will be the abandonment of the State-aided colonia schools in the Transker by the Imperia. Government." The Government at Cape Town will probably be glad to get to the difficult question of native education altogether. It is always been a most embatrassing one, especially when consider some of the difficulties connected with it, the extent of the country, the vast numbers of natives, the biringual character of the white population, the opposition of the more purely B. element, the antagonism of races, and the difficult nature of it Kaffir langunge itself,

How much better it would have been if Englishmen at colonists had approached this one irksome question of administration hand in hand. To all, as fellow-citizens of a Greek Britain, this and other problems may come as things easy be done in the fulness and ripeness of time. But as long a Central Government steps in between the colonists and thatises whom they endeavour to govern honestly on the who

there will be friction, anger, and fisintegration.

And when we repeat this word 'disintegration,' we are available to are repeating the shibboleth and the motto of the Radical party. Can the state of affairs in South Africa by a Lome any other lesson than that they have, in their eagerness reverse a policy, sown trouble, bloodshed, anarchy, and decling, broadcast over that part of Fler Majesty's dominions

^{*} Since he resignation of the 'box ent' Council the describe described of the Transfer resign to have been absoluted. Mr. Up at a the new Poxer reversing the patrophysical upon by Land Dorby and Mr. boxadon.

bases there more reconciled than they were? Are men prosperous, more contented, than they were? Is the on of England there more endurable, or more free from sibilities that bugbear of the Radical party? Facts peak for themselves; and not even now does the assumption ponsibilities in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and on the of the Transvaal, bring much hope, the assumption of saibility being too late, and made without that essential tion of success, the cordial co-operation of the white ction. The responsibility of guarding the Transvaal is certainly more definite than it was, because a line een drawn where none existed previously. But is the on of Mr. Mackenzie a very enviable one, if he cannot in the last extremity to force, which is the basis of law? is rushed to the breach and almost, we may say, upon bent extinction; and will be be rescued, or even sup-? The fate of 'Ulstermen' is before every loyal servant Crown. It is invariably the active and intelligent elethat the Radical Government endeavour to suppress. horsy and clamorous are listened to with attention, and simply noise and clamour that made them believe that Tronsvaal they should adopt the course of retrocession cal justice does not come from them as the deliberate My kind and impulsive heart, but it comes late in the atorted by blood, rapine, and murder; in the Transvaal, ally, by the rifle.

salever may be the genuine claims of Hoer patriotism—a tism which has required in reality a great deal of agitaand nursing to keep it warm—the retrocession of the wast is in fact an express protest against the whole of assion and of our work in South Africa. In that country wer exists of liberal institutions, of culture, education, iterature, commerce—whatever belongs to the ordering better political and social life—has come distinctly from and and English sources. The Dutch, although settled country for more than 200 years, have done little for its cogress. The English brought the new and enlightened in idea to the Cape, when they turned the officials of the East India Company out of their monopolies and extor-

With regard to the natives, in spite of many blunders, attempts at philanthropy, and unreal scutiment, the sh have made the Dutch respect the claim of the culcured. The Boer pioneers have never deemed the native worth ring, nor have they ever taken an intelligent interest in

his history and language. Mr. Needham Cust, in his 'Book on the Modern Languages of Atrica,' says: 'People of every nation have supplied information save only the Dutch, who of all Europeans have not contributed a single line to the illustration of a South African language, while, on the other hand, to the Dutch language alone has it been conceded to stamp out, entirely the indigenous language of the people and substitutes a debused dialect of itself.'

The actual disannexation of Basutoland, and the proposed severance of the Transkei, are really steps backward. Either the responsibilities of the Flome Government in South Africa must be taken up with a far more vigorous hand than now, or the must be dropped altogether and England us contented with Simon's Town and Table Bay. This would probably be an east to our African mission, as far as we in England are concerned.

In their anxiety to discuss domestic legislation, are the preservat Government fully alive to the magnitude of our colonial que sections? Professor Seeley argues, and it seems to us truly, to said the expansion of England is far more important than all desimestic questions and movements. Events are and must be judged by their pregnancy. If an Afrikander Republic, to an the Limpopo to Cape Point, under its own flug, he within the range of possibility, is it not infinitely more important for own politicians to discuss the whole question at its very thresholed, and find out whether an independent Afrikander Republic will be a good thing for England or not, and, according to that result of their investigations, so guide their policy firmly anad consistently?

Events are moving very quickly at present, and a probable development becomes an accomplished fact, whist we assengaged in the labours of discussion. The Transvaal Delegates may be said to represent this new 'Afrikander' nationalis J. and recent proceedings have cast a light upon their aims a said objects. Whilst in England, they persuaded Lord Derby to star render the smallest shied of control our Government possessed over the Transvaal, and then they proceeded to the Continerate and, visiting nearly every capital, advertised themselves as clagallant republicans who had defeated English troops a rad bulked English greed. They have ingratiated themselves at the Hagne, Paris, Berlin, and elsewhere; they have negcinted a loan, and virtually secured a route to the sea v sa Delagon Bay. The Dutch Freestators on the west will south give there the hand of friendship, torget old disagreemen the and in conjunction with them command the gateway to that Interior. A single glance at the map will show how stro will ther

their position will be, and how completely they will hold the destines of South Africa in their hands. In our ignerance we may imagine that we have recently erected a bulwark against their aggressions, and secured a free road from the Cape Colony to the inland districts, by sending Mr. Mackenzie as Commisas is powerless as General Gordon at Khartoum, and will be allowed to remain at his post only just so long as the Boers place. One British Commissioner, Mr. Hucson in the Transten, representing a vain shadowy power called Suzerainty, has been ignored, insulted, and finally got rid of. Why should that another such official be subjected to the same treatment? On the South-East and towards Natal, the Boers would find ist le to oppose them. Already they have secured a footing in daland, and are advancing along the Lastern littoral. Nato an might be ready and willing to join their cause, and, in the absence of any fixed policy from Downing Street, they would be justified in doing so. It is possible that not only Designs Bay, but Durban also, might be unlisted as ports in the taxiests of Boer Republicans. There would be no want of avapathizers in the 'old' or 'Cape Colony' proper, and at no I tstant date the 'Atrikanders' would horst their own flag, make their own alliances, and stand as an independent nation ' from the Zambesi to Cape Point, thus fulfilling the aspirations of the Boer leaders during the Transvanl war. In this case the threet influence of Logland would probably be confined to mon's Town and the Cape Peninsula, the former place being und of weak Gibraltar in the Southern sens. Since the bade of Majuba, affairs have been allowed to drift steadily in the direction of a Boer supremacy in South Africa. One by one the requirite concessions have been made, and it cannot be long before Englishmen will realize that they have, in a most Arcan Empire to the lucky sharp-shooters of the Transvanl. I as livers on their part will have occasion to congratulate themseizes upon the course of events, for, with the loss of about lifty suen, and at elight cost and expense in war, they will find themweres inheritors of an empire founded and built up in former times by English blood and prowess, but now abandoned by taint-hearted and sentimental politicians. As England lost her American Empire by setting her face too strong v against executation, so may she lose her African Empire by betraying an ner-consitive and over-conciliatory spirit, which surrenders a bittaright lawfal, e inherited.

Amongst the very few statesmen who could have strengthened

our Empire in Africa by judicious conciliation or proper assertion of right was the late Sir Bartle Frere. He worked with a definite aim before him, namely, the lawful predominance of the English people in a country where they had to let and fought and spent their treasure for three generations pact. Worthily as a place was given to his remains beneath the dome of St. Paul's, is there not a stroke of irony on those who cast off the veteran statesman of India and Africa, in the resting-place assigned to him between Nelson and Wellington?

If the Australasian question assumes a seriousness and magnitude we little dream of in our insular manner of thinking, a it not necessary to recognize its great seriousness at once, and bring it home to ourselves? In Australia, Canada, South Airwa, we have to deal with countries which have an indefinite future before them—a future which it requires the genius and spirit of a Raleigh and a Burke to enter into fully. And if Raleigh could say of Virginia, 'It will grow into an English nation,' how much more certainly can we speak about our second colonial empire, with the actual spectacle of ope development before us in many parts of the world!

Moreover, the adjustment of the relations between thee scattered communities and the parent State seems to rest with men of the present generation. Is the present repenses of our Colonies to be treated simply as a remarkable, but stul a separationic dent in our history? Or is this ripeness to be regarded as but one phase presiminary to a fuller ripeness? According to the manner in which politicians of to-day approach the great colonial question, and according to the manner in which they gave colonial sentiment, so will the future of a Greater Britain be

moulded.

In one sense, therefore, the question raised by Mr. Staveter Hill, of the confederation of the Empire during the present Parliament, may be looked upon as involving the fature of the Empire more than even Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Hill, which would give a vote to many men who care extremely little for sand are certainly, from their position and knowledge, unable to express a valuable opinion upon this problem of impension interest.

There is a little cloud in the Pacific, no bigger at pressithan a man's hand, but it may grow to large and stormy dimensions. The desire of the Australians to annex a large port a of Now Gumea, and their objection to the deportation of large numbers of French criminals of the worst stamp into their neighbourhood criminals over whom very loose supervision is held—may be the means of raising more important issues that

we think, and will most certainly cause us to look with greater scrattray and care into the relations we hold with the Colonies. Englishmen in that part of the world claim by right to be the paramount power, and seem fully determined to support their cosm by hold and precautionary measures. It would seem that teer are rapidly developing a Montoe doctrine. Their action, which may be pregnant with great results, arose, in the first place, out of a desire to prevent those parts of New Guinea not jet occupied from falling into the hands of foreigners. There were general rumours that Germany and Italy wished to establish a footing there, and one report associated the name of the German corvette 'Carola' with schemes of annexation and enterprise in the Pacific. But, whatever might be the truth of these rumours, or whatever the designs of adventurous foreigners, the Australians evidently thought that their interests, as well as the general interests of the Empire, might be unperiled by the establishment of stations in the Pacific which might prove hostile. The very proximity of the island of New Guinea to the Australian coast was a strong reason for its annexation. At the nearest point it is less than the hundred miles from the Yorke Peninsula across the Torres Majts.

A decisive step was soon taken, and in March, 1888, Mr. H. M. Chester, the pelice magistrate of Thursday Island, has instructed to go to New Guinea and formally take possession, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, of so much of the island as was not already in possession of the Netherlands fovernment. This was done, and the fact was duly reported, The grounds given by Mr. Mellwraith, then Premier of Queensland, were: (1) That the possession of New Guinea would be of value to the Empire, and conduce specially to the peace and analety of Australia, and the development of Australian trade; (2) that the establishment of a foreign power would be injurious to British and more especially to Australian interests.

The step was backed up by the Agents-General of the Australian Colonies in London, who in June of last year had an interview with Lord Derby, and strongly urged the annexation protectorate of the West Pacific Islands, as well as of the satern portion of New Guinea. They endeavoured to represent till more forcibly that the step was necessary, not only for Police purposes, but for the obvious political consideration, has no hostile power should be allowed a footing in the Pacific guinst the interests of the Empire. It had been heard that he French were going to deport the offscourings of their jails a large numbers to the Pacific, but strong reasons were urged against

against the step. In such a case, New Caledonia, lying closs to the eastern Littoral of Australia, the Loyalty Islands, and this Marquesas or Mendana group, might become centres of crime anarchy, and disorder, affecting the social and political well being, not only of those islands, but poonbly that of Australia itself, the French jurisdiction over their criminal population being notoriously loose. The group of English colonies were practically unanimous on the subject. In July the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent a despatch to Sir A. H. Palmer, to officer administering the Government of Queensland, formally refusing to endorse the Act of the annexation of New Guinea by Mr. Chester, and, with regard to the assumption of authority by the colonists over the unclaimed islands of the Pacific, his land ship declared it to be nother necessary nor justifiable. Will reference to the individual action of Queensland, he regretted having to refuse to assent to a proposal involving a series responsibility in regard to places and questions not especially concerning those of Her Majesty's subjects who live in other parts of the Empire. On this point it will be observed that the Colonial Secretary is distinctly at issue with colonia, opinion The colonists emphatically declare that this annexation is necessary for the weltare of the Empire; Lord Derby most distinct tninks it is not.

But the matter was not destined to end here. Lord Dery threw out a feeler to find out how far the colonists were really in earnest. He invited them to give a collective opinion the subject, and expressed a hope 'that the time was not if distant when in respect of such questions the Australian Colonia would effectively combine together, and provide the cost a carrying out a policy which, after mature consideration, the may unite in recommending, and which Her Ma esty's Govern ment may think it right and expedient to adopt.' The language is cautious, and possibly discreet, and from one point of vot certainly diplomatic. Atthough Lord Derby might not that individually, that annexation in the Pacific was justifiable. conducive to the interests of other parts of the Empire, stal to collective voice of the colonists might make it both just an necessary. In a word, being rather in the dark, and rather uncertain as to what is justifiable, he begins to feel about a policy. The action of the colonists, apparently, gives in an answer to his wavering sense of justice, and possib v wis suggest a policy. Mr. Service, the Premier of Victoria, ha little difficulty in inducing the various Australian Gerett monts to send delegates to an Inter-Colonial Convention discuss the question of l'ederation, with a view to the annex

of New Guinea and the Islands in the Pacific. This coveration met in November, 1883, at Sydney, and several polations were unanimous y adopted, which may be quoted as sowing light upon the collective opinion of the colonists with cent to this great Australasian question.

That further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south the Equator, by any toreign power, would be highly detriects, to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in

lander, and injurious to the interests of the Empire.

? This Convention refrains from suggesting any plan of con, hoping that the Imperial Government would do so for take of common safety.

) That so much of New Guinea and the small islands as a social aimed by the Government of the Netherlands, should improporated with the British Empire.

This step is dictated by the following considerations of-

(a) The geographical position of New Gainea.
(b.) The extension of trade in the Torres Straits.

(c.) The possibility of certain unclaimed islands being the resort of adventurers.

(4) The fourth resolution relates to the New Hebrides group, the treaty between France and England concerning them.

on The governments of the various colonies undertake to built to their Legislatures motions about defraying the cost protection and annexation, having regard to the relative rance of Imperial and Australian interests.

1.) That this Convention protests in the strongest manner ust the declared intention of the Government of France to apport large numbers of criminals to the Pacific, and arges a Majority's Government to use any means in their power to cent this.

That there should be no penal settlement at all in the

bere is a certain hold decisiveness about these resolutions whole, and no one can say that the colonists disguise their was in doubtful or ambiguous language. If Lord Derby has a hitherto in doubt at to what is justifiable, he ought to be at now. He has made the combination and concerted action all the separate colonies a necessary preliminary to further idention and action. When they are all agreed upon a team course, and are prepared to bear the cost, the Home verticent may sanction that course tafter mature deliberated. His position, therefore, is that the limperial Covernment and take the decision of events into their own hands, in the and last resort, but that the colonists should bear the cost.

This may be a right, and possibly a constitutional position to take up, but, upon this question of cost, it should be noticed that in Resolution 5 the Australians say that their respective representatives undertake to submit to their Parliaments a motion about defraying the cost, having regard to the relative important

of Imperial and Australian interests.

When two parties are disputing, a slight expression may show where their fundamental differences he. The idea of cost is always a great one to the thrifty mind of our Colonial Secretary. We know that he abandoned the loval Bechuanas because the cost of a few soldiers to keep order on the frontier was uppermost in his mind. Considerations about the respect due to faithful natives, about the plighted word of England, about or name and prestige generally, were not to be entertained for those of the country was barren and anot worth the contents.

of an expedition.'

It is easy to see that there is a slight difference in the ideas of Lord Derby and the colonists with reference to this Pacae question. In the Basuto war, Lord Kimberrey and the Rai of Government reserved the decision of the affair in their exhands, and forbad confiscation by a proclamation. But in loose and unstatesmantike fashion they allowed the Cape Consists to drift into a hopeless and wearisome war, which lasted the years, and thus invo ved the Colony in a war debt of more that three millions. If the same spirit pervades the Radical Capita now, it is just possible that, in accordance with their besetts sin of vaciliation, they may allow the Australians to because embroiled in disputes tending to war and expenses in the Pacific at their own cost, and wish, when all is over, to start in the position of a Supreme Court of Appeal with power to their proceedings.

We venture to point out that, if the present Government was to act towards the Australian colonists in the same spirit and a the same way that they acted towards the Cape Colonists dam the Basuto war, the most serious results would follow. I'm bably the Australians in their decided manner would restheir advice and interference, and declare a Monroe doctric on their own responsibility, in which case there is no power? the Pscific that could prevent their following out their determi-

nations.

It is not within the scope of the present article to express decided opinion upon the progress of this important colors question. It is as yet in its earliest stages, and promises to one of the most important yet presented to the consideration our Cabinet. It is, however, at its early stage that a difficult

sy be most easily settled. It is impossible to under-estimate importance, and one of the writers in the 'Melbourne dural has remarked, with regard to the Conference at ducy: Caiofly through the efforts of Mr. Service the Austran Convention has met at Sydnov, and the delegates seem to we accomplished their great purpose, and formed a Federal enact, withough its jurisdiction is as yet limited. Thus there ms to have been born a mighty nation.' It is true that, in judgment of the Convention itself, the time has not yet ared for complete Federal Union; but the selection of a pletal Council, as defining matters upon which in its opinion ated action is both destrable and practicable at the present a es, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmanta, d Victoria, were constituted a committee to watch over all tters relative to subjects discussed at the Convention itself, were empowered to call a Convention again at such time I place as should seem fit to them. Lord Derby has got a y decisive answer to his invitation to the colonists, calling on them for united action and collective opinion. The eme of a Federal Union seems to be a reality of the near are, and the vision of a 'mighty nation' close to its fulfilment. And it this prospect were fulfilled, and if in the words of Sir mry Parkes, writing in the 'Nineteenth Century,' Australia independent, with five or six millions of inhab tants, she aid speedily rise to the position of a great Power. Distance on other Powers would alone be to her the source of strength. could sustain herself, and in her unassailable position of dependence receive the cordial recognition of other States. at the same time S.r Henry Parkes thinks that Australia her independence would lose her higher destiny, which pold be worked out under the flag of the united English people. he may well feel a little curious, and our curiosity will not be mixed with anxiety, as to what course Lord Derly will take in regard to this great colonial question. Although he has reputation of coolness and sagicity, he seems to have derrated the spirit and intentions of the colonists. They are husiastic and unanimous, and Lord Rosebery at any rate may taken as an impartial witness to the intensity of the excitent upon the aspect of the question with respect to convicts I New Caledonia. He said, in a speech nelivered at Abern in April, that during the last forty years since the last pload of convicts was sent to Australia, there had been no ing comparable to that which was now experienced. We n that at the present moment a protest on behalf of all the Australian Anstralian Colonies against the French Récidiviste Bil is prepared, and will shortly be forwarded to England.

Lord Derby stands counting the cost, and would dire diplomacy of his country along economical channels, and therefore desire that the colonists should bear upon their shoulders exclusively the burden of the cost connected val nexation. The colonists are desirous that the cost and rep bility should be borne by both the parent State and the Col in the proportion according to which their interests are into And when we look upon the progress of our Colonies, and extent of that commerce which is being carried on apincreasing seale year by year, the close connection that a the mutual interests that are involved on both sides, character almost colossal, the colonial view seems to be the and the fairer one. England would reap as much advant not more, from an impulse given to the trade through Torres Straits and the Pacific generally, than the colo A few facts will suggest to us the importance to languater growing Australian trade. We learn from Mu *Progress of the World 'that 93 per cent, of Australian to carried on in British vessels. With regard to commerce rally, we find that, taking the various countries as they upon the trade list, the British Colonies hold the first and that our commerce with them is increasing more rapid with the rest of the world in general. Mr. Mulhall care that between 1868 and 1878 there has been an increase of cent, of trade with our colonies, but only of 19 per cent, wi rest of the world. And with regard to Australian trade is ticular, figures must again assist us in forming a judgmed regard to the actual and probable value of these Pacific Col In the 'Victorian Handbook,' compiled by Mr Hayter, ma are at hand for comparison and for illustration of the that has taken place. We find that, in absolute value, if ternal trade of the Australian Colonies exceeds that of any British possession, except of course India It is greater that of either Denmark, or Greece, or Italy, or Portuguesian, or Sweden and Norway; it is greater than the North Africa, of Fgypt, Morocco, and Tunis, collectively it exceeds the whose of the trade of South America, sach the Argentine Confederation, Brazil, Chili, Mexico, and The value of the wool export of Australia a cocreased from ten millions in 1851 to twenty-two mit. ions in The total value of the import trade of the Australias, and Tasmania and New Zealand, was calculated to exceed, year 1878, the sum of fifty millions, being at the rate of 2

pad; and the value of the exports exceeded forty-four millions, being at the rate of 171.6s, per head. Now when it is considered that the people of the United Kingdom import only at the rate of a little more than 114, per head, and export at the rate of about 72 10s, per head, some guess may be made at the comnercial enterprise and activity of these three million linglishmen a the Antipodes. In face of figures and statistics enthusiasm may sometimes grow dull; but these figures and statistics point to a future development, which a rightly inspired enthusiasm should fully grasp and estimate at its just value. And if a little leaven of sentiment and of national, or rather Imperial, feeling cavens our calculations, is it not excusable? For these questous that affect individual Colonies, or groups of Colonies, are not only great in themselves, but are great in what they point to. The Australian question should suggest the greater theme of the confederation of the Empire, in the words of an enthusistie Australian: 'A grand dream-a noble faith and a destiny worthy of that grandest and noblest of races, the men of that a girt island of the north And already it is being brought on of the gloom of the lar future, and into the light of day by New far-seeing men of the Conservative clubs in London; but England, under the cautious regime of her present adviser, is at yet ready."

There is no more enthusiastic supporter of this noble faith of lofty dream, than Lord Carnarvon. By all the right that hongs to repeated political judgment and experience, he is talified to speak upon this subject. He sees plainly enough at there is no one who, in his own way of expressing it, will be our leader.' In his article on 'Annexation and Confederation Australia,' which appeared lately in the 'Contemporary leview,' his Lordship expressed a strong opinion upon the apportance of the whole question to the Empire. He sees in a colonists brave kinsmen and relations, fe low-Englishmen with mere distance creates. And the potentiality of greating is surely the heritage of these men. They clear forests he baild cities, and found communities with marvellous opidity. State their population or their progress as extravaluations,' as Burke said of the growth of the two millions of

tettlers in America in his day.

With regard to the general question of her relations to the colonies, there seem to be at the present time two courses open to England. The one is to declare the colonial connection on

evil, and to free herself at once of it and the responsibil connected therewith. The loyalty of her children at Antipodes would in that case be regarded as sentimental a shine, of no particular value in the open market of the Colonists would stand, commercially and otherwise, of same footing as foreigners. Such a policy as this bas a favourite one with theorists, and especially Radical theor who pretend to be guided by the necum lumen of abphilosophy. They ignore the principle that trade following, although that principle can be demonstrated by statistics, and the concurrent voice of history. Within the few years there has been, on the part of the Gladstone Go ment, something like a crusade against loyalty, carried not in one part of our Empire alone, but in many parts Ireland there has been set on foot, as every one knows, a co of legislation which has encounged every 'Nationalist' a ment, and driven the best men out of the land. As so loyalists in Ulster protest, they are told to be silent and to de say nothing to interfere with a Nationalist programme. crime consists in raising the cry of the Queen and the inte of the Empire.' In the Transvanl, and upon its borders, loye whether black or white, have suffered more than anywhere There is no more diagraceful page of history than that which how England abandoned to the tender mercies of their enthe loyal natives of the Transvaal, in spite of the treaty to protect them. For the white colonists, who stood forwar ling, and's side, not so much pity need be excited, as, in of their personal losses, they could escape with their liver begin afresh elsewhere; but the black man has no such re As might have been expected, his loyalty to the Great Q across the sea' is sadly shaken.

And so we may but the compass, and find in every que the same signs, the same tendencies, the same desire to do the lovalists and to raise up any noisy and insignificant in of Her Majesty's subjects who wish for a separate exist Was it thus, we may ask, that Germany achieved her great By a policy of weakness, vacillation, and disintegration. German Empire is strong, happy, and united; but our proceeding the mould say, for sooth, that this strength and happiness were got by most flagrantly immoral means, if a to judge them by the general tenor of their own words and ac

There is another course open to England, which is in in a toast colonists are fond of proposing— The Colonied Empire. This means that construction and disintegral union are to take the place of destruction and disintegral

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that in all parts of the world, whether in the Pacific islands, on Le Atlantic shores, or elsewhere, Englishmen are to make narron cause, and stand shoulder to shoulder in firm array. to the fashion for pessimists to say that England, like the Expire of Rome, 'mole ruit sun;' that she cannot bear the beriens and responsibilities of governing one fourth of the epolstion of the world, that even now there are tokens that mogy of Rome is not in point. Rome had no colonies in sense England has now. England's colonies rather reby ble Rome herself in her early beginning, nay, even in her thical origin, when Ameas led his comrades from Troy Latium. The late and subsequent history of the descendots and successors of those who sailed in the 'Mayflower' so not unlike that of the cailed Trojans. The same story be repeated in the case of Canada and the Australias, ossibly of Africa. England renews her youth in her colonies; as her children spread and grow, and carry her lanpere upon a firmer basis every year. 'Tottering to her fall' unfeed an idle phrase; it is rather true that England stands a point where the past looks small in comparison to the ture that may be. A faint heart may indeed throw her back id tedace her to the position of a second Holland, with the psecousness of lost opportunities. These opportunities are applied and found in the word 'Confederation,' and in the trase 'The Colonies and the United Empire.' The various its of England's Empire may be likened to dispersed and ndom atoms, which need only the magic and potent influence some uniting substance to make them flow together and be, although these particles are wandering about in a very miess and haphazard fashion; and we seem to want only the uch of the hand of some political expert who, like a master emist, can attract these particles together to a common centre. touch of nature makes the whole world kin, especially the nglo-Saxon world, in spite of abstract philosophy and the comptings of a shortsighted economy. We might ardently ish for a stateaman of the stamp of the great Burke, who has roved that he could look beyond the clouds and prejudices of to own time, and see in a wise and timely sympathy with the arly struggles of the Colonies, in the lotty and generous numents prompted by community of mee and language, in non, in loyalty, in consolidation, the surest foundations of ngland's greatness and England's Empire.

Vol. 158.-No. 315.

ART. VI.-1. Lycidas. By John Milton. 1637. 2. Adonais. By Percy Breaks Shelley 1821 3. In Memoriam. By Alfred Tennyson. 1850.

MHERE is no question that Lord Tennyson first earner of this monody, in 1850, that sent serious and thoughtful back to his early writings, to see if there was any trace of # there such as might have given promise of a riper maturity (to the assonishment of many, a mine of great richness lay before them, which they had passed by almost unnoticed. few poets prelude by a monody, though it is a sort of of test of ability. Any man whose genius leads him to forward and write an In Memoriam throws it down as a gat at the feet of all critics, and challenges investigation into literary status and character. In some respects a monody utterance which it seems a species of presumption to gh the world at all, being entirely personal and individual nature. A man must stand pretty high indeed, to warran expecting the public to listen to his wailings with any of patience. For the most part they have never seen, po never even heard of, the person who is made the subject these outpourings. The world, they think, is very wide abounds with many good men worthy of a tribute, who get any; and they naturally consider the hemage accorder dead man somewhat superfluous, and, it may be, somewhat atmined. The monody therefore—except in the case of a public character-wants the essential ingredient of int and the choice is rather a dangerous one to make, even is case of a beloved friend. Byron's monody on Sheridan, he met only as a boon companion at dinner, is tame and interesting, although the subject of it was a writer, and tinguished public man. We can hardly, indeed, remember this moment a good monody worth a second reading, d the three we have placed at the head of this article, and are all marked by distinct characteristics of merit.

The monody has come down to us from antiquity almost every other good thing, and is akin to the e.egs, probably preceded it. The finest and most spirit-stirring we know of—but then it applies to a whole nation—it repeated by Demosthenes in his speech De Corona, as been composed for the dead after the battle of Charone mouraful sublimity it is unsurpassed, and sounds on the dying requiem of the departing glory of Greece, while

nice her last effort, and wil never rise again. This habit of saining, we lancy, was rather pleasing, or, it may be, rather tomorting, to the Hellenic people, for all the Greek tragedies also in it. Nothing snows the supreme mastery of Sophocies use than the fact that he is able to keep up the sad strain of Lietra—which is in point of fact a monody—through an entire usual without tiring us. Of course, where an individual atoms for himself, the strain ceases to be an In Memorian. Thinks Harold' would be a magnificent monody if any other port had poured out his distress for Byron, as he has poured it at there on his own behalf. We may add, that two fine nampless of Greek prose have come down to is, which might limit be called monodies—the 'Apologia' of Plato, and the Memorabilia' of Xenophon—were it not that the writers antilly repress their sorrow for their friend and master, and the reader, however, probably more heart-sick than emselves. A monody is assuredly a theme to evoke great overs, but we fear it should only be attempted by the hand of

practised master.

In the case of the three persons who form the subjects of the somies of Milton, Shelley, and Tennyson, two of them were most unknown, and the fame of the third was only known song the poets of his day. We have learnt to appreciate Keats are his death, and his fame is enhanced by Shellev's magnifibut tribute to his memory. Shelley's splendid transfigurations, aleed, would set off the greatest being that ever lived-nay, ev are almost too good for mortal man; but then Shelley ald never keep himself within reasonable bounds. dignited to soar, and the dead-weight of heats both kept him wn, and afforded him a clear and direct purpose to descent on. With such balliat his car moves so steadily and with such broken progress to the close, that the 'Adonais' may well pronounced the most perfect of all his efforts; and perhaps respect of genius it deserves the post of honour among the tee Nowhere do we find among his works more magnificent adding, or a finer display of that power of going out of mself, which Shelley possessed in a greater degree than any edern poet. Of Milton's subject, Edward King, who was owned in his twenty-fifth year on the passage from Chester Dablin, we know nothing, except that he was the son of John King, Secretary for Ireland, and the college friend the poet, and that both were at one time intended for holy ders. To him, therefore, the case of Arthur Henry Hallam, friend of Tennyson, bears a much closer parallel than that Keats, both being fellow-collegians, though there was some disparity disparity in respect of age. The 'In Memorism' consequency be compared with the 'Lycidas;' and we see in more that one place that Tennyson evidently had it in his mind; there is not the slightest trace of the influence of the 'Adom On the contrary, the 'In Memoriam' may be safely pronount the antithesis of the 'Adomais'—we had almost said, antidote to it—in respect both of the mode of treatment the moral impression it leaves finally on the mind. We certainly not soothed after reading Shelley—perhaps we are a little indignant at our fate; but in the case of tribute of Tennyson we believe we are all the better for his read and duly weighed these severa, stanzas, and we protourselves on finishing them that we shall not forget to a them again; for we seem to have been associating with a good beadsman, who has not been forgetful to breathe a prefer us all.

To justify an 'In Memoriam' there must always be strong friendship, and that too the friendship of younger you like the must also be a deprivation, and the nipping of a be tiful bud of promise—if suddenly and unexpectedly, all fitter, at least for the theme. In this respect Milton had advantage, as his friend was drowned in the prime of life, at atterly unforcesen moment; whereas Kents was languishing consumption, and his hour of reckoning had been summed. In the case of Arthur Henry Hallam, though his was a trogic ending, the shock seems to have come by surplupon everybody, most of all upon his own father subject, therefore, afforded evers material to justify the angole of an admirer and a friend; and perhaps in respect of since and truth the tribute of Tennyson is the most accurate and least exaggerated of the three. We fancy, however, that Milhas most touched the chord of sympathy within us, and feel, even at this distance of time, a greater wrench on reset the 'Lycicas.' The solemnity of the opening is singulatouching:

'Who would not sing for Lycilas? He knew Himself to sing, and he ld the lefty chyme He must not float upon his watery bier Unwept, and welter in the parching wind, Without the meed of some includious test.'

The prelude of Shelley, on the contrary, is indignant.

O weep for Adonais! though our tears. They not the frost which hands so don't a head!"

tes, to weep for him 'until the Future dares forget the Past.' It's weeping, however, is not a southing flow, but rather 'fiery turn; Kr Adonate is gone where all things fair and wise must descend. Do not be so weak as to think he will be restored to the stall air—No:

Death feeds on his mute voice, and laughs at our despair!

The opening of Tennyson, on the other hand, resembles one dold Chaucer's prayers in its spirit of calmness, and he companies by admitting the chastening hand of love, which, abough we see it not, we embrace by faith—

Believing where we cannot prove."

Aut, this very loss will be our stepping-stone to higher things; and out of the waste of mourning will bloom the consolation

ries of the suffering to come.

The openings therefore of the three poems, as soon as the several key-notes have been struck, show not only the different time in which the subject is approached, but the very temperament of the writers themselves, and the same strain is continued to the close in each. Shelley's pessimism breaks out at every tun. He does not cease to protest, by an appeal to all the powers of reason and imagination, against the great wrong Mankind and the world have suffered by this stroke of fate. forms pause he turns to t from another laurel on the bier, until is Leaped with fallen leaves which are not meant to wither; and he leaves it rather to ourselves to draw a useful lesson on the andom of calm resignation. But the author of the 'lu Memorum' seeks to get us to unfold our own breasts by laying open as own, and would make us converts to his way of thinking. Nature indeed mourns, as becomes her; but man, superior to stare in his immortal aspect, must consent rather to learn lesson: and this lesson of the omnia conitas of life is imputed in the revera stanzas which follow, which are in the store of deep and searching self-examination, after the manner I St. Augustine and such early Fathers of the Church as made be subjective faculty in man their primary study. Another mark tille feature in Tennyson, regarded as a self-questioning cort, is that we have little or nothing in the abstract; he views e world and all that inhabit it almost entirely in the concrete. On the other hand, in Shelley we have much of the abstract outemplation of things. All Tennyson's characters are repreattative merely of individuals. He rarely gives us a species, ed never on any occasion presents to our view humanity under

ander a single type. His 'Ulysses' is the Ulysses of the 'Odyssey;' his 'St. Simeon Stylites' only a mad recluse. Perhaps it is for this reason that the 'In Memoriam' is not so stirring, and is more of an exercise to read than the other two, but it is at least a profitable exercise, and a single reading will neither suffice to do justice to it, nor enable us to embrace the full depth and purport of the self-enquiry undertakes apparently with the view of purifying and perfecting the ion! A wholesome comfort, indeed, is the main object of these inner homilies. We are taught that it is rational to suffer, for iochlosses are common to all:

'Too common! Never morning were To evening, but some heart did break.'

This is a turn of phraseology worthy of Dante," whom Terms son in his serious moods most resembles of all modern poetseven to that incapacity to travel out of himself, which marked the manner of the great Florentine. When we say, 'to trav-out of himself,' let us not be misunderstood. We mean that the self-communing spirit is so strong in both, that it prevent their ever being frank or taking the reader fully into then confidence. There is in both, either more or less, a sort of rigid, almost obstinate reticence, far removed from egotism, be still so self-absorbing as to make us almost complain of a way of frankness of nature—the impulsive frankness of Shakspear. for instance, or the free communion of Byron, who even puber it to the extreme. Shakspeare never writes to please himself but to charm the speciator: he therefore moves completely out of himself for the time; but Dante and Tennysen, we fame, have always on eye upon themselves as the 'audience for though few.' This constitutes an obvious defect as regards comprehensiveness; for, however great and stirring the theme may be, the man who will not consent to make the whole world kee will always have a narrower, though perhaps a more selecircle of admirers. It is in his serious efforts especially that Tennyson shows this characteristic faculty most; but we con fancy that the ring of 'Locksley Hall,' the finest perhaps of a his minor efforts, was not primarily intended to echo very w beyond the reach of his own car. It is the self-communing of the inner spirit which has unconsciously allowed itself in 12 unguarded moment to break the bounds.

The quality to which we refer is entirely absent from "

[&]quot;A nexto Nevembre non gaunge Qual che tu d'Ottobec file." Il Pargutorio.

me of antiquity. It has no place whatever in Homer. He nds, as it were, on a high pedestal before the world and claims aloud his inspiration in Inct, he fits his inspirao to the wants and wishes of his audience rather than to own curice or likings. Such a poet will ever possess a more hersal away over the human mind, and over all time, than who are purely subjective. In the case of Shakspeare we re the two conditions occasionally intermixed; but as a eral rule he gives to this utterances, so to speak, oratorily, and as it were from a lofty stage, with all humanity in full before him. He is not self-absorbed, but liberal and onsive. The first instance we recognize of the high employas of this reflective quality in modern poetry is in Dante, meaning of whose 'mystic unfathomable song' still remains wany of its parts a scaled book, even to critica of his own sion, who have formed different interpretations of his ming. The question sometimes arises: Did Dante himself sys fully comprehend the exact purport of his mutterings? is a most point; and for our part we me inc to believe the intense habit of self-communing tends, more or less, systification, and leaves behind either a doubtful or a double anug. This must be regarded as an anquestionable defect, in poetry. A poet's thoughts should not be dark, but blike a Pharos light upon the page, unmistakable, pregnant, spowering, in their clear ill imination. In their best form should be like the impression given by a first love at first t-the most vivid and irresistille that ever occurs, though s converse may develop qualities that did not then strike us. loveliness of that impression never recurs; for things of mty are like flowers-tuey only bloom once, however they rafterwards expand. So with the best effusions of the poet's d, we hold that the effect must be instantaneous; where kesitate to take in the idea, or have to deliberate about the oring, it evinces rather a want of power than a potency of meno direnter. Obscurity, therefore, must be regarded as an questionable defect in poetry; though there are certain hadding the mysteries of subjective spirits. But the tendency by no means confined to the Germans; for all Petrsich's note are full of the same characteristics—showing a quality in month almost degenerates into a trick; for while the that professes to unfold to us the inner man, in reality he is at reticent, and reserves for himself the full esoteric revela-This, we think, is hardly fair, and, to make use of truch phrase, hardly consistent with seven owner but Ariosto

Ariosto never sins on this score, and therefore we love the man. In Milton's early effusions, such as 'Comus' and 'L'A.legro and 'Il Penseroso,' there is no trace of this quality; but he · Paradise Lost abounds in meditative self-absorption; to uch an extent, that so good a critic as Dr. Johnson went so he as to pronounce it a somewhat dull book on the whole. He did not undertake to analyze the matter or to search for the cause, but we suspect it lies, not so much in the nature of the subject, as in the excess of the employment of the subjective faculty. Byron, as we have said, is by temperament and manner almost free from the charge; and where he indulges in it he has no concealments, but proclaims his subjectivity of thought with a loud voice to all mankind. Shelley is perhaps the frankest poet the world has ever seen. He is ashaued of no confession, either good or bad; hence sometimes we are But, we may rely on 14 delighted, and sometimes shocked those poets who can go out of themselves and consent to make the whole world kin, from Homer downwards, are for eternity, and will always hold the first place. We may profit much by overhearing the suppressed but fervent prayer of a good man on his knees; but assuredly we feel a higher sense of satisfaction—much more of the 'sursum corda' on receivant a benediction from the pulpit with uplifted hands in presence of a vast congregation of which we are permitted to form a part,

The leading characteristic in Milton's 'Lycidas' is his overflowing reminiscence of the Classics and their happy adaptation to some of the incidents of his college friend's career; though we detect here and there the too nice search for gems, which although choice in their way, do not come spontaneously, but are either more or less made use of as mosaic-work, and are the effect of study and reference. This disposition to borrow greatly developed with Milton in after time, when we find in some of his works almost literal translations from the Greek, or Greek imagery and allusions travestied. Of course we never tire if being reminded of the existence of this magnificent mine d wealth, but we are still forced to remember that it is neither original nor is the working of it entirely Milton's own. The man who most of all shook himself free from all indebtedness w classic sources, and even unconsciously rivalled them on their out ground, was Shakspeare, some of whose similes are truly Homers; as where he describes Mercury bestriding the lazy-pacing clouds and mortals falling back to gaze upon him; or where the same god displays his ineffable beauty of form when he suddenly lights upon 'a henven-kissing hill'; or where he designates to inhabitan &

matriants of Olympus as 'the perpetual sober gods' a phrase shick is at once Homeric and Lucretian. Milton, however post his instinct of resorting to the sacred source, certainly ores improved upon the classics; but, although the declaration my sound like heresy in the ears of scholars, we venture to in that Shakspeare hardly ever toucked a classical allusion to the did not improve or beautify; and just as such Grecians Gibbon could always read Pope's 'Homer' with pleasure and mounce it to be an incomparable work, so the most reconhe scholar in the world may take delight in the refreshing busicism evolved out of the scething imagination of the great Immatist. Milton is at best only one who gives us a gentle sounder of the richness of the ancient source, and no one does better or more learnedly; but let us at least accord the praise It is not overdone; but it sads nothing There the praise is due. tis fame as a poet. Shelley too was classle in his way; and is handling of the translation of one of the pseudo-Homeric trums is a real masterpiece. But the classical allusions in his ers generally are on the whole modest and unpretentious, id we would even wish to see more of them; but then his opreme faculty of transfiguration makes him wholly indement of all such imagery, and he has no difficulty in making thengony for himself. This power of transfiguration, which hattest in the 'Adonais,' and unthing can be more vivid and bog procession before us the leading genil of the hour, who most seem to have shared the fate of the mourned one, as they the as it were from their graves like plantoms, after Sorrow in her family of Sighs, 'Lost Echo,' Pale Ocean,' and 'The pung Spring wild with grief, have made their sign. Here he pes the first place to the nameless Byron- The pilgrim of Bernity who comes

. Veiling all the lightnings of his song.

the most impressive and interesting figure in the whole serve is whose Shelley introduces himself, and certainly in no mattering terms:—

*Midst others of less note, came one feell Form -A phantom among men; companionless -

A parti-like Spirit, heantiful and swift— A Love in desolution masked—a Power Girt round with weakness."

But although gentle in his motions, and even fantastic in his weeds

weeds of mourning, all stand aloof in a sort of stupor or hedertion, and feel an obvious want of confidence regarding the apparition—doubtful whether they should pity or condens until Shelley decides the point for them, and relieves their punful suspense—

"Who art thou?"

He answered not, but with a subten hand

Made here his tranded and ensangumed brow

Which was like Cain's or Christ's Oh, that it should be set

The forlorn repentant spirit of the last words almost absorbe the poet from the charge of that impiety into which his search for the sublime and the memory of his sufferings had led him. It is no discredit to the Poet Laurente to say that he has never reached this high flight—never so moved or harrowed us as Shelley has done in the 'Adonaia.' Shakapeare alone has possessed this electric power, as where he makes Romeo at the tomb of Julie embrace the man whom he has just slaughtered, on discovering that both were the admirers of the same ided—brothers in affliction—names writ together 'in sour mixfortune's book.'

When we turn again to Milton, we see how finely he runs ever the whole scale of allusions, bringing in artistically all the happy memories of their union and friendship, and associating impusive nature and dumb animals in the common grief. He reaches perhaps his highest flight where he alludes to the bright prome given by the culture and genius of his friend, and points to be vanity of the pursuit of Fame, which is at once the spur to great actions and 'that last infirmity of noble mind' But all such hopes are perishable things; for just when we are about

to triumph, then

'Comes the blind Pury with the abhorred shears And slits the thin-span lafe!'

There is something both sweet and sod in the picture he give of the general sorrow which overspreads the face of nature-not coming in gloom and dejection, but mourning her worshipper in her choicest attire—the cowslip hanging its pensite head, and the daffodils filling their cups with tears. Nothing that harsh, nothing complaining, in his song, except indeed the backward glance he throws at the growing superstitions of the Church—the grim wolf with privy paw which eats up the food the good shephend has provided. Militon's harshness, we all know, followed not long after, when he himself under went a second fall, when he became Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth, and when he was terribly outraged at the idea of mercy being shown to kings. The conclusion of the Lycids.

Lecidas' is by far the most hopeful of the three; for we see that there is a rehabilitation not far off. Though the day-star har 'sink in his ocean-hed, yet on the morrow he will 'repair he dropping head,' rising brighter than ever. And so Milton, this ng off all signs of care, as it half-ashamed of his weakness, his with a screne brow, bids us weep no more for Lycidas; to in his loss there is compensation,—

'Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore, In thy large recompense, and shalt be good. To all that wander in that perilous flood.'

and accordingly he cheerfully leads the way, beckening us to find woods and pastures new.' We also think Milton has nevered the finest balance in the expression of his regret, I that his poem must be considered the most perfect in the amony of its construction and in artistic finish, as well as the si consistent with the nature of the subject, the pure character the subsisting friendship, and the apparent resemblance extent be characters of the Lying and the dead. We will close is section by observing that Milton had not the advantage of time a model to work from, as in the case of his two successors, he may have had their eyes upon him. Spenser's 'Elegy of prophel' hardly comes within the entegory; and even had been followed it, the imitation would not perhaps have been manate.

Toursson's monody obviously suffers from its want of contion and continuity, being portioned off into separate stanzas. s cannot even take upon as to say, that it was all written at same time. Its nesultory pauses bear evidence to the conry; and no one for a moment will doubt that the Introductory nzas, dated 1849, s. ateen years after the death of his friend, much freer in their flow, and show a greater mastery over language, than those which follow. The subsequent stanzas as like jettings written down, as fitful memories and thickarks a new departure in his style and manner of writing. e ideas may be nearly the same, but the treatment is difent. He has here renounced the abandon of his nonage, and wes to be for the future more relicent and involved ps the sneers of some inconsiderate critics, and the realousy one mather of a wide reputation in imaginative prose comnaice, may have unpelled him in this direction; but we are coned to think it was an unfortunate choice, and that Tennyhas norsh courage it he really did yield to the pressure band have risen above all this. Henceforth, no recurrence

of his beautiful creations:—no more sweet Claribels, medeat Isabels, ever constant Marianas; nay, not even a gud ag Chnone—at once a Circe and a victim—every one of them traly English however. Well may we exclaim with the Poet-Laurent himself:—

Bhas was it in that dawn to live. But to be young was very heaven.'

We sometimes ask ourselves, did the world suddenly change when the 'In Memoriam' was composed? for assuredly, when we look around and search for the types of the early poetas, we find them nowhere. We do not think this change of conception and ideal in Tennyson's dream of fair women was no result of his maturity; but partly the result of study and of the new departure to which we have referred, and partly, it may he, that the types from which he drew his early portraits have been fast fading from the scene in which we are all permitte to play a part. We question very much if we could so only find even a Lady Clara Vore de Vere in our daily travels nonadays-cold exemplar of beauty though she be. Many possell would hardly object to be slighted by such a proug beauty, long as they were allowed to look upon her like. Beyon doubt a great social revolution has taken place since the way of our Claribels—perhaps even of the Miller's Daughter and made known to us. Fennyson, painting truly from ustal around him, was, after all, only another Petitot, whose carnel we certainly still possess, but nothing more. But there is a only a change of the mode,; there is also as marked a chang in the manner and style of the drawing. The longuage Mand' and the 'fdylls' is far more involved-so involved indeed, at times, that the idea is not quite taken in at a grand We feel and know that there is cepth in the idea, but it is no means apparent at first sight, and sometimes it requires be reconsidered before we can get at the whole purport, must trankly regard as a great detect in every species of liters composition, whether poetry or prose. No expression can ev be too clear. Even by Tennyson's own confession, the part mind should be bright as right and clear as wron; assuredly the linguistic impress of that clear thought should have its clear embodiment for him who reads. The most con poetic enunciator we possess is Lord Byron. His thought at often deep, but never obscure. Though a second reading as show them to be more pregnant, we have never to pause order to search for the meaning. Byron is also one of the me spontaneous of poets, and spontaneity must be regarded as the

ov essence of poetry. Nothing can surpass the spontaneity of honer, for instance, who enters with a sudden rush, and never uses in his pace until be carries us along with him to the ose. No word-fitting in the Hind, no search for antique buseology, no fear of critics. From beginning to end the had is a spontaneous production. If there is a pause, it is here Homer candescends to be technical, and where we detect is master weakness;—for an anatomical description of the ana. body, or the niceties of an art, were to him what quibble was to Shakspeare. This love of shining in technical saus we find in no other Greek author whomsoever. We most fancy we could convict Homer of being the sole author the entire llind from this irrepressible display of vanity. t when we speak of the merits of spontaneity, we must member that the lliad was not composed for the closet or the m-chair, but was committed to memory, chanted nind now, d intended for the ear. The more sedentary, therefore, we come, with the progress of society or whatever we choose to It the fitful displacements of human activity, the more are we danger of losing this gitt of spontaneity; unless indeed the er will throw himself manimly into the world, frequent Bear's Head in Eastcheap, and incur the risk of getting the station for preferring loose mays; or will run the gauntiet fantly, like Byron, and rain his constitution and peace of ad. Among the many true and forcible sayings which that the observer of human nature and society, the Duc de in occessorald, has recorded, we find one apt to our purpose e, and even an aid to criticism. 'It would appear,' says he. at nature has hidden in the depths of our mind certain eats and a skill of which we are ignorant; it is the passions ne which have the power to bring them into light, and to be us sometimes views more certain and more finished than can ever do.' All we wish to affirm is, that the sedentary bit brings with it a certain selfish tendency to minute selfartination and the love of psychological investigation, which have described as the inability to go out of oneself' ant of that natural expansiveness which is alike a duty and secomplishment. Perhaps society may even live to see the y when the devout-or perhaps what we might call after the issic mode ' the infurnated '-worshippers of poetry will sigh er the discovery of the use of the reed and the papyrus, and is to get back to the ago when the Rhapsodist was indepenof all resources and could repeat a thousand verses at Mutch

We connot say that Tennyson has made such a hold stepforward

forward as regards originality, in the construction of the 'la Memoriam, as Shelley has assuredly done. In respect of original handling, most will agree that the 'Adonais' deserves the palm among the three. Shelley is here far more independent than Milton, whose subjection to Classicism is apparent in al his productions. The characteristics of the 'Adonais' are fire. and the redundance of sentiment and imagery, gargeous is its glow, if not quite in the best taste. It might fitly indeed be the monody of an emperor, rather than of a retired carped a poet, whose end was possibly hastened by a want of publishmere ration. You may here pick out countless gems, and nowhere in any of Shellev's writings is the language fine or nobler, or the interest so well sustained. In respect of gems to be picked out, the 'In Memoriam' is by no means rich. It must be read, not for its sparkle, but as a whole; and, as Lort Bacon has advised regarding a certain species of books, a deserves to be weighed and considered. Its predominant characteristics racter is its spirituality and religious tone. Tennyson has her disclosed once and for ever to the world the eternal gravity of his personal character, just as Shakspeare has displayed his latent love of fun in the language he puts into the mouth of Pistol and Lucio. We almost fancy-despite the nature of the theme-that it is this excess of gravity which constitutes the possible blemish of the 'In Memoriam,' If we had a le' of the flash and extravagance of Shelley, it would perhaps have been a relief; and we all know that in a long stretch "stayer power' is a quality much more severely tested where the effect is somewhat up-hill. But this seriousness to which we aduse may possibly have resulted from the shock given him by the loss of his friend, which operated in producing a sort of recurity ment of the whole mental faculties, throwing them back on more combre contemplations. In these reflections he seems to wre? with himself like Dante-sometimes half revealing, sometize repressing his emotions, as the ideas which bie in the laked his heart? well up, and become, as it were, materially colours! by the memories he seeks severally to recal. The writer of 18 In Memoriam, however, has a severe task imposed upon him He is compelled to moralize like the Chorus in the ancest drama, under the disadvantage of being tole speaker, and without any aid from the changes and enlivenments of side action Shelley has managed this better, by giving us occasional 74

^{• &#}x27;Nel lago del cor' Tennyson, however, is quite from the material are sentiment which absence both in Bonte and Milton, a quality certain y not be attributed to may classic influence, as the tendency of the Ancienta was toly give a material form to ideas, but to spiritualize material things.

sees of brilliant transfigurations like the shifting scenes of a rams. But however well handled, all such poems suffer more it ass from the fact that the reader, not being an actual friend of the deceased, can never rise to the height of the agony of the bet who describes his virtues. To the majority of readers such siral, and a debt due from the survisor. But in this task—sof bringing the stranger and unimpassioned reader abreast four own feelings-lies the very p.th and proof of execution; I the author who succeeds best in this respect will in the nation of many be entitled to bear the palm, for the effort is ade under great disadvantage, and is somewhat of the nature a tour de force. We funcy we rather like the character of litou's subject best, from what he has recorded of him. There more reality, and we can grasp the man, while Tennyson's shee is but a faint and subdued one. On the other hand, eley has succeeded best in exalting the man he celebrates. be certainly think Kents a far greater being after reading the adonais, than merely from having read the 'Findymion.' We e also able to read it through at a sitting, though we may feel artist by the audacity and thrilled with emotion-sometimes en unpleasantly; but Tennyson's tribute is better taken up on time to time and rend in detached parts. This however wer, but tather to the weight and solidity of the matter.

The it is owing to the abundance of the same quality that

Johnson complained of in 'Paradise Lost'—the insistce as regards a moral end and sim; for, in point of fact, the a Memoriam' is a memento more throughout. Once more arring to Greek parallels, we would just observe, that the junction to remember our latter end was not a predominant one with the Hellenic race, but something akin to it was wave cropping up in their proverbial sayings, and finds quent repetition in their dramas; this was the injunction, cor oddices-do not put your trust in the certain duration human happiness. Yet the Greeks were a people the very terse of grave, cheerful in spirit, though given to reflection.

In respect of good English, nothing can be more perfect and to be than the language of the 'In Memoriam;' but this is a sality in which Tennyson has always been supreme among the fellows and contemporaries. We have no objectionable adaptions, still less anything that shows the trace of carelessate; though we think that the longer he lives the more does he ince to fall back on standard archaisms, for which there was settle slightest need, insamuch as the language of his earliest

poems

poems is almost faultless in its perfection. We even sometimes fancy that this resort to archaic modes of expression—this frequent search for the

*Outstretched metre of an antique song '

—has not added either to the force or ease of his later efforts. Our modern language is quite rich and powerful enough to do its work; and we must remember that Shakapeare has laid it down in one of his somets, not that old thyme is beautiful, out that the subject itself—'beauty makes beautiful old rhyme We think also there is something resembling an excess a caution exhibited in his later progress, as if he felt assured of fame and feared by a false step to lose it. But some of thee archaic turns are very pleasing, as where he alludes in the 'la Memoriam' to the charm of friendly recognition, when the lost one, on his imagined return,

*Should strike a sudden hand in mine And ask a thousand things of home."

Here again follows fine language where the thought is somewhat obscure, if indeed it is not commonplace,—

'O me! what profits it to put
An idle case? If Death were seen
At first as Death, Love had not been,
Or been in narrowest working shut,'

If the reflection means more than that the sight of life is always more lovely than death, the force of the idea is not a first apparent; and further consideration of the subject does not add either to the truth or pith of the observation. Involution of language indeed are always justified by the deep workings of the spirit, as in Hamlet's soliloquy, or where the mind of Achilles is described as being divided between two opposing impulses," when, laying his hand on his sword, he debates with himself whether or not he will kill Agamemnon for his insolence and his indecision is only solved by the appearance of Palis Athena. We must always remember also that language is only the reflex of the antecedent thought, which is really the important thing to consider.

We can a most fancy that Tennyson had a reminiscence of Shelley when he makes the following allusion to the denial of a

future life, and that all we see is but

11iad. I. 188-9: στήθεσα, ν λασίσισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν.

This is perhaps the first formal attempt in the Greek language to analysis conception.

' Fantastic beauty; such as lucks
In some wild Poet, when he works
Without a conscience or an sim.'

One objection to the work consists in the desultoriness of the flections, which are not linked together, but this is a fault to in the 'Adonsis,' and perhaps is allowable in order to itersify the subject. The following passage may aptly be impared with one of Shelley's:—

But then art turned to semething strange, And I have lost the links that bound Thy changes; here upon the ground, No more partaker of thy change.

This is a fine poetic turn; for a more prossic writer would are put the sentiment inversely, and said of the dead, not of be tiving, that he partook no more of change. The living man amains here as it were stationary in solitary mourning, while the teparted spirit is passing through, it may be, a host of incompetensible changes. But the reader is never left, even for a soment, without good and sound advice by way of consolation, ad accordingly he is exhorted—

'Hold thou the good: define it well.

For four d vin Philosophy
Should push beyond her mark and he
Procuress to the Leads of Hell.'

o encouragement therefore must be given to self-dependent bught; man must have a guide, and a good one, to curb the first of will and the defects of doubt. Contrast this with a of Sheltey's wild outbreaks of complaint

'Whence are we, and why are we? Of what scene The action or spectators?'

o this he finds no adequate answer, but simply concludes that

'As long as since are blue, and fields are green,
Evening must usher night, night arge the morrow,
Month follow much with wee, and year wake year to serrow!'

the melody is incomparable, and so soothing that we almost lailed by it to forget the harshness of the sentiment. Set Tennyson deals with the hand of affliction differently, and, promifying the sentiment, he asks with all the tenderness of lorer:

O Serrow, wilt thou live with me
No easual mastress, but a wife,
My bosom friend and half of life;
As I confess it needs must be?

Val. 158 .- No. 315.

Here Shelley would have made Sorrow reply most probably with great harshness, and at least he would have pursued the theme, arguing the point pro and con.; but in Tennyson's car Sorrow so invoked makes no sign, and the poet passes on to a new theme. On another occasion we have something that takes us back to Lycidas; for both subjects seem to have dreamed of greatness:—

O hollow wraith of dying fame, Fude wholly, whole the soul exults, And self-infelds the large results. Of force that would have forgod a name.

But still abundant space is left for human deeds in endless ages: the world therefore should not grudge the loss of or who might have left his mark had be lived a little longer.

In these days, when the critical faculty is so bursty at not to detect plagiarisms in authors, perhaps the least of any habe to such a charge, it has just struck us here to ask, how must Henry Heine, who, we see, is again coming into favour, over to his frequent perusal of Shelley—we do not refer to his an pleasant flippancy regarding things divine; for Shelley on the ground was never flippant—but as regards his language and ideas. What resiles of Heine has not been struck with must beautiful image in his works, when, watching by the searest the skies of Holland fleeting overhead, he speaks of the fleet clouds as 'daughters of the air'? And yet the idea had been far better expressed by Shelley long before in 'The Ress of Islam':

'Those ethereal shapes—those fair daughters, The clouds of Sun and Ocean,'

There is also, it must be confessed, an obvious loss of be mony in Tennyson's later works—'Mand,' and the 'lid is—as compared with what he now, in his safe elevation, would perhaps call his Juvenilia. This want of barmony is a more apparent in his dramas, where there is even a lack of cadence as compared with the great masters of that art. And yet, if we remember well, the ring of his early verse was sweet melodious, free in its movement, so thing, and sometimes ensuring, as Sir Philip Sidney thought a good ballad should always stir us—'as with the sound of a trumpet,' If we at have power, and that is undeniable, we also miss that quits and quiet elegance, which was both original and antural. It marked change unquestionably tesu to from the causes whave mentioned. After the 'lit Memoriam, Alfred Tennyar became a learned and almost metaphysical poet. His epitrentical

ment of the legend of King Arthur, compared even with dea's dithyrambic contribution, can hardly be said to be pathetically moving. A national poet, it may be supposed, at here have warmed himself up into saying something the valiant resistance made by his countrymen—might ibly have made it the primary motive. We have indeed a tiful and graphic picture of ancient chivalry, and perhaps as a moral tone as pervades the 'Odyssey' itself; but we have enthusiasm. The author of 'Chinone' and the 'Ulysses' quite equal to have accorded us that; but we never hear sones of the lyre, which either among gods or men is ye supposed to be a necessary accompaniment to verse, and ed an instrument which a poet should never have out of and. The effect of this, the greatest effort of his muse, is finly not spirit-stirring. All throughout, though figures langes of beauty pass and repass before us, is still

Sad, high, and working, full of state and woo."

not our business here to criticize 'The Idylls of the but the general conclusion seems to be, that it is a sound unique performance—a complete and exhaustive picture posssible medieval society. The personages are not only e, but regal, and stand apart from ordinary mortals in power of passive endurance and the depth of their inner half-suppressed emotions. Its great originality is manifest the fact that it bears no resemblance to any existing unless we might instance the Nibelangenlied. And yet is the unmistakable conleur locale of Britain throughablitain, indeed, of the imagination, where history these as with no clue, and yet where we seem to wander on infamiliar ground, and feel that we can claim a sort of hip with the beings described. Here gens abound in u lines of good counsel, where the moral tone of the writer above the characters whose speech he dignifies by his age. Its superiority as a pure poetic creation is at once a, who has attempted to trend the same magic ground. want of free expansion and a measured slowness of moveare the inevitable consequences of research, and of the too much indulged, of psychological self-analysis: for we now that a poet may, and often does, exercise a self-analysis ssecting the breasts of the figures he passes in review. Both and Shakspeare have done this not designedly how-and perhaps the tendency is inevitable in all cases. there is the supreme danger of subsiding into mere x 2 monologue. monologue,

monologue, when the thoughts, however good, do not fish upon us like the signal seen from the witch-tower in the 'Agamemnon,' waking up our sleepy senses, but smoulder faintly, occasionally springing into life, only to be soon lost in obscurity, or to become extinct again. Tennyson's atermanner of handling his themes, when we put out of sight the archaisms, most resembles the style of Leigh Hunt's 'Story of Rimini' in its dreamy monotony. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, if we are more pleased when, in the 'In Memoriam,' he takes one parting look the last almost he ever takes—at his old lives, at d brings them again upon the scene. Thus, when he describes the betrothal, and the marriage that is to be, by making it a consummation in his dreams; the putting on of the ring.

"The "wilt thou?" answer'd, and again
The "wilt thou?" ask d, till out of twain
Her sweet "I will ' has made yo one:

and the signing of the names in the parish register, poeticaly described as

'names which shall be read,
'Mute symbols of a joyful more,
'By village eyes as yet unborn.'

we feel a little restored, and begin to breathe more free! But where he gives us the picture of the bride and brulegt an passing out in full view of the happy faces around, and we say in the actual presence of the—

'Mastens of the place, That pelt us in the parch with flowers,'

Tennyson is himself again. We fancy that even now there are some English maidens who would be inclined to pelt the Post Laurente after this very fashion for keeping them so long from visionary revivals of "sweet pale Margarets" and "Elements and the sly musings of Edwin Morris on the subject of matternonial delights, written when Afred Tennyson was of opinion that—

"God made the woman for the use of man."

Even in an 'In Memoriam,' he could no more forget his evirtendencies, than could Stelley forget the dangerous ground be had persistently cultured even from his boyhood, when to the 'Adonais' he once more gives us many a reminiscence of his prevailing sentiment regarding the injustice of the Projdential ordering of things, which he forces he can put up a fiter weakly broading over thoughts of revenge. Sometimes he attempts, but vainly, to find comfort in the idea that a suppler change has taken place; but the effect is momentary, and he soon relapses into the harshness of the original strain:

'Pence, peace! he is not dead—he doth not alrep,—
He hath awakened from the dream of his—
The we who, lost in stormy viscons, stop
With phantoms an unprofitable strife,
And in mad trance strike with our spirit's knife
Invulnerable nothings.'

At length by way of self-relief he brings before us a representation a just retribution—the last consolation of the unfortunate.—

'The inheritors of unfulfilled renown
Rose from their threnes, but the beyond mortal thought,
Far in the Unopparent. Chatterion
Rose pole, his solumn ageny had not
Yet facted from him; Sidney, as he fought
And as he fel, and as he lived and loved,
Sub unery maid, a spirit without spot,
Arose, and Lucan, by his death approved.
Oblivious as they rose shrunk as a thing reproved!

love we have unmistakably the tones of the lyre, as well as

mounity and poetic indignation

it wil, be apparent to all readers that these three monodies bring out all the distinctive characteristics of the several poets:-in Il ton, the irrepressible tendency to Classicism; in Shelley, the per-recurring protest against eternal laws, in Tennyson, the teatr and the consolation of self-examination. The exercise, vaconsciously to the authors themselves, throws on their page he fierce light of that evidence which consists in a personal coss examination. In truth, the remarkable peculiarity of an 'la Memoriam' seems to be, to unfold by a gradual process, not the nature of the persons of whom they themselves profess to lengton, as we have said, nowhere betrays his prevailing feulty, which has become even more predominant with time, now than here. Atthur Henry Hallam is a mere shadow; so 450 is John Keats, there being hardly any direct allusion to the resonality of the latter except where Shelley denounces Gifford, tot asked by name, but by poetic prosopopæia, as the 'noteless but on a remembered name, and the hand that had unstrung to silver lyre' for ever a delusion which has long since been assipated. The review of Keati's works, which appeared so can years ago in the pages of the Quarterly, was in reality sound and just, though perhaps rather sternly just, as was always the case with Gafford, who did good service in his day

by sweeping aside the awarm of petty aspirants to fame, who obstructed the march of the greater poets of the generation. is well known that the author of ' Endymion' was dying of slow consumption long before that review was written, and that he went to Italy for the benefit of his health. However this may be, it does not affect what we have aftirmed, namely, that at 'In Memorism' not only affords a good example by which we may test the powers of a poet, but also presents to view al his leading characteristics, and discloses what we would calthe indoles animi, for in his confessions of sorrow the writer can not help removing the conventional robe which wraps him as an individual. It is perhaps a useful exercise, therefore, in a critical point of view, to compare these several productions with one another. We think that such an examination tends to throw additional light on the idiosyncrasies of the writers, and if we would really know them, it is there that we should look It will be observed from the casual and sparing quotations to have given, that Fennyson mainly differs from Sheltey who, w it remembered, was a most a contemporary—in that, if he state doubts, he at once proceeds to exorcise them by reason and m ligion; while the other scatters at his wild will a dangerous seed. which in some breasts may ripen into the same species of taker ing as he himself experienced throughout his short but him Yet Shelley, as we all know, could be tender sau existence. even harmlessly playful when his good domon was by his suc-What more artless image can be found in the whole realm a poetry, than that by which he so gently reproaches the last whose attractions were too powerful for him?

*Sweet lamp! my moth-like muse bath burnt his wings."

So, Shelley is all nature—nature's very self indeed. He never shats himself up in the unexpansive embodiments of his own self-worship; but, like a true son of antiquity, manitester; endless evolutions his far-stretching kinship with humanite erring spirit though he be. The tear which he drops upon the bier of Keats at the close of the 'Adonais' is at once sincer, generous, and affectionate, though terribly ominous of his exampending fate: —

Go then to Rome—at ence the Paralise.
The grave, the city, and the wilderness—

Pass, till the Spirit of the apet shall lead Thy factsteps to a slope of green access, Where, like an infant's smile, over the dead, A light of laughing flowers along the grass is apread. Her rests Kents, contemplated by the starlight smale of chalen, in the tomb which this brother-port and others had and as a tribute to his memory. But Shelley had unconsoult constructed a monument for himself, and within one has year he found almost the same grave as his friend, near—

"One keen pyramid with wedge sublime"-

he comb of Cains Cestius, in that spot which the Roman barch, jealous of all encroachment on its own 'God's Acre,' as set apart as the last resting-place for those pilgr.ms of our ce whom the hand of death may have struck down while intemplating the wonders of this Classic land. But if there as no tragic ending in the subject of the 'Aconsis,' as in the Ludas,' Shelley made it so by the accident of Lis own sudden at unforeseen death in the stormy Bay of Spezzia, where he as snatched away literally

Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneul'd,
 W.tt. all his unperfections on his head.

seariness of life, akin to a sickness unto death, is painfully table in the latter part of the 'Adonais.' The poet invites to seek shelter in the shadow of the tomb, and asks:

What Adonn's is, why fear we to become?

Why linger, why turn back, why shrink, my heart?

Thy loopes are gone before, from all things here

They have departed, thou shouldst now depart!

e are inclined to think that, when men's speeches shall have come more charitable, and they have learnt to forgive, but it to forget, and when the 'next ages' shall have arrived, though the full vindication can never be—the fame of Shelley a poet will enlarge into a riper maturity and become in a mature purified by time. It is to him, rather than to Milton, at we would prefer to attach the description of a poet's place—tool which, as a star, might fittingly dwell apart. In any whatever his faults, England must ever be proud of his mass, and proud too of having produced three poems 'la catoriam,' unmatched either in ancient or modern times, he subject chosen is indeed a fitting one, for England is the ad-of-relics: nowhere are effusions more generous y accorded the memory of departed friendship, and nowhere are monuscus more venerated or better preserved.

ART. VII.-1. The Partheum; an Fissay on the Mode by tiers

Light was introduced into the Greek and Roman Temples. Bo Jan es l'ergusson, C.I.E., D.C.L., I.I.D., &c. London, 188.

The Temple of Diana at Epissus, with special reference to Mr. Wood's Discoveries of its Remains. By James Pergusson &c. &c. Extracted from the Transactions of the Resiliation of British Architects. London, 1883.

3. The Cambrulge Chronicle and University Journal, May 90.

1881.

THE opening of the archæological branch of the Fitzw Inn Museum at Cambridge, on the 6th of May, wit, 12 speeches deavered by Lord Houghton, Mr. Russell Lanell, 13. Sir Prederick Leighton, Professors Newton, Jobb, Preeman, 135 Tylor, marks an epoch in the study of antiquity; though to a at least, hardly so novel as was represented by some of the distinguished speakers. The work of the day, which they have rally magnified, was a climax, and not the only one, of a m to ment long since in progress. In the debate on the essertal place of classical learning in a liberal education, complete as the case is from the linguistic point of view, we have always maintained that the wide and deep knowledge of antiquity, ar founts and toundation of all later arts and learning, is merimportant even than the unspeakable benefits of the philological training; and such has atways been the character of the bee scholarship, both of our own country and the Continer to subject-matter of these studies, as distinguished from the mem language, resolves itself into two branches, the thoughts orbodied in Literature, and what the Germans so happily express by the word Real in composition, all the things that make up external life, which are specially and technically included under the title of Archaeology. As all science asserts its units by the interpenetration of its several branches, as of the three departments of antiquity, the words, the thoughts, the things, need can say to the other, I have no need of thee; and all univers reproduce the life of the people who are influencing our own life to this cay.

For of all the cant and claptrap which has been arrayed to one side of the discussion, against all the argument on the other there is none more sense out than that which designates the Greek and Latin languages as dead, and the thoughts and works of the people as having long since passed away. It was in the true spirit of a poet that the American Minister spoke at Cimbridge of the zital connection between archaeology and Greek literature

"It seems to me (he added) that what one feels dviss when brought into contact with any work of Greeian mode or any production of Greeins brains, is its powerful litrity; and by powerful vitality I do not mean simply the life but it has in itself, but I mean the vitality which it commuin ea. True, that life may be crushed out by a perverse one of study, like the ingenaity of the villagers who asked to are their altar-piece representing St. Sebastian alive, so that, if er pleased, they might put him to death alterwards; and, in a would which we have presently to deal, we shall see now the corres of architects and antiquaries have converted the aving er of the Greek temple into a dead-alive monun ent of dou at d darkness. But true scholarship regards both the mental material remains of antiquity, in Lerd Houghton's happy case, as 'a gracious company of the present and the past, a so of intelligence and sympathy.' Even those trained in the actest sect of grammatical pharisaism are often led on insenby to the stage at which the living spirit bursts the husk of dead letter; and a long course of dry book-learning is suday illumined by the discovery, that those of old were not only of like passions with ourselves, but that they had the same mann sense and used it in like fashion, practically as well as edectually. For example, we still find some who are surused to hear that the ancients knew the figure, and even the ignitude, of the earth on which they aved, and that they could ke water-pipes and fountains according to the laws of hydrosic pressure; and now, according to Mr. Fergusson, we are to credit them, in spite of general opinion to the contrary. the ability to light their temples by true windows, instead boses open to storms of min and snow!

But, as we have already hinted, it is going too far to speak of regard for the subject-matter in the study of antiquity as a been revelation in the latter cays of the passing century. It was but moderate fami insity with the works of continental dars since the revival of learning, to call to mind their splendid imbutions to the knowledge of all that we now include under name of classical archæology, the artists and their works in hiterture, sculpture, and painting; the coins and inscripas; the arms, ships, and tactics; the labours of the field, the workshop; the houses, dress, and ornaments; and other ica details of the public and domestic life of the Greeks and mans. Nor does English scholarship deserve the sweeping tige of narrow addiction to the dry letter; it has never been by represented by the re-ye-and-de men, if indeed the use ever had any meaning but a silly sneer at accurate philo-

logy.

logs. Our great public schools and Oxford have always been distinguished for cultivating a wide knowledge of classical interature; and Professor Jebb had a right to say, at the receivementing, that 'the type of scholarship which had been so long cherished by the University of Cambridge had never been a any narrow or exclusive sense a verbal achidarship. Hather was this its characteristic, that it had over insisted upon a soun knowledge of language as the indispensable condition of as accurate comprehension of literature, and probably there were few who would maintain that the attention to the meaning of trords was a necessary disqualification for the understanding of thoughts.' And he justly described the wider conception of classical scholarship now in progress as "not a change in the

sense of shifting the basis, but of enlarging the domain

It was perhaps but natural for so eminent a scholar, still is the prime of life, to define that change as having come about during the last twenty-five years, a period nearly corresponding to his own career. But a Cambridge man who remembers the early work of Hare and Thirlwall, or an Oxford contemporary of Arnold and Lewis, will claim an earlier origin for the more ment, of which some of the first-fruits were seen in such weeks as the translations of Niebahr's 'History,' Muller's 'Dormas' Boeckh's 'Public Economy of Athens,' and so forth, in the too short-lived 'Philological Museum,' and in Arnold's 'Taucydides.' It would detain us too long to describe, more than by one word of full and grateful acknowledgment, the impulse received at that time from Germany; but, if any attempt is " be made to fix a precise epoch at which our own recent scholarship began to assume a more decidedly archaeological character, we must nearly double Mr. Jobb's quarter of a century, and go back to the publication of the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities' in 1840. It is not for as # our readers know, to speak of the merits of that work, on which the public judgment has been long since passed; we only cite of for the comprehensiveness of its plan, as embracing the white subject matter of classical archaeology in the widest sense. That work, and its following Dictionaries of Biography and Gasgraphy - the former giving special attention to the history Greek and Roman art have long been in the hands of surcessive generations of teachers and students, helping to tract them to the wider ideas which are now bearing full frit When Professor Newton, at Cambridge, traced back his ext experience through four and a half successive decades, and characterized the first (between 1840 and 1850) as a period vain effort to awaken scholars to a wider conception, we could

or be remember that the very chair of archeology, which be woundly fills, was founded by one who, during that very code, was enriching the 'Dictionary' with articles on the most and and interesting details of Greek and Roman life; we can James Inten." But Mr. Newton is quite right in chacertaing the next decade as an epoch of tresh progress under sufficence of the almost new method of excavation by Lavard d his followers (modestly omitting to speak of Halicarnussus); of the last quarter of a century has been specially distinlisted by the wider view, which trings every province of carology, from the works of Parific savages to the products of highest art and civilization, within one comprehensive comotive survey, illustrating the life of man in all varieties of ice, time, and condition. Not to repeat what has been done on this point of view by the labours of Schliemann and his means at Athens and Bersin, Oxford is to be congratulated its Museum of Anthropology, with the chair filed by Tylor, while at Cambridge the new Museum is general as d as classical. The great step is now firmly taken, of recogung the material remains of antiquity as objects of study, not o equally necessary with the books, but capecially necessary all up the gaps where written records are silent. The Prethe reflection, how surely all those who devote themselves steharology will learn how important is the study of all forms art for a knowledge of man in his intellectual and in his for development, but how especially valuable is the study of most ancient forms of art as a guiding torch in the darkness unrecorded and autiquated times. Valuable as is bookming about these objects, and even indispensable for their position, it cannot suffice without familiarity with the objects ruse, res, either in the original material or reproduced by as t . Monuments of art, anys Bacon, fare not to be tasted, t thewn and digested;' and Mr. Newton testifies to his own by discovery of new beauties in the marbles under his care,

it would be the more unjust to withhold a tribute to another order control, Georgi Long, as he has absundy produced as mranes examples of the artical next of classical archaeology in his little books on "Ngryttan instant and the 'Etg ; and Townies Marbies," and had given a due place to water a great in the Penny Cyclo sucha."

One treet valuable feature of the Cambridge Massum is a complete series of

One racest valuable feature of the Cambridge Museum is a complete series of the fragment sculptures, arranged in color by Professor Calvin's cure, to strate the continuous bistory of art. Nota that a drig what has been done at trysta. Falues and but the Kensel ston, such a series of carry of a trying mant tension, and the British Museum will never so complete without it.

after forty-three years' daily sight of them. As a teacher, be compares the practical difficulty of studying archeology without a museum, to that of chemistry without a laboratory, or molecine without a hospital; and he himself shows how long that new has been fructifying, by claiming Lord Arundel, nearly three centuries ago, as the father of English archaeology, who conceived the idea that had been quaintly expressed by a contemporary of transplanting old Greece to England. Prefession Newton's chair in University College, London, that filled with equal worthiness by Mr. Percy Gardner at Cambridge, and the work of the Society for Hellenic Studies, are good signs of the closer union now established between classical letter and archaeology.

Among the fruits of the movement thus described are the to works now before us, by a veteran labourer in the exposuse of his art, and another, to which we can now only refer if passing, by a very able representative of the younger general tion of scholars, we mean Mr. A. S. Marray's 'History of Greek Sculpture.' Without attempting the task, which would be equally impossible within our limits and too didactir in our pages, of reviewing the whole field of Greek Architecture and Sculpture, we find in these books certain type results of modern research. What Lord Bacon said of most ments is specially true of the Parthenon; and Mr. Fergusso. has not only 'tasted,' but 'chewed and digested' it, as the choicest example of a set of problems suggested by Green The famous monkish eulogy of the Colosseum, mad so familiar to us by Gibbon and Byron, is still more true of the Parthenon. If the Flavian Amphitheatre is the enduring type of Rome's physical might, the temple built by letinus and adorned by Phidias is the far nobler emblem of the intellectua supremacy of Greece; and, while the world stands, it may stand as the perfect type of majestic dignity and symmetrics beauty in the arts of building, architectural decoration, and scul ture. We purposely use an absolute form of expression, avoid the senseless comparison, of which late years have been far too much, between national styles each perfect in its kill and for its place and use. It is absurd to set up a most between Grecian and Gothic architecture, except when architects, who (as Mr. Fergusson says) "don't think but only imitally press their imitation of either style to such an extreme as make us thankful to fall back on the other. We resist temptation to give examples in both styles by architects made

later than Vanbrugh, who have still better carned Pope's famous epitaph-

> Lie heavy on him, earth, for he La.d many a heavy load on thee,'

The sadden popularity of pure Greek architecture, from the the when Stuart and his successors made it known in England, was the tribute of a true instinct to its supreme excellence; and the reaction which followed was due quite as much to the mause of the style by our architects, as to the revived taste for on own exquisite national forms of building. As we have been charged with some hard savings on this matter, let us isther hear the distinguished historian of architecture, who is above suspicion of prejudice against the profession he adorns. The difference, says Mr. Fergusson, between a true and copying art is this, that the Greeks placed no stone and no moulding where it had not an obvious object and meaning. with can be easily detected by those who rea ly seek to undersand the language in which it is expressed. A modern archilett, on the conterry, employs these forms merely as ornaments, sibout the least reference to the purpose for which they were inented, or the uses to which they were or ginally devoted.' Hence the innumerable examples of grand porticoes set up where they are equally unmeaning and uscless; in front of inignificant baildings which wanted only a modest porch, or in the mindle of a long facade between wings whose meanness is aggravated by the pretent ourness of the central ornament; or a screen before windows, darkening the room within and outracting the view without; besides generally dictating to the shole building a vast sacrifice of constructive usefulness. is remembered further that the imitation was often of the ladest character, a mere skeleton of the Greek orders, stripped of all the refinements of form and ornament, sculpture and conors, which were the living body clothing the dry bones, it " no wonder that a generation, which was at the same time staight the beauties of English architecture, revolted from the classic style; and it required the extravagancies of certain recent Gottic and Palladian buildings to reconcile us with renewed andfulness to the pure Grecian works which we still possess from the hands of Smirke and Soane, Wilkins and—best of all-Cockerell.

At the root of our classical absurdities lay the one great error of regarding only the external features of Greek architecture, and being content with a classification of the 'orders' and a baswledge of their component parts. It may, indeed, be readily

granted

granted that outward grandeur and beauty was the first aim of citizens who lived daily in the open air and made the adonment of their city their highest pride; but their buildings were for use as well as ornament, and the very perfection of the exterior may assure us that the same art and constructive sail would be exerted to the utmost in producing an interior no less Especially must this be true of the temples of the excellent. gods, which, besides the image of the deity enshrined them were filled with rich offerings and works of art. But jet to little do students, or even architects, know or care about the interiors, that the mutilated skeleton of the Parthenon, or the unfinished imitation which somewhat ironically asserts for our northern capital the name of 'the Modern Athens,' forms a fit emblem of the extent of general knowledge about Gred temples. Our ideas may almost be summed up in the bree description of Milton's l'andemonium (a name, by the bye, on unsuited to some modern works) :-

Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Dorie pillars, overlaid
With marble architrave; nor did there want
Cornice and frieze, with bossy sculptures graven.

but if we follow in imagination where

'the Lasty multitude Admiring entered,'

we are required by contending schools of architectural critic so to believe that we should find the sanctuary, with all its paintings and works of art—even to the gold and ivory statues at the Parthenon and Olympia shrouded in the 'darkness visible' at such light as the narrow doorway would admit, or laid open the sky under a great aperture in the roof, letting in the will and driving snow, and the torrents of rain which are frequent to the hilly lands of Grocea. For the idea of artificial illumination, appropriate as it was in 'the hall of that infernal court where—

'from the arched roof,
Pondent by subtile magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing crossets, fed
With maphtha and asphaltum yielded light
As from a sky '--

is out of the question here. Not to insist on the insuffemble smoke from torches and rude oil lamps, we must have had some mention of such artificial lighting, if it had been in ordinary use. This question of the admission of light involves to

emi.re

the problem of the construction of the roof, and further of he whole internal arrangement of the temples. The attempt polve it on principles of common sense and sound mechanical postruction, and in such a manner as to do justice to the attackal skill as well as the supreme artistic taste of the Greeks, was made by Mr. Pergusson as long ago as 1848; and was, after five-and-thirty years, he has given us his theory in a matured form. While his title, 'the Parthenon,' indicates be great example which forms the climax of the work, the discussion embraces nearly all that is essential for a knowledge If threek temple architecture in general. We do not, of course, sopose now to traverse the wide and well-beaten ground, but betace those points of special interest and novelty which have

Greek temple from its earliest forms.

At the very threshold lies a trap into which many systemawers have fallen, by devising imaginary theories instead of making a patient search for facts. It is very tempting to fancy ma in a state of nature making his first rude efforts at buildby framing together the trunks of trees laid borizontally, with porches supported on posts, and to find herein the first element of the Grecian temple; or to seek the origin of the the aspiring lightness of the Gothic column and arch in the Baks and interlacing boughs of northern forests; while, in (sountries where wood is scarce, the first elements of construction In found in bricks of mud or clay, quarried stones, or rockswa caves. However plausible such theories may be, theythe all other evolutionary hypotheses—are of no real value till by have stood the test of Listorical investigation by means of ment examples or trustworthy records. Thus, in the case of Steek architecture, it is one thing to recognize a certain degree Iderivation from a primitive structure of wood, in the forms shich exist in stone; it is quite another thing to evolve in our Parthenon, without regard to the strict evidence of lacts. The earliest existing buildings in Greece are of quite a different character, both in their form and their evident purpose; and her material is stone, manifestly not copied from earlier strucwes in wood. Of these monuments of the pre-historic people, whom, for want of more exact knowledge, we are content to all Pelasgians, the most characteristic are those domed chambers, in the shape of gignntue bee-hives, called either ressuries or tombs, and probably in fact both, which were

^{* &#}x27;The true Principles of Beauty in Ait.'

already among the wonders of the world in the historic times of Greece, and have been recently investigated by Dr. Schliemans, at Mycenie and Orchomenos." It is quite clear that the arelatecture of these early inhabitants of Greece, whose etune affinities appear to have been with the Phrygians on the one hand and with the Etruscans on the other, had no influence on the Dorie style of their Hellenic successors. It may, hosever, have had some connection with the lonic, for its to a characteristic ornamentation is the flowing feet or spiral, what also distinguishes the Ionic capital, while the Dorie uses to

square fret or 'key-pattern.'

Mr. Fergusson says that the Pelasgic style disappears with the return of the Herselidæ, in other words, avoiding war a mythical or merely traditional, the gulf that divides the primtive and historic ages of Greece appears also in her architecture which is indeed the only certain evidence of the preteductions. The carliest known epoch of Doric architecture is a strelater than that of the beginning of Greek history with the Olympiads (v.c. 776). We know of no temple that can be dated earlier than the foundation of Symcuse (about 2735); and it is a curious fact, that the most ancient Doric temples are found in the colonies of Sicily and Maria Greek with the most ancient Doric temples are found in the colonies of Sicily and Maria Greek Point Gracia rather than in the mother country. In Greece Propu the oldest temple known appears to be that at Corinth (abr.) B.C. 600); but the earliest extent temples in the regular Done style, at Ortygia in Sicily and at Metapontum in Magin Gracia, may be dated about B.C. 700. There were of course -says Mr. Fergusson-temples, the precursors of the Done, in Greece before 700; but it is only by inference that we can guess what their forms were, and it would be rash to call ther Doric. So far as we can now see, their architecture was what of wood; and whether they assumed at that early age the forms which were afterwards character zed as Dorie, is more than we are at present able to decide.' Of this primitive wooden architecture a curious relie, ascribed by tradition to the mythic acre was preserved to the times of the Antorines; when Pausonial saw, in the hinder chamber topisthodomus) of the Herrem a Olympia, a solitary decayed oaxen column, propped up nereligious care by the Eleans, who claimed it as the one traof their king Enomans, the rival of Pelops, which remains when his house was destroyed by lightning. The same trave of

^{*} See Set Remann's 'Mycenw,' and 'Crehomenos' Amgraharger, Txipus. Pest and on the 'Rear of Mellenic Studies,' vol. i... † Paus. V. 15, 3-1, and 26, §§ 6, 7

was is," but only as a tradition reported to him, that the primiby temple of Pescidon at Mantinea was said to have been assurcted of timbers wrought and fitted together by Agamedes ad Tropbonias. Now, wai e the mythical character of these portions forbils their use as evidence of the historical deaspment of Greek architecture, the latter hints at another stuence, for Agamedes and Trophonius were the reputed unders of the treasury of King Hyricus in Bootin, and the of the treasury of the Egyptian king Rhampsinitus.† A mass significance may be traced in the connection with cupt of the mythical Redalus, the great muster-workman, toniy in architecture, but in the carving of the first artistic s in word (50ave-one derivation of his name is the woodrer') and the reputed inventor of those tools of carpentrysaw, the axe, and drill,-which that to cite it as more than omendence) we see in full are in early Egyptian paintings. It is, then, one thing to recognize the fact, that the early cooks erected buildings of wood, with posts for pillars—as, seed, we use them to the present day, when suitable to the quared structure, such as a porch or versiodali; it is quite other thing to assume that the whole structural forms and cattal details of the Doric style were evolved out of that unitive wooden architecture. Here is one of the cases in as a fanciful theory must yield to true archaeological seience, ided by existing monuments. Written records give us absoay no information, and Mr. Pergusson justly remarks on contemptuous silence of Virravius about the pure Grecian oc, as if it were a style forgotten in his day, The theorists we quite right in finding reminiscences of the early wooden diffecture in the perfected temples, but they overlooked the tations suggested by that same evidence; and the very es of the wooden edifices which they copied, guides us, the one hand, in restoring those parts, but also in disguishing them from the rest. At first sight, nothing can be se obvious than the assumption, that the pilears of a Doric then, without a base, and with only a capital composed of t simple rebinus (a cap with oral outline) and above it the can a square slab), represent wooden columns supporting reassive horizontal member, the very name of which, in

Pers VIII 10, using 2. He chardy does not seem that the old smeatury, and, he form not trouble presence Hadron land to the design of the course of the transmission of the seem of the transmission of the tra

our modern language, implies the assumption of its primiter form, namely, the architrave, that is, chief beam, on waich the whole roof rests. But Mr. Fergusson contends that the plant massive surface of the architrave suggests maker the original wall, on which the roof rested in a non-columnar edifice, and he cites one of the oldest extant examples of a complete Dark temple, that of Artemis at Ortygia, as exemplifying a construction where the colonnade was made as much like a wall as possible, the pillars being only their own diameter apart the abaci almost touching one another, and the architrave desauggerated depth. True, the wooden architrave does none times appear, but it is at the opposite extremity both of distand style; for Vitruvius describes its use in the case where he intercolumntations were too wide for beams of stone or market and this very construction is found in the colonnade of the Forum at Pompeii, in combination with stone columns are stone frieze; in fact, an architectural sham, like our intercolumns and the colonnade of the

girders hidden in stone façades.

Next as to the pillars, which are commonly regarded as being the mere imitation of primitive wooden posts, Mr. Ferguss holds that, 'like the architrave, they have not a single wood suggestion about them.' The Doric column is characterized by its massive dimensions, its great thickness in proportion to the height, and a sharply tapering form, which is most decided a the earliest examples, and in all cases beyond that of any natural trunks of trees. It is a minor point, but not unworthy of notice that, in the two examples of primeval wooden edifices alread cited, the timber specified is oak, and not a word is said of columns cut from tapering pines. Mr. Fergusson believes the original pillars to have been squared posts, without any d mi nution towards the base or capital; for, he argues, there is at constructive reason why a wooden post should taper upwarfs or should swel, anywhere except in the centre, to guard against *The true mechanical form is a log of the sam thickness and strength throughout, and the best carpentry fxs is that of a beam with its supports let into the foundation of which it rests; when so used, it is mechanically perfect.' Ill finds a confirmation of this view in the peculiar shape of the Doric capital, where the abacus and echinus are quate is togonistic to wooden construction. If carpentry was ever used the wooden pillars must have been framed into the wooden architrave by some sort of bracket capital, and the

This qualification is important for no and assumption is implied a the Greek name, adopted a Latin, swiet how, spirity can that a samply the message upon the columns.

depended for stability on framing, not on gravity, which essential characteristic of the Doric order as we now it.' Of such a construction he sees a curious indi-n in a picture on the celebrated François Vase (about 300) representing a Doric portico over a fountain; where easts of the columns are continued right up to the lower er of the architrave, and joined to it by what appear to be tess on each side. But these brackets have also the profile e echinus and abacus, and the tapezing columns show the mee of stone architecture; while on the same vase we have her picture of a Doric temple in antis, very literally renwith the pillars sloping inward, and the stone capitals slete. Though, therefore, we may assume the bracket als of the example to be the reminiscence of a very early it only proves that this capital continued to be used in or erections long after it had been superseded by a different borrowed from stone architecture, in sacred buildings. be very early Doric temples, such as that at Ortygia, the rounded echinus is very suggestive of the bracket form

the light of strict archieological evidence, the question of rigin of the Doric order may be considered as decided by comarkable façades of the tombs at Reni-Hassan, which to familiar to students of Egyptian antiquities to need sular description. These monuments of the Twelfth sty, that is to say, at least a thousand years earlier than dest Greek temples, exhibit the order in so exact a form all agree in calling it the 'Proto Doric'; nor is there now afficulty in admitting the very early influence of Egypt on be. But it is important to observe the actual extent of the

ablance, as defined by Mr. Pergusson: -

o pillar and the arcl itrave are nearly identical, but above that, but be expected, we to not find any of these parts which reprehe roof in the Doric. . . . It thus happens that the Pretehe roof in the Boric. . . . It thus happens that the Pretehe roof in the Boric. . . . It thus happens that the Pretehe roof in the Boric. . . . It thus happens that the Pretehe roof in the Boric. . . . It thus happens that the Pretehe Gracocoder, but does not overlap it in any part. We may now
cortainly assert that the Doric pillar, with its abacus, was a
boment of stone architecture, and borrowed from the Egyptian,
probably with the commus, but that is not so clear. The
mee was common to both styles, but, as used by the Greeks, it
have been an original invention of theirs, without any hint from
a sources. The triglyph, the metope, the cornice, and all the
off the roof, were adopted by the Greeks from their primitive
in architecture, and are wholly original and their own.

construction of these upper members of the Greek o 2 temple,

temple, in its normal form (but with due regard to special and abnormal cases), is the problem taken in hand by Mr. Leignico with the particular object of determining the method by which the light of heaven was admitted. The question will be simp ified and better defined by some reference to the dad stages of their development. The original idea was not tall of a building to receive a congregation of worshippers, but of shrine for the inciwelling of the deity (just as also the tempk # lerusalem was 'the house of Gud'); a sanctuary to which the worshippers went up in procession at their festivals, and wen arrunmodated in its precincts. The essential part, there ore was a chamber, the noos of the Greeks, the cello ci the Roman (a name at'll preserved in the Celtic Ail for 'charch'), in which was the image of the deity. It is needless to enquire but simple such sanctuaries may have been at first; but it became natural, or rather necessary, to add a porch for the protection the entrance and the worshippers from sun and rain. Ih simplest form of such a panch, and that already suggested by the examples at Beni Hassan, was muce by prolonging in side-walls and terminating them by square pidars (called the Greek parastades, and in Latin auto), between which we two detacled columns, the central opening being opposite if The whole arrangement constitutes the nace # the doorway parastan of the Greeks, the tempular in autis of the Roman To complete the uses of the temple, a hinder chamber will added, for a treasury and other purposes, which we must so stry to describe; and thus we have the threefold form, with was retained in the most elaborate examples, of the presess of perfice, the naes or ced, and the op sthoucous (hinder-house or postienm, the second chamber, which was the actual said tuary, being the largest. By placing a projecting portion tour detacled pillars in front of the line of the autre, instead of only two between them, the temple became prostule, or, with such a portico in rear as well as front, amplaprostyle. The we have the first three of the seven regular forms classified

t This word also denoted the back portice, when the temple had to

We had according to not No abstract January and 157, p. 185, to out the Solder and a manage of a decrease of the strategy of the supportant decrease of the supportant decrease and it is now a cell of special arrows that, in these very printing of the cells there are not a formal out of brick, on to treate a construction of the cells of the c

Fravise, in all of which the side walls presented an difficulty to be use of vertical windows, it the architects chose to introduce them. That they did no in some cases, expecially in the role order, we know from extant examples, for the details a which we must be content to refer to Mr. Fergusson's pages, as well as for the exceptional cases in which the smallness of the empte made the light from the entrance sufficient, some-

lines asided by windows on each side of the door.

bew persons, who have given the least thought to the teaching of their own experience, will question the vast superiority of sping it windows to skylights (even with all the help of glass), John for the ordinary uses of light, and much more for its effect a ruminating the statues and other works of art, which glorihe be breek temples. But the latter consideration at once meess the superiority of light admitted from above, to side moreows in the main walls of the cell; and thus the question of the construction of the of Now it is an extraordinary fact, that on norther of these points of construction does Vitruvius give us any mhumation putting ande, for the moment, the solit my passage on which the hyperbral theory is based); and we have only a incidental alusions to the roofs of temples in other Puers. But these are enough to prove that the usual form we the ordinary ridge-mof, which is plainly denoted by the sungular peniment surmounting the portico an arrangement that at once suggests an absurdity, if the roof thus indicated overed the portico only; and, further, that the roof was conr i found among the rains), or plates of stone or marble, and a some cases of gilt bronze. Among the many testimonies to is general use of wooden roofs, two are of special interest for our whent enquiry. Pliny cites as an example of the durability of their woods the timber of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. stich had lasted 100 years (B.C. 330 to s.D. 70), and especially be redar planking of its roof; and Strabo, expressly referring one fact that the roof was the part destroyed in its successive Padagrations, asks the question which bears closely on the quethral theory, tafter the conflagration, and when the root as destroyed, who would have wished to have a deposit lying here, with the success enclosure open to the sky (do brailly to word als normal state on the common view !

The resonant of one for, supporting by the country of wishweghter could be tact to a measure to force for, supporting by the Curve of the formal in the forest of the country of Greek and Homes Arte union, not Tourne.

The

The details of such a roof, as worked out by Mr. Fergusson's artistic and constructive skill, are too technical to follow here; but one point is essential for our discussion. Most expositor have been content to regard the triglaphs in the Doric frieze at the ends of solid joists, carved with a decorative pattern. But Mr. I ergusson refuses to charge the Greek architect with such a needless waste and weight of solid tunber, and with convincing ingenuity he shows how much better the whole red is constructed, if we regard its sloping supports as made of three planks bolted together by wooden trousils; the ends of these planks forming the triglyph, and the mutules on the now surface of the frieze (which always preserve the same slope # the roof) representing the trensils that fastened them to the wall-plate. Be this as it may, it is evident that either kind of timber construction would leave those open spaces between triglyphs, which retained in the stone-work the significant asset of ope (holes); and these would serve as windows for the admission of light in the three simpler forms of temple that tar described. For the exact mode in which this may have been managed, we must be content to refer to Mr. Fergusson's work while we pass on to his new solution of the more interes at and difficult problem raised by the peristylar class of temples?

When a more magnificent form was given to the temple | widening the portico from four columns to six or eight, an carrying a colonnade of one or two rows of pillars round to sides of the cell, with the roof of course projecting over the whole, it is evident tout the spaces between the triglyphs could no longer serve for the admission of light into the cell, and k tact they were always fuled in with those sculptured slabs called metoper, the examples of which from the Parthenna ador our Elgin Gallery. We have therefore an entirely new form the problem, to discover by what construction of the roof light was admitted into the sanctuary; for it was certainly through the roof, unless we are content with the atterly improbable hypothesis, that the large temples were lighted only throng the door. Here Mr. Fergusson first takes his stand on a principle of common sense, that, whereas 'it appears diffice for British architects to consider their Grecian brethma other than incompetent bunglers, we ought to give the

these sections tops and the metric of the product product the temper of the little of the which to give inled as the perfected form of the temper of the follow Mr. Fergussian in a right to personal term to rise the the period the lipteral and the possed relative to V true right. I much the product lighting a tdention.

triaitel

[.] There is a very common and not annatural confurers of language bets

meers of art full credit for mere mechanical skill. But to morer how they used their skill, their extant works must be thoughtfully investigated, and not merely copied with a comter disregard of their original use and meaning.

It is, indeed, thus false system of art that lies at the root of all our explanities on this question. If, instead of puzzling themselves such clience or corrupt texts and false analogies, architects had set a such to discover, from existing remains, how Greek temples could last be lighted, the question would long ago have been solved. The traits were neither fools nor savages, but on the contrary the exercist architects we know of, and we have every reason to believe int the interiors of the temples were as perfect as we know the exercist architects we know of, and we have every reason to believe int the interiors of the temples were as perfect as we know the exercise to have been. To contend, therefore, that they alone, of all people in the world, could not put a weather tight roof on the exples, while admitting the requisite quantity of light for their lumation, seems one of the most monstrous propositions that ever map at forward. There are many ways in which the end might be exemplished, without much taxing their ingenuity. One of the act obvious was to introduce a range of openings high up the cells has under the peristyles. Windows so attented would have been procity protected from the weather in all circumstances, and the light introduced so situated as, according to our ideas, to need all the artistic exigencies of the case. If it was not adopted as we have it never was—it must have been that the Greek architects here of some better expedient, which was mechanically as perfect, and appears to us the most obviously practical mode of introducing with. What that was, it is the object of this treatise to explain.

To give the result of Mr. Fergusson's most claborate and agenious discussion in one word, the method of lighting for such he contends was by a clerestory, to horrow the name from to Gothic church, to the internal arrangement of which markable analogy. The attempt to do justice to Mr. Fergisson's argument in detail would require us to reproduce most the substance of his moderate-sized quarto, without the aid of s numerous and elaborate ithustrations. It must therefore unice, in making the theory clear to our readers, to indicate anain supports on which it rests. In all the great Greeinn Drie temples, with very few exceptions, we find internal rows of columns, the use of which is generally unintelligible and in some cases quite inconsistent with sound principles of construction, if regarded only as supports to the roof, which did bet need their aid, while they only encumber the internal area. list their introduction is at once explained, it they upheld an maer wall beneath the roof, pierced with openings for the admission admission of light. The interior colonnade might be of two stories, or of one, especially by the use of the taller propotions of the lonic pillar; but that which may be regarded to the normal arrangement, as exemplified in the Partheoco. appears to be such as the following. Entering at the eastern door -tor, strange to say, all the extant temples in Green Proper contradict the assertion of Virravius, that the postcipal front was to the west there was on each side a race of Dorie coloring,-the places of some of them being stall visible on the floor, surmounted by a second range of the same order on a smaller scale, which supported the internal wall pierced with windows, probably with pilasters over to columns. The middle story formed an internal gallery (irregular -like the Gothic triforium -the roof of which served at the same time as the floor of an external gallery under the man roof of the edifice and between the elerestory wall, on me one side, and the back surface of the frieze of the cells, on the other. This external gallery is called by Mr. Fergusson opaion (oracion), as being the essential arrangement for the admission of light through the windows (orac), by means corresponding holes in the roof above. Such holes might partly detended from the min flowing down the roof ty man of tiles provided with a fender-edge (imbrer); and Mr Fergusson gives a drawing of such a tile, found by Mr. Cocked at Bassa, in its place in a restored view of the roof. Any is or snow passing direct through these perforated tiles would fill on the floor of the option, that is, the roof of the internagailery, and none would enter the temple. The drainage of the opaion might be effected in various ways, which Mr. Fergussel discusses. He fines the origin of this system of lighting, as a the Doric order itself, in Egypt, where, as he holds, the cents avenue of the great hypostyle hall of Karnak was provided an a clerestory, from which the light was thrown into the eclar undes on each side, these latter having flat roofs, suited to the rainless climate of Egypt. He very ingeniously adduces as connecting link the temple of Denetic at Eleusis, with it triple aisles on each side of the central nave, its ground-portioning a square equal to just half of the great double square of the half at Karnak. A form so remarkably different from a prevalent plan of the Greek temples is the more likely to bat been derived from Egypt, considering the connection was Herodotus (ii, 59) recognizes between Is,s and Demeter, the belief of Lactantius and others, that the Eleusinian mysters were closely allied to those of Isis. For further particulars of the theory, and a full discussion

the detailed arrangements and difficulties, of which he evades size, we must be content to refer to Mr. Fergasson's work. The psen has, at all events, the one merit of bringing back the action of lighting Greek temples within the domain of common case, and of presenting an harmonious and admirable result, thirn has stood the test of experiment in a model of the Partheson, which Mr. Fergusson has constructed on a large scale." Isking as a test the example of the Parthenon-not only the owning glory of Greek art, but artistically the most perfect difice raised by the hands of man, he asks us to go with him a quest of interior arrangements worthy of the sanctuary itself ad of the chryselephantine statue there enshrined as the climax

Greek sculpture,

These principles furnish a test of that other theory—the marsheal, or open skylight-which has been generally accepted lung the last balf-century, but which we have purposely perred till last, from the conviction that it has no fair ' prebesteve claim to notice. When, in 1815, Quatremere de kincy undertook his celebrated restoration of Phidias's chryssphantine statue of Jove at Olympia, he cited the general prement of preceding writers, that the Greek temples e lighted only by the door; but he himself adopted a sugst.on already thrown out by Stuart in a vague form, that get was admitted by an opening in the coof, which he sured as semicircular in order to give headroom for the statue. h this theory Mr. Fergusson observes that 'to cut a square ming in a waggen-vault, to remove the keystone in fact is architectural solecism which, we may feel sure, the sense of cutectural propriety in a Greek would never have tolerated in r vault, either in stone or wood. Besides this, the wandering the from a naked skylight would have been most inartistic at disagreeable; not only because of the glaring sun which but have shone on the worshippers at mid-day, but of the rain snow against which, on this system, it was impossible to wide any protection. Everything, in fact, combined to ofer this mode of lighting the temple most objectionable, hale the gain in height was insignificant.' Throughout the ficle part of this century the theory was warmly debated by

architects.

Apart from this model are reader more on the evidence of lighting post of establishment in the land of constructed by Mr. Forgresson, in new Caroline, Man North's west westerful drawings of training places a measurement of there by if both. Of course to Forts are hore in drawt of next with the case but in other respects the given a very pleasing me, remained of the case with its presents and other be orations, and the ground also may by represent the customs which tempered the light.

architects, scholars, and archaeologists, the result being in general acceptance in one form or another; its opponents faling back on the mere admission of light through the door; while Mr. Fergusson stood alone in suggesting the explanation, which he has now worked up fully, of the hyperthral form mentioned by Vitravius. For it will probably susprise those brought on in the prevalent opinion to learn that, so far as ancient tenmony is concerned, the theory rests on one single passage of Vitruvius (iii. 1, s. 2), which betrays internal avidence of con-Even here, it is well worth observing, we have no description of the general mode of lighting, much less that is was through a hole in the roof, but the hypothres is mentioned last, as a distinct form of temple, after the six others to which we have already referred; so that to extend the system to all temple, on the alleged authority of Vitruvius, is an assumption utterly a variance even with this solitary text. Next, Vitruvius associate the hypæthros with one particular armagement of the column the docustyle, that is ten both in the front and back portions with the side colonnades as in the other peristylar forms. He adds that it was in all other respects like the dipteral, t except to the internal columns stood further from the walls, to admit of coculation as in the external colonnades, that is, they formed to aisles—an incidental argument for the different purpose serve by the more common arrangement. The whole tenor of the passage justifies the presumption, that \ itruvius is described examples comparatively late (though possibly derived free carlier forms); and he concludes by saying, as the text not stands, 'Of this, however, there is no example at Rome, but s Athens an octastyle, in the Olympian temple;"; whereas the great temple of Jupiter Olympius, begun at an early period, by finished by Hadrian, still testition by its extant remains that was decastyle, as Vitruvius has said of the hypethros. 'Was know,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'that the temple of Jupiter of Athens was decastyle and dipteral, and had all the poculiaritie Vitruvius describes, and it is the only one that existed or exists

Athens and thus the passage became a testimony that the Parthouse hppschral;

The writings on both sides, since the well-known work of Ross (&c)
 Hupsukral Tempel make) and the reply of Bothcher, in 1846 and 1847 described in Mr Forgusson's Introduction.

described in Mr Fergusson's Introduction.

† Inat is, will two rows of plants in the side colounades.

† Huges autom (or, item, exemplar Remains non-oat, sed Athenia cetsatyle
(et in) temple Olympic, as it stands in Schneider a odition, but the worstbrackets are constituted in the more critical edition of Rose and Mulicr-Statist
Lips, 1867. Mr Fergusson, using Schneider, but seeing the obvious
engagets 'est in, and supposes that 'some over-elever editor emaged by
onto of and descargles into octorights, because he know of a famous betauty.

There is and thus the research became a feetiment that the Parkhouse

ove which possesses them. It certainly was one of the temples and to by Vitruvius, and I believe the only one.'

olowing, therefore, what we know of the history of that se, and elaborately discussing the evidence of its remains, susparasion with the ruins of the only three other temples known re leven hyperthrul," Mr. Fergusson has devised an explanaas original and ingenious as that of the corestory in the temple. The phrase of Vitruvius—his sole definition, isting of seven words of the middle part is under the open athout a roof t'-might indeed seem decisive in favour of common hypothesis, if 'the middle' necessarily meant the se central chamber, the cella; but this is to rest the whole ment on the one word medium, which may equally well to any space, a particular court, thus left open within the So Mr. Pergusson interprets the word; 'ne did not mean the cells of the temple was without a roof, but that, in the le of such temples, a space was left without a roof, in order light might by these means be admitted to the great low of the temple '-a window extending across the upper of the east wall of the cella, and throwing through its grilles blinds a flood of brilliant but tempered light upon the of the deity.; In this form the roof would naturally, almost necessarily, be arched, of course in wood; and roofs are represented on coins surmounting the statue e deity, in dipteral temples; but as these coins are all r late Roman imperial age, they have no bearing on the le at Olympia. And as, in the Doric windows of the thral mode of lighting presents an analogy to the great end lows of the nave or choir in our churches. But Mr. Per-to finds another most interesting parallel in the cave on of India, some twenty or thirty of which are lighted in manner. Nor is this a mere resemblance, but he claims it strong confirmation; for all these temples are found in a of India, and may be safely referred to a date, which puts

at Ibdo as, near Mileta, and the functs one of Artemia, at Epicetis;

which are carefully analyzed by Mr. berganson.

Medium astern aste an estante techn. We may here point out, in passing,
Medium astern aste an estante techn. We may here point out, in passing,
Macy of asterning that the word hypothese ("open to the air or sky")

and million that the whole, or earn the chief part, of the internal area

of the names are taken from some one of at active feature, so a

consequence of material may mann) would be properly railed

and.

natust refer the reader to Mr. Forgussen's work, for his ingretiens mothed by the lower part of his appetural court so as he make it a covered be in hercets.

them within the range of Greek influence after the in Alexander—the very epoch when, in Greece itself, the architecture with its elerestory was being supersede Cormthan, with its hypothral lights. For the whole is subject to an historical arrangement, which Mr. I sums up in the following propositions: 1,1) That, us (Grecian Doric temples were lighted by opasons or chi (2) That Ionic temples, except of the largest class, w rally lighted by windows such as we would use when not available. (3) That Corinthian temples were, (4) That t lighted by hypothes, or pseudo-hypothes. in the ancient world-with the solitary exception of theon at Rome-was lighted by a horizontal, as tinguished from a vertical opening.' And, as to exception, first, the Pantheon was not originally a te the lacoureum of Agrippa's baths; and, secondly, the window in the centre of a vault is structurally as so square opening in a common roof is absurd and inartis

The discussion of the hypethral question has ledgusson to an examination of the renowned temple at with a result as striking for its ingenuity as the s interesting in itself, The very site of that wonds world - the temple of the great goddess Diana, w her magnificence whom all Asm and the world worship was uncertain till about twenty yours ago, and-we quote Mr. Fergusson's praise of the explorer whose co he contests-'all we really know about it is due to J. T. W. domitable courage and perseverance of Mr. not only discovered the long-lost temple, but during whole years, in spite of every possible discouragement veted till be had acraped the foundations bare, and away all the available remains, and all the informat on now be obtained regarding it.' † On his return to Ex 1874, Mr. Wood published a popular account of his di with a rest red plan of the temple; but he has hitherto his working plan, and other details of scientific a future claborate work. Unfortunately he seems regarded the few most interesting facts he has established themselves sufficient to solve the problem of restoration the statements of writers who lived while the edifica-

Actan to the compared whetell of Episons as exhanged to leavel the astembal community of a stable by subserving.

its glory, when they appeared to conflict with his conons: another illustration, by contrast, of the essential

immentary value of literature and archivology.

be glance at the history of the edifice, in itself most ining, is necessary for the comprehension of the problem. les a few scattered notices, our knowledge depends on the accounts of Strabo and Priny," of whom the former lived dy before, and the latter at the very time, when St. Paul at with wild beasts at Ephesus, a populace stirred up by aful and venerable superstition. We are expressly told, in ymn of Callimachus to Artemis, that the worship of the ic godeess, whom the Greeks identified with their deity, on the spot when the lonians settled there, doubtless ly with the primitive wooden idol which (like the Palladium ir Polisa beethren at Hinm; had fallen down from beaven, has preserved, as Pliny tells us, in all the successive temples. bese there were no less than eight in succession, occupyrobably the same spot, on the alluvial soil below the full a the ionians chose for their stronghold; and the locality is currously attested by the story told by Herodotus. when Cresus began has attacks on the Greeks by besieging tus, the people joined the city to the temple by a rope. first five we know nothing, and the history of what Pliny the university templary, which took 220 years in building, cost of all Asia, embraces the three last, of all which wood has found some remains. The first was built by the in architect Chersiphron, and his son Metagenes, in the of Criesus, who contributed several pillars to the new e; so that we may fix its date about p.c. 550. It was at the same time that Sociates was put to death, in \$100; and, by another coincidence, its successor, built by its, the architect of the rival lane of Dodyma near

rate visited Ephenic a meelf. In apeaking of our spherance of Pleny's fire, W. Ecquise i has perh ps fagotten to i into of annear appeared by of a cooker. At the end of the Theory with, in which the free instantial fire the writer, Virunius, and also Mucanius, whom he can another place. Avi, do a 79) as having occur for a consult and he writer on the traple—doubt on from persons knowledge of it. The late of, Strate tells he, was written by the artificial Checip new is not by P. A. Late may have one used by him moments. Checip new is not by P. A. Late may have one used by him moments.

The second of the case place of the directly of the coder roof of this and of the mage, which have elected (though one or tensind a meswood) as placed togetter. It is represented the colors as on an have ideal, covered reasts to him as a "Virth".

Milet in.

Miletus, was burnt by the maniacal enthusiast Herostratus, the glory of the deed, on the night in which Alexander a Great was born (n.c. 356).* The patriotism of the city eval. Alexander's offer to restore the temple, on the condition his inscribing his name upon it, by the courtly excuse that was not becoming for a god to build temples to the gods; his favourite architect, Dinocrates, the designer of Alexanda was employed to rear the temple, which remained one of the Seven Wonders of the World, till it was awallowed up thime and the marshes which have usurped the site of Ephens The date n.c. 330 for its completion makes up Pliny's 21 years, and agrees with his statement that the woodwork is

lasted 400 years (namely to A.D. 70).

Mr. Wood laid bare portions of the foundations of all the tire successive edifices; and this most important of his discovered at once explains what was pernaps the grandest character of the edifice, the podium, or pyramid of steps, about 10 feet high on which it was mised; doubtless not only for grandeur, lot a as to cover and include the pavements of the two former edificaportions of which were found at their respective hereb above the outer court. We cannot stay to dwell upon a details, nor upon Mr. Fergusson's most admirable restorated of this podium, which (we may suppose), covered with relati on all its four faces, and surmounted by a crowd of statues if marble and bronze, mingled with architectural ornanem formed the chief glory of the fane. To its platform we man apply the dimensions given by Pliny for the universals temporary namely, 425 feet in length by 220 in breadth; and Mr Fergass shows, with his usual ingenuity, the agreement (according this own restoration) of Pliny's breadth with that determine by Mr. Wood's most important discovery of a length broke but in situ) of 100 feet of the lowest step of the podium. 0 the temple itself, Mr. Wood found in will the bases of one the antes and portions of the walls of the cella, sufficient decide its breadth; and also the bases of two of the si pillars, an outer one on the north, and an inner one or south, exactly in the positions most useful for the determinant of the whole peristyle; for we know, on the express testimes of Vitruvius, that the temple was lonic, octostyle, and dioters That it was not made decastyle, like the temple of Didyma, was due doubtless to a desire to follow its older form in gencol while improving and enlarging it in a manner to be present

^{*} Strabo XIV. p. 640. Circero, do Not. Decr. 1 97.

† Such is doubtless the true reading in the corrupted text of Strabo.

described.

described.* But that each of the two reconstructions was a ebuilding, and no mere restoration with the old pillars still conding, is a necessary consequence of the increased height of be platform. Nor is it unimportant for the whole argument, in remember that Dinocrates was an architect with ideas as mand as his master's, into whose colossal likeness he proposed becave Mr Athos! If, however, we are to accept Mr Wood's estoration, we must suppose that the new edifice he mised on his wonderful podium, tell far short of the 'truly admirable magnificence' ascribed to it by Pliny and the universal voice of antiquity. Thus Philo, naming it among the Seven Wonders of the World, says: 'It is the only house of the gods; whoever examines it would believe that the gods had left their immortal egions to come down and live on earth; and Pausanias expiendour, while next to it came the temple of Apollo at machide, another name for that at Didyma; and Strabo MIV. p. 634, 647) confirms this statement. Here we have a charte standard of comparison, applying which to Mr. Wood's estoration, we have the direct contradiction, that the great presian temple was inferior to that at Didyma, by the test of their extent ruins,

The crar of the whole question lies in a curious point of muchism. Pliny t gives us the dimensions, as above, and the iginti septem a singulis regibus factic, L.N. pedum altitudine ex a XXXVI, celatæ una a Scopa. In defiance of the well-zown critical canon, which has a very special application there the error seems so obvious that no transcriber could nake it wilfully- lectio difficilior &c. preferenda est '-comnentators have generally agreed that a peristylar temple could tos, from its symmetry, have had an odd number of columns and would arbitrarily read CXXVIII., which is the less admissible as the number is given in words. Equally wilful, but and therefore equally absurd, is the insertion of a commu, to dutinguish the number of columns from those of them given by tings, whether we read with Mr. Falkener, 120 columns, 7 tiven by kings, or with Mr. Wood, 100 columns, 27 given by lags. True criticism tells us that 127 must be right, if it be

This view is confirmed by coupling the statement of Vitrarius (III 1, s. 2) must the temple of Cherrydron with the fact, established by Mr. Wood, that the statement of the latest temple are cetartyle, as Vitrarius affirms.

• If A VAAVI 14 s. 21 The argument, that the columns were not all

HANKANI 14 a 21. The argument, that the columns were not all him by kings but access by either and private persons, is two refined in what ring a compiler like Pliny, who doubtless had in unit in statement of Hersiotan (one of its cited authorities) about the columns given by Crosus.

not absolutely impossible, or rather it would not have been a written had it been impossible, and the stroke of real genus by which Mr. Fergusson solves it, is in itself convircing struck by the product, $3 \times 9 = 27$, and well-knowing (under the simple-minded critics) that a crutral column in the hinter portice was not without precedent, as at Agrigentum, Pastan and elsewhere, he imagined three rows of 9 columns in the hinter portice, leaving 100 to be accounted for as follows: the front octastyle portice, if with three rows, would have 24 and supposing two pairs of columns between the anter (4 in all, we get 28; leaving 72 to be arranged in two rows of 12 a each flank of the cella; the whole being summed up as tollows:—

Mr. Fergusson supposes that the original temple, as designed by Chersiphron and rebuilt by Paonius, was simply diperation of the temple at D.dyma and that of Jupiter Olympist a Athens, each of which had 120; and he confirms the addition of the third row in the posticum by Mr. Wood's discovered an older step covered up by the outer row.

That this is not a mere arbitrary arrangement, to suit be requirements of the problem, is shown by the special knowledge we have of the temple. We learn from Phay the its most marvellous feature was the enormous size of the architraves (epintalia, here used for the single blocks taid from centre to centre of the column), involving the question better could have been raised to their places; especially in the case of the central one, which drove the architect to controplate suicide, when the goddess interposed miraculous is place it on the pulars. Now Mr. Wood has ascertained that the grandeur of the western octastyle portico was enhanced to a system of graduated spacing. According to his plan sate Mr. Fergusson) the central epistylium was 28 feet 8½ inchest the next, 23 feet 6 inches; the third, 20 feet 4½ inches, and too outside one 19 feet 4 inches. He has not yet explained her the arrived at such a minute exactness, but it is easy to see the

Mr. Forgusson has not referred to the model Leake's uniterpation of the venture triple row. But Leake (as we know wrongly) made the temple decayle.
 the number of column 12%.

he position of the anter, and the dipteral ranges of the peritive, must have involved some such graduated spacing, and he see exact a surveyor that there seems no reason for doubting a course correctness. A similar arrangement occurs at Sardis

is the temple of Cybele."

Mr. bergusson shows, in detail which we cannot stay to blow, how artistically the triple row of columns (and five deep in the promote between the antæ) redeemed what would have been a weakness if the wide-spaced portice had been only lipteral; and he suggests a special reason for the wide spaces. Thirty-six of the columns, Priny tells us, were sculptured, one by bropas, and a sculptured drum is one of Mr. Wood's finest batteness to our Museum. He also found four carved productions to our Museum. He also found four carved productions blocks, which he supposed to be pieces of the new; but Mr. bergusson shows good reason for regarding hem as bases on which the sculptured drums were reared, pring a magnificent effect to the columns most in view in the portice.

The different treatment of the two frontispieces is explained, with argual propriety, by the peculiar situation of the edifice; -

No temple in the ancient world has so essentially a front and a sex as that of Ephesus. The western front faced the city and the ori; the back, or east front, is looked down upon and partially iden by the hill on which the modern village of Aischik stands, of could not be soon from any public place or road. . . It med, therefore, the most natural thing in the world to treat this the back of the temple, not requiring the same cluberate treatment as the front facing the city, and by introducing another column the centre to get ever the whole difficulty. . . By adopting nine blums, they could use the 19 feet 1 inches epistylia, which was indeatly the one they most admired, as it is found at all the four makes, where in degardy it surpasses the 17 feet 1½ inches of the last Thus eight epistylia of 10 feet 4 inches are aqual to 104 at 8 inches; add the thelmess of one base, 8 feet 8 inches, and a have 163 feet 4 inches, which is within an inch or two of what I. Wood found appropriated to the eight at the other end."

Of the hypethral character of the temple Mr. Fergusson finds because indication in Mr. Wood's discovery of two transverse tals, so situated as to leave between them room for a cella 150 feet long, with space in front for an hypethral court ctween it and the promaos; and in the rear either for a large pusthodomus, or (as Mr. Fergusson prefers), for a small opis clomas, with an hypethron between it and the cells, which could thus be lighted by a great window at each end, a peculiar transcement well suited to the grandeur of this temple. If it tol. 158. No. 315.

be objected that the two windows would produce a cross ight prejudicial to artistic effect, Mr. Fergusson replies that I dis statue in the temple were a chryselephantine one, as at Olympu and the Parthenon, this mode of lighting might be objectionable. 'The image here, however, was a more simulacrum, ast dependent for its effect on any mode of lighting. All that was required would be a hall with a sufficiency of light for it, and for all the images and pictures with which it was filled be a sufficiently seen, without any reference to the direction in whole it was introduced.' For some remaining details of much intend we must be content to refer to Mr. Fergusson's paper, which went through the ordeal of discussion and a reply from Mr. Wood, at the last meeting of the Institute of British Arctives. (June 9th), without, as it seems to us, any of its main positions being shaken. The opinion of Mr Penrose on Mr Forguss co side appears to express the view that will be accepted by most competent critics.

As the Parthenon is the most perfect monument of Green architecture, so the sculptures which adorned it, and of which large portion enrich our national Museum, exhibit the an statuary at its climax, not only in Greece, but in its what history as practised by the mind and hand of man. We canse in the present article enter on the subject of Greek Sculpura but we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of commend of Mr. A. S. Murray's work to the notice of our readers, as " first attempt in the English language to trace the history Greek sculpture from its rude beginnings to its culmination the works of Phidias, and onwards again through the ripex which is the prelude of decay to the still beautiful works of imperial age of Rome. It is more than the work of an acomplished scholar and archeologist; for to these qualifications Mr. Marray adds remarkable originality of views, and what no less essential to the living treatment of his subject. thoughtful apprehension of the main principles of imaginates and industrial act. A firm foundation is laid in his into-ductory chapters on the Theory of Art and the First Sugar in Technical skill; and he brings out with much goal judgment the influence of the Pheniciaus on Greek art. signal example of ingenuity is exhibited in his rest vision of the Shield of Achilles, aided by the pencil of Mr. Hard

Rylandi

^{*} A History of Greek Sculpture' Vol i 'From the Rathest Times to the to of Phodius.' Vol. t 'Union t nebbus and his Successors.' By t. 8. Microst the Department of Greek and Roman Anaquities, British Museum. Landi 1880 and 1883.

Relands; each scene being drawn from an ancient work of art, and the whole combined on a uniform scale. Throughout the two volumes, the profuse and admirably executed Illustrations are derived in a great measure from the new materials won by ate researches; but the older works of world-wide fame are for be most part reproduced. On the mythic and semi-mythical beginnings of the art, the progress of archaic sculpture, and its elation to the perfect art of Phidias and his school, the results I recent discussion are brought for the first time into one view and weighed in the balance of thoughtful criticism, which is orticularly excellent in the treatment of the sculptures of the Parthenon and of the works newly discovered at Olympia. Nathing is more striking in the history of art turn the comparatively sudden transition from the archaic forms of sculpture, xecuted by the immediate predecessors and even contemporaries f Phidiss, to the sculptures of the Parthenon and the chrys-dephantine statues of Athena and Jore. And if from the ormer we look back through a moderately short period to the tude primitive images of the gods, the lesson in luman progress may serve to correct certain crude ideas of a sort of inspiration mate in the Aryan race, as any one may see who looks at the retnic idels of Delos and Samos side by side with the modern dols of the Pacific in the New Museum at Cambridge. The repiration of Phidias and his school was a part of that great intellectual oprising, in minds set free and elevated by the pirit and victories of patriotism, which produced at the same ame the transcendant works of genius in Attic literature.

Mr. Murray concludes with the reflection, that there is no prospect of any revival of Greek sculpture 'as an animating bull-core. We must be satisfied with the conviction, that in the time it was a movement that called into full play many of the best qualities with which men are endowed. Frue, we would respond, of any 'revival' in the sense of imitation; and a cast rebuke of much that has been said with more feeling than thought about the influence of the Elgia marbles on Frelish sculpture. But we need not therefore 'be satisfied' in the past glories of Greek art. Its surviving works are all ours as a source of purest pleasure: 'A thing of beauty is over for ever:' and, to end with the key-note we struck at first, they form a study, as essential as the choicest monuments it terrature, in the life and spirit of a people, whom to know is

The best source of our own intedectual life.

ART. VIII.—1. Report of the Royal Commission appared December, 1882, to enquire into the Public Recember, Enerditure, Debts, and Liabidities of certain West Indian Commi-Presented to Parliament, February 1884 and April 1884

Papers relating to the proposed Change in the form of Greenment in Januaries. By Capt. Price, M.P. Landon, 1884.

3. Correspondence respecting the Commercial Convention controls between Spain and the United States relative to West Inch Trads. Presented to Parliament, March 1884.

4. Report by Colonel Crossman, C.M.G., R.E., and George Bales-Powell, Esq., on the West Indian Incumbered Estates Con.

Presented to Parliament, 1881.

 Petition from the Inhabitants of Jassesica for a change is to Constitution, together with the repny of Her Mapuny's Green ment and Correspondence. Presented to Parliament, 1884.

ON August 1st, 1834, for the first time in history, it became impossible for any human being to be or become a day at least in that wide area of the world's surface over u ich in British Crown held away. Thus the present year, 1884, no be distinguished above other years as the jubilee year of day noble but costly national act, the emancipation of all same throughout the British Empire. And as the first of next must is the actual day of jubilee, there is a special appropriate in dealing this quarter with the results of that great act in the portion of the Empire where its effects were of greatest as most direct influence, namely, our West Indian Colonies.

Fifty years ago, the nation freely granted no less than twest millions sterling as compensation to the slave proprietors. Whave no need here to enter upon the vexed question as whether the sum so granted was sufficient, or the reverse the it was enormous is conceded on all hands; and it was free given with the best of intentions in those good old days we state compensation was regarded as but the natural satisfaction of any and all private losses resulting from State action, know not whether English reverence for the past will or a not honour this greatest of philantaropic deeds by any jebtor celebration; but it so comes about that the Imperial Government has contrived, that in this very year of jubilee there show he issued to the public the full Report of a thorough exhaustive enquiry into the financial, fiscal, and administral affairs of our West Indian Colonies. Other outward and its signs of a more than usual interest being just now takes those Colonies, are to be found in the fact that several Palamers.

y Papers have recently been issued dealing with the inhiert, while lengthy correspondence and prominent of the reports of the Royal Commission have appeared Times' and other leading newspapers.

whole subject is brought into special prominence by

ent revival of the question of the Sagar Bounties, gard to the West Indies, it is essential to remember that dational prosperity of their sugar estates was seriously d early in this century, and a succession of extraneous combined to threaten a total collapse, long before the ating event of emancipation occurred. We read, for that in Jamaica 165 catates had been abandoned n 1800 and 1807, and that 32 had been sold out of ry, where more than a hundred still remained in a pawn for their respective debts.' The sholition of the rade in 1807, followed by a succession of wars indirectly g the West Indies, effectually crippled the industry, causes were also at work, and during the same period improvements in facilities of intercourse aided to hasten by fall in the price of sugar, while in the midst of nany depressing signs the air became laden with foreero from the first indignant; and there was virtue in of this indignation, for there was a widespread coness that in very many cases the slaves were better cared tter housed, and better fed, than they could possibly sen by means of their own unaided efforts in a life of Indeed, from a study of the many extant journals criptions of life on slave estates, it is apparent that the as then better off materially than he is now. Thus, in armichael's 'Journal of Life in St. Vincent in 1832, recon ed: * Every field negro has two pounds of excellent served out weekly, and head people have four pounds. and a half is allowed for every claid under 12. Every Appendices to the Report of the Royal Commission, an exhaustive account of imported food-supplies, we see average amount of salt-fish now obtained by the negro Vincent does not exceed twelve ounces per week. But sciousness of making the best of a vicious system was ss to withstand the doom pronounced by the awakened ion of the nation as to the complete immorality of slavery. these causes conduced none the less to the complete lization of the industry of sugar planting on the very mancipation; and thus, when the great act itself was achieved,

achieved, there seemed to most men no hope, an prospect but that of the prompt and total annihilation of West loons prosperity. Results, however, happily belied these apparent well founded anticipations, although for long the struggle we severe. The Imperial Act, passes, in May 1833, declared that from and after August 1st, 1834, all the slaves in the colonil possessions of Great Britain should be for ever free; and it was not unnatural that the slave-owners of the West Indies por tested with energy against this crastic reform, declaring the such a subversive measure entailed the absolute ruin of all Wei With these convictions strongly held, the Indian interests. difficulties of rearrangement were greatly increased, and it many places, so incensed and disturbed were the feelings of the planters, that there was a disastrous refusal on their part est to attempt any solution of the labour difficulty thus sudden created. In the course of years, however, a better spirit lad con to prevail, due to the greater prosperity of those districts *... wiser counsels had all along been entertained, and where, to the very morrow of emane pation, successful efforts has been made to maintain cordial relations between employed in The period of the last fifty years in the We employers. Indies is chiefly remarkable for this gradual settlement of labour question, and now there are only a few islands when the chans of emancipation has not been reduced to order, us the supply of indispensable labour placed on a satisfactor footing.

The past fifty years have also been remarkable for the general if gradual, alteration in the constitutional position of most of a West Indian Colonies. At the commencement of the peroeach acparate acttlement was maintaining a jealous Parlame tary independence of all its English neighbours, and oftent at asserting a similar independence of the Imperial Parliane Barbados was proud to bosst, that it remained the only ports of the wide British Empire that had never broken its aled ance to the British Crown, even during the interregnum of Commonwealth. The Jamaics Assembly more than once, whi acknowledging the supremacy of the Crown, refused to adm that of the Imperial Parliament, on the plea that there could no supremacy of a portion of His Majesty's subjects in parent State over another portion of their subjects in James In all the Colonies in turn, administration, and more especial that connected with finances, came to a frequent deadlock. Lim vagance, jobbery, and dereliction of duty, became the character istics of the system, and compelled definite reforms. In Brain Guiana, Trinidad, and Barbados, rapid progress in comment

prospent

resperity allowed these reforms to be introduced with ease and many and in all the smaller islands, where the planting industry stubbornly remained in a state of stagnation of the stagnation o

tolertaking.

Daring this period these Colonies grouped themselves into a sases: the one, contented, prosperous, and steadily processive; and the other the reverse of all this in every respect, the first division we find British Gaiana, Trinidad, Baridos, and St. Lucia; and in the second, Jamaica, the various hads now united in the Leeward Islands Colony, and the saler islands attached to Barbados in the loose federation of

Windward Islands Colony.

From the four prosperous Colonies there have been for my years past no serious complaints. The lalour question, ce the bane of British Guiana and Trinidad, has long been ranged most successfully by a vigorous, sustained, and well-rected effort at immigration. A Special Commission in 1870 quired into the treatment of Coolie immigrants, and arranged a system satisfactory in every way. In Barbadon, owing incipally to the extended cultivation and to the good relations intained between employers and employed, there has never in a labour difficulty, and no troubles have occurred, excepting all advised political commotion which, in 1876, for a brief field, put out of balance the normal equanimity of the Bardians. In these Colonies there are natural changes always in gress, as there must be in all communities; but in regard to in there prevails the great constitutional maxim of the well see, a maxim to which our political adversaries in England in inclined permanently to tack the word thever.

These prosperous Colonies, however, are adversely affected by influences, with which we propose to deal in the latter part this article namely, the low price of sugar, an effect conted with European Bounties, and the Treaty arrangements

our Colonies with Foreign States.

n regard to the other Colonies the tale is the reverse of all this, oparing them with the prosperous group, the Commissioners us: --

Trade with England, stat enery in the one case, has steadily rest d and nearly doubled itself in the other. Trade with all world, practically stationary in the one case, has nearly quadral itself in the other. The total output from the sugar estates, ally decreasing in the one case, has increased nearly threefold in other. The acreage cropped in cases shows a decrease in the case, while in the other it has more than doubled itself.

The

The evil genius, whose name is Grievance, has found a congenial atmosphere in these areas of material atagnation, assembly the lack of prosperity every part of the Government has come in for its share of abuse and complaint. Constituted legislative machinery, financial, judicial, and civil adminstration, fiscal arrangements, and, generally speaking, all that it is any way under the control of the powers that be, has been querulously criticized and indiscriminately condemned. That there was a radical fault somewhere might be logically assumed and it came to be hoped that with the discovery of the fait

might come the devising of some adequate remeds.

For those who admire coincidences, or shall we say contrasts, it will be of interest to be reminded, that in the year 1850 there was published a long letter from the Hon. I. Stanley to Mr. Gladstone, detailing the conclusions at with the writer had arrived after an extended examination of he affairs of Jamaica 'in situ.' The main propositions of that letter were, that the money awarded in compensation is the loss of the emancipated slaves was only one quarter of what it should have been, that, in wise justice to the plantage industry, an extra duty might be placed in England on all slave-grown sugar, and that the population of the West lands should be increased. In addition to this, Mr. Stanley, at Lord Derby of to-day, urges as the chief reason of his proceeding himself to Jamaica to make these enquiries, 'We have writings... in plenty from men personally acquainted with the Colonies; but their knowledge of the subject is generally of a nature to preclude impartiality, and able and well-informal unbiassed people have not the personal knowledge.'

When Her Majesty's present Government determined making a complete enquiry into the whole matter, they took themselves able to obtain the services of two Commissioners Colonel Crossman and Mr. George Baden-Powell -both whom were already well acquainted with most of our Co-crast (including the West Indies themselves), but their persons knowledge has not in the least binssed or partial, seeing that neither had any official or other personal connection with Cotonies with which they were called upon to deal. The Government have thus been able to obtain an authoritates diagnosis, together with experienced and independent action as to remedies. Local enquiries, whether by the higaer and officials, or by Commissions and Committees of residents. '12 previously failed to discover either causes or remedies; and # better success had attended departmental investigations wi suggestions from the Colonial Office itself. Full powers were goes to the two Commissioners; they proceeded forthwith the West Indies, and at once set about detailed local

esquiries.

from the evidence published in the Appendices it is clear that they promptly secured the confidence of all classes, official a positicial, for all seemed to vie with one another to supply very kind of evidence or information that was asked for. The possequence is a Report, not only of a searching but of thoroughly complete and comprehensive character. Following its scheme of this Report, we are led to consider in turn the forernment, Fiscal Arrangements, Industrial Position, and,

in ly, the Foreign Relations, of these Colonies.

All Englishmen are invariably jealous of any interference with their right to self-government, and in the West Indian blands serious difficulties have from time to time arisen from its cause. White residents in the West Indies lorget, however, that the right to self-government is not a right of the prividual but of the community, and that this right can only not together with the duty of performing all the functions of covernment and the responsibility of bearing all its burdens at risks. Now, as a matter of fact, in neither of these espects are residents in the West Indies qualified for self-premment. This question is thus summarized in the containing sentences of the Report of the Royal Commission:—

It is perhaps not sufficiently recognised by residents in the West is an Islands that in many matters, notably in the preservation of dier and protection from invasion, the Imperial Government hears are real harden of responsibility; that a great proportion of the hinteral life and prosperity of these islands depends directly on moneys and administration of firms and syndicates domicaled in located, that, in short, these islands thrive because they are the traject farms of the English nation," and strictly dependent for the security and prosperity on their close connect on with the land Kingdom. . . . Considerable numbers of English residents all always be found in them for the purpose of administering and manying industrial undertakings. . . . But as the employers and may red will be generally speaking of different races, the Imperial formment will continue to have an ultimate responsibility in the diametration of these islands, and must consequently retain an depute proportion of direct power in the administration.

At the present time there appear to be in existence sixtrem beinet Legislatures in the English West Indian Colonies; and these, no less than the local Executives, are heterogeneous character. In no two cases are they precisely similar; in sch, historic traditions, and the influence of the genus loci,

have preserved much that ought to have disappeared long ago; while in other cases a strangely rapid tide of reform has sach

away much it would have been better to retain

For nearly two hundred years there had existed in Jamaca a Legislature on the model, so far as local exigencies would permit, of that of the old country; but in its latter days the Legislature fail d to purge itself of old-world feelings in regard to the close alliance between jobbery and corruption and alpolitical action. The consequent evils reached their culmisation in the Morant Bay troubles of 1865, and at that crisis the two Legislative Chambers—the one elected, and the other nominated by the Crown—voted their own dissolution.

In this Review we wrote in 1875 *

'Scared at the confusion without, more scared it might well be at the conservation of incapacity within, Assembly, Council and Executive Committee, all spontaneously voted their own described and Jamaica, of her own accord, renembed the prerogatives of sife government for which she had so gallantly striven, so leng exercise. The Imperial Covernment rat fied the abdication, and in so long assumed on itself the entire rule, and a th it the entire responsibility of the island. . . It was an extreme remedy applied to an extreme evil. That it was also meant as a temporary remedy and one suggest to future remain and modification, is no less certain. . . On the other hand, a large, an important, a noble, a rising Colony, who moved in its own taxation, expendence, amendation, on the presentation of its own taxation, expendence, and the anomalous condition of the high brought lack to the normal, whether . . . by some form of indirect bound election . . thus introducing a more expendence observed among the non official numbers of Connect, or by other expedience, book suggested by experience and time, remains to be seen.'

But this old Legislature of Jamaien was not on a popular although on an elective basis: originally and throughout a continued to be controlled by leading planters and merchants and from this extreme of oligarchical licence the sudden chart was made in 1865 to that of severely parental despotism. Legislature Council was indeed constituted, but it was composed only of nominated modificial members, together with a majority of official members. Ever since them agitators have found a profitable and easy to raise the cry that, as British citizens, the residents in Jamaica should have some voice in the management of their own affairs, and especially in the raising and expending of their local revenues. In the teeth of this plausible

^{* &#}x27;Quarterly Beview,' vol. 139, p. 53.

sgitation Crown government has struggled on for twenty years. Throughout the same period, advance in material prosperity has been a ow, and there has consequently been but little to commend the new system to popular favour. It is true that its mangaration was accompanied by much boasting of reforms and many indications of rapid amelioration; but these first pomises of great fruits fell off rapidly to a disappointing lates commerce, due to extraneous political and other causes, lappened at the moment to give a passing stimulus to the industries of Jamuica; and these ephemeral conditions were mistalen by the Administration for permanent results, and expenditure was arranged on a corresponding scale. The Report of the Royal Commission points this out, and also shows in many detains that this expenditure was not wisely planned. It was but natural that the opponents of the new system should make the most of these and other shortcomings, and the cry of inordiaste extravagance was one that readily commended itself to all who were discontented. Matters recently came to a head ore the notorious affair of the 'Florence.' A vessel laden with munitions of war was detained by the Governor, and the owners obtained damages against him. This charge, naturally billing on the revenues of Jamaica, was the occasion of violent protests against Crown government; and such exasperation was unused, that popular opinion refused even to accept the compromise, generously offered by the Home Government, of sharing is the costs. These protests were in reality not against this partientar payment, but against all payments under the existing parm. When by means of the official majority the vote for these dimages was passed in the Legislative Council, the unofficial members resigned in a body, and the Governor failed to obtain the services of any other unofficial members in their stead. The deadlock was the occasion for a quick succession of public Rectings, petitions, resolutions, and widespread agitation. The State for State for State for the Colonies, that the paternal despotism could only be con-"idered as provisional, and that 'a moderate step in advance" would be made in order 'to admit the people, through their representatives, to a material share in the decision of those grestions which most directly concern them, and more particubuly in the control of finance and public expenditure. is a reform advocated by the Royal Commissioners as both Possible and urgently desirable."

But this happy concurrence of opinion as to the end received tale disturbance, as soon as the means that commended

themselves

themselves to Lord Derby became known. Briefly, the new scheme simply substituted election for nomination in regard to the unofficial members of the Council, and endowed them with 'substantial power over finance,' by the regulation that, if not less than s.x are present and agreed' on any financial point, the official members are not to outvote them—except when the Governor shall doem it to be necessary. Against this latter condition the local agitators exclaim, as being destructive of all the power conceded by the former. Were it not that some radically different system will have eventually to be devised, we should criticize this measure in further detail.

It is to be regretted that the Royal Commissioners did not feel themselves called upon to recommend any detailed it specific reform of the Jamaica Legislative Council, as for beta the Leeward and the Windward Islands they have devised couplete systems. In all these lesser islands a gradual powers has been at work of substituting Crown government for the former representative system. As the Commissioners point out there now exist no less than ten distinct Legislatures in a many small islands, the total area of which is but 1300 square miles, and the total population under 260,000. The cardinal point in the recommendations in regard to these islands is the amalgamation of their several distinct Presidencies into a most two larger political units. This is a recurrence to the principles so ably advocated by Lord Carnaryon.

In regard to the general administration and the expenditive of the West Indian Colonies, the Report of the Royal Commission, in its full and elaborate description of every item of present expenditure, no less than in the comprehensive scheme proposed for the future, gives so complete an account of the actual case and of the remedy required, that little need be down but to summarize. In regard to the administration, analysemation is the one point insisted upon, and this resolves indicate their main proposal—the establishment of a regular West Indian Civil Service, of which they give a complete account. They also enter into clear explanations as to where the existing methods of audit and of routine work may be definitively and

greatly improved upon.

Of equal importance with the method and manner of spendage is that of raising the public revenues; and we doubt not be that the detailed criticisms and recommendations of the Commissioners will prove of direct value to the colonies under the Commission, and of indirect value to the others. We would however, draw special attention to the fact that in Barbades British Gaiana, and Trinidad, which have forms of government

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less strictly under the Colonial Office than Jamaica and the Biolward and Leeward Islands, where that Office is practically speeze, the method and manner of raising revenue is of a far more enlightened order. To compare, for instance, the customs' and of Barbados with that of Jamuica, is to see at once that the Governors and Assembly of Barbados have shown more capacity be realizing the suggestions of the political economy of to-day hin the Governors of Jamaica acting under the direct instrucions of the Colonial Office. This would suggest a reform in he Colonial Office itself, in the nature of the introduction into is guiding counsels of knowledge and experience in such pecial technicalities. The Commissioners do not scruple to rommend reforms in what we may term the Colonial Office ands, very much on the lines of the tariffs already adopted to the more independent West Indian Colonies, although it is that the tariff they put forward as a model to be adopted ash the West Indian Colonies goes farther in the direction of simplicity and low rates than any now existing.

The Report specially urges, that the time has now come for making the tariffs of customs' duties and port charges uniform throughout the West Indian Colonies, and there can be little doubt but that such uniformity would do away with much

pesent friction in commercial intercourse.

Perhaps the point of most public interest touched upon in this connection is that of the taxation of imported foods. The Report affords much new information on this subject. The Commissioners point out in detail that the rates of duty are not guide whatever to the quantities or values of foods consumed, but that these depend on endless other circumstances of local supply and general commerce. They also point out the arguments for and against raising revenue by such duties, and come to the conclusion that on the whole it is most police to retain low duties on imported foods. In the Jamaica Report there occurs a statement to the offeet that, in place of import duties on foods, 'it has been proposed that an equivalent amount might be raised by taxes upon land and by other taxes: this, however, would be equivalent to taxing home supplies of food and allowing foreign to enter free, as it would that taxation from flour to yams and plantains.' This episammatic account might well be applied much nearer home.

In our cursory review of this full and elaborate Report we have perhaps said enough to indicate that a very great deal may be done towards the regeneration of the West Indies, by be mere reform of the administrative and fiscal arrangements

on the basis of the searching and thorough recommendations of the two Commissioners.

In the Appendix to the Reports are given Tables of a full aid elaborate character, indicating beyond all cavil the present industrial position of these various Colonies. These Tables in models of statis ical statement, but they do not ted of any very great advance in Jamaica, or in the Windward and Leesend Islands. Indeed, were it not for the new and considerable items of fresh fruit exported from Jamaica, and concea from Grenada, there would be stagnation, if not decadence, visible But, as we have already pointed out, the exact reverse is the case with the remaining West India Colonies. happens that, if we place on the one hand those Colonies waste exports have largely increased, and on the other those wien there has been little or no increase, we have two groups it which respectively the West Indian Incombered Estates Con-The Commissioners contend, and does not and does exist, we agree with them, that such results must be more than matters of mere coincidence; and in their Special Report @ the working of that Court, they show in a succinct array of facts and arguments what are the effects of the existence of the Court, and what the general results.

The main conclusions of the Report are, that this Special Court has done its work, and cone it well; but that it has cull tell its time, and is now impaired in asciulness by the expense and delay of its proceedings. The cardinal accusation is, however, of a remarkable character. It seems that in this Court 'priot's is granted to the lien of a consignee over all previous mortgages or charges whatsoever' on an estate. It is, to say the least of it, starting to find an English law-court ipholding what the Commissioners rightly describe as 'this an amalous system—system fatal to all right commercial dealing—of graning priority of deats in the inverse order of the date of the

advances."

The decisive language of the Report, embodying so many clearly marshalled facts and arguments, tells only too plant to the unbiassed enquirer of the evils that have followed in the institution of this strange rule; and the statistical records of magnitudes. From incontestably the main argument of the Reputhat this provisity his found on experience to induce effects altogether subversive of the best interest of the consigner, the owner, the beneficiaries, the estate, and the Colony in which a may be situated.

Anotha

other point of difference between some of the peosperous he non-presperous islands is the labour question. The hissioners, in their general summary, give the following some advice on this subject:—

the whole, we are of opinion that in many places negro labour has to be readily obtainable, and in others, where a dearth of really exists, it may be at once remedied by Coche immigrabut this may be carried on with far greater economy and than at present, if common action be taken in the matter by West Indian Colonias. . . . It would, at all cyints, enal is the calates to obtain a sure and reliable supply of labour, while it confer great benefit on multitudes of East Indians and others, inferring them for a time from a condition of poverty, if not of tion in India or elsewhere, to competence and even affluence West Indias.

houses have been montal for transferring whole village combe from the East to the West Indies, and to settle them on mant tands, thus giving them the opportunity to care good on the neighbouring estates as free labourers. Such a a home be well undertaken by such a general department as we

observe that in Jamaica already, owing to the severe be of the recent emigration, the recommendations of the dissioners are being held up as instances of elever foresight, is much that will commend itself to the philanthropist are in the suggestions for the development in the West of village communities of free Indian immigrants; for trace of croole East Indians would undoubted y conduce y to the prosperity of the planting industry in the West

Report makes no mention of absenteeism, beyond the mendation to levy a small tax on absentees' incomes by of a stamp duty on agents. Lord Derby, in his letter of to which we have a ready alluded, showed clearly that no likely to live in the West Indies except on the call of or self-interest. Of a certainty, when once a pianter its prosperous, he will reside in England. There are, or, many undoubted compensations. The absentee, being toto a man of meins, is able the better to supply his estate capital and credit on easy terms. Moreover, he keeps with all new movements in the political, commercial, ientific centres, which affect his interest. The question in lave is, however, losing much of its former significance, such route to Barbados now occupies with absolute cermot more than twelve days. In the old times as many weeks

weeks or more might be consumed in a passage to or from the old country. As a consequence, the custom is rapidly grows: for planters frequently to reade for the winter menths in the West Indies. Already many 'great houses' on estates have been furbished up as pleasant winter resorts for the owners are their friends; travellers and yachtsmen are daily becoming more numerous, and it is becoming recognized in the United States and Canada, as well as in Lingland, that a deligated winter may be spent in the real warmth, magnificent sceners, and most interesting local associations, of the West Indies.

From the days of Cromwell to those of Nelson, the West Indies were the battle ground of England in her contests with the various European Powers. Every headland, every lay, has its story of Abercrombies and Rodneys. On the besch opposite Port Royal are a series of tombs of officers of H.M. ships, each one labelled with the ominous words, "Killed as duel." Standing sentinel over the great French harbour of bot Royal in Martinique is the pyramidal rock known in the good old days as H.M.S. Diamond, which our sailors armed with general garrisoned for a long time. From this island came Joseph as Beauharnais, the wife of Bonaparte; while, in the little neighbouring island of Nevis, Nelson woold and married Mrs. Nestat There is, perhaps, no corner of the world so rich in motiva historical associations as this group of West India Islands.

But recent years have also seen another great revolution in the industrial position of the West Indies. Sixty millions of people of European extraction have come to exist in that great area of North America, which at the beginning of the century was to sparsely populated with not one-twentieth of that number. Tasmeans that a new market for West Indian produce has come at being, of as great capacity for absorption as the more disam European market. Year by year, more and more West In 113 produce is grown for and shipped to this American market. year by year, the importance of this market to the West loses increases. It is no wonder that the customs duties of the United States and Canada have recently occupied so prominest a place in the consideration of West Indian affairs. It is vert much to the purpose to make it clear, both to West loom planters and to the Government at home, that every effort min be made to obtain for West Indian produce as easy and her an entrance as possible into these most promising markets of North America.

It is well known that the Canadian tariff was arranged out of avowed hostility to the United States' tariff; and at the present moment Canada would deal a severe blow to the United by reducing, or even abolishing, all duties on raw sugars. yould give an enormous stimulus to the local refining indusand it would also at once increase the direct trade of the tion with the West Indies. As a consequence, the West would deal with Canada rather than the United States e flour, salt-fish, and other products of those northern ies, which they consume in such considerable quantities. susceptibilities of West Indian planters have recently reatly aroused at the action of Spain in granting special to the United States in return for reciprocal con-The Washington Government have now concluded ments by which American goods, even in American enter Cuban ports at the same rates of duty as if entering laish ships. This is a question of much importance to h manufacturers; but the reciprocal arrangement, which Cuban goods -notably sugar-to enter the United States the former additional 10 per cent., is one that affects the k West Indian Colonies.

Carnaryon has done the West Indies another service by this question on the attention of the Government; and afforded a fresh instance of the high importance of ig, wherever possible, the most favoured nation treatment, y for ourselves but for our Colonies. In a recent reply to ous from Lord Carnaryon, Lord Derby said, 'We must other we can get the most favoured nation treatment; if its, we will see as to other methods.' Among the 'other is,' may fairly be included a subject he previously to on the same occasion in the words, 'I am not distributed any special arrangement which might have the for increasing that traffic between America and the West if it did not seem likely to inflict practical injury on our

b England.

of the highest importance to the English West Indian is that their produce, and especially their sugar, should push treatment, in entering the United States and Canada, ast of other countries. The West Indies largely imported other provisions from North America. The Royal assoners have reported strongly in favour of a reduction Import duties at present levied on these articles. It will if the Imperial Government at once instructs its represent Washington to negociate for the most favoured nation ant for our West Indian Colonies, in return for such one of duties on United States' imports. Our representin Washington should in such negociations be kept thly conversant with the state of affairs in the West 158.—No. 315.

Indian Colonies, or the whole benefit of his efforts may be

marred by some unintentional phrase or omission,

But in considering the foreign relations of our West ladie Colonies, we are brought face to face with a yet larger question and one of more cosmopolitan interest. As will be seen from figures given in the Report of the Royal Commission. total value of produce exported from the West Indies is nest 8,000,000%, while the value of the sugar and molasses exported of proaches 0,000,000%, or nearly three-quarters of the total. The is therefore little need to insist upon the vital importance to West Indies of obtaining a fair market price for their sug The question of the effects of the Sugar Bounties in Europe been before the public so prominently of late, that it will suff here to record the latest developments of these effects. Germany, so enormous has been the increase in the manufacts of sugar from beet, that in other parts of Europe the induhas been seriously threatened. As is well known, the bott is only obtained on export, and, as a consequence, the artife interference with prices of this greatly increased supply affer directly and chiefly foreign markets only. The German peoare, it would appear, slowly awaking to the fact that the bounties are supplied by the German taxpayers, and that I growers of beet-sugar who receive them are thereby enabled sed their sugar even below cost price in the English and of markets. The French and Austrian beet-growing industries seriously threatened, because in each of these countries ! bounty system has been practically checked by new Government regulations. Times are therefore ripe on the Continent Europe for a fresh effort to suppress the system altogether.

But we would especially point out a fact that is stranging ored. Vexed West India planters have said, 'We cannot up the English Government to make an effort to stop the bound which are running prices in the English market, so we will our sugars in the United States market.' Other planters, in East and other places, are also threatening to desert the East market, where they cannot obtain just and fair prices. The market, where they cannot obtain just and fair prices. The they should do their utmost to obviate. England, in the put course of events, has become the recognized market of the weatend there is no reason why she should not so continue, wided those in authority are careful to see that this market of a fair field and no favour to all who come there to deal. The most be no rigging of the market allowed, either by individual by governments; and for this reason alone Governmental do its utmost to stop the bounty system. We we

must upon the necessity that now exists for decided action, such shall definitely put an end to so burttul a system. In as common purpose all are, or should be, united :--planters in the West Indies, Natal, Mauritius, and all the Colonies of the we hast, no less than those who grow beet-sugar in France, Autres, or Belgium, as well as those who are now offering a her opening to British agriculture by promoting the making of beet-sugar in the Eastern Counties. These last should make of feet-sugar in the Eastern Counties. particularly strenuous efforts to put down the Continental panties before entering upon this new enterprise, which would runously handrapped by the direct assistance derived by beign rivals from the bounties, provided they export their

Lord Derby, in replying to a recent deputation, has stated that he had no doubt it would be in the interest of Free-trade geneally if the bounty system could be got rid of? this too is the purion of the Board of Trade, as recently expounded by Sir bornas l'arrer; and it is to be hoped the present Government fill at once take action. The question of means to so desirable end is thus one of the very first importance to the West fr. Baden-Powell, in a recent book, State Aid and State aterference, has given detailed reasons for his strong opinion, as another European Conference on this question would ad in the adoption of measures that would effectually put stop to the system. He bases his argument on a detailed istory of what has been accomplished by previous Conferences a ventilating the whole subject, and in coming, by a long prothe general adoption of the principle of 'manufacturing in the crux of the whole question is, the means of comthe usual suggestions have been retaliatory or prohibitive ries against any nation not yielding to the general opinion; " there appear just now to be strong grounds for supposing that the great nations would be inclined to enter into such an greement, and that therefore no occasion would arise for the scussion of international penal measures. Nathing, however, a be determined in the question, except by the calling together an ther European Conference.

In reviewing the present condition and prospects of the West belian Colonies, we have thus seen that on the whole the future pears more substantially hopeful than has been the case during I has century. But very much depends on prompt and successful tion in regard to the Foreign Relations of these Colonies.

We may here summarize in detail the main points that new immediate attention:—

1. Closer union and more mutual assistance among the West Indian Colonies.

2. Administrative amalgamation among the smaller islands

3. More responsibility and power to the new Local Governments.

4. Thoroughly reorganized administrations on the lines of the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

5. Similar reforms in the fiscal systems, including uniformity in Customs' duties, port charges, and internal taxat to

6. Abolition of the West Indian Incumbered Estates Coun-

 Provision for the supply of immigrant labour whenever and wherever necessary, and on some uniform plan is all the West Indies.

8. The securing of the most favoured nation treatment and lower duties in North America for West Indian product

 The calling together of a fresh European Conference will a view to putting an end to the Bounty system.

It is thus evident that much may be done, and done at our, to forward the prosperity of our West Indian Colonies. On long connection with this our oldest group is and has been ful instances both of the value that colonies are to a mother-court and of the value a mother-country is to her colonies. The mother-country has it now in her power to apply most effectual remedies, that have been devised after a particularly painstaking and exhaustive enquiry. We notice that many of these we already being carried into effect. In the Blue-book contained the Report on Jamaica, there is printed a despatch from the Secretary of State to the new Governor of Jamaica; if we mis take this as typical of what the Imperial Government think a the Report of the Royal Commissioners, it is evident that le bulk of their recommendations will be at once proceeded with Among other signs, we notice that steps have already been talm to separate Barbados from the other Windward Islands, win If, in addit at is a cardinal point in these recommendations. to this, prompt and effective measures are taken, on the conhand, to secure fair entrance for West Indian produce into be North American market, and, on the other, to put an end to the European bounty system, we see every reason to hope that ever in this year of jubilee of the emancipation of the slaves, these may break on our West Indian Colonies, after so long and west a night of discontent, the dawn of better times.

—Return of Electoral Statistics in County and Burough fuencies in England and Wales, Sectland and Ireland Arthur Arnoldy. Ordered by the House of Commons printed, 20th August, 1883.

some and temper of the debates on the Franchise Bill, intelligible on the surface, are significant indeed to he have learned by experience to read between the Parliamentary debate; to look below the surface for we of so much passion and so little reasoning, such afflict where upon the estensible issue there is so little of opinion. No Tory doubts that the extension of d suffrage to the counties is a foregone conclusion: a s most of time, and of a very short time. is against it are two; neither of which does a cautious a care to state too openly or press too for. The first Ireland. Household suffrage there means rather Frage; the emancipation of a class of whom nothing a save that it is the most ignorant, the most passionate, incalculable, and on the whole the least law-abiding in the United Kingdom. Secondly, while the landlords feel no distrust of the agricultural peasantry, they see hat the result of the proposed measure, unaccompanied and effective measure of Redutribution, would be to rather than enfranchise the true rarel population; to enormously the already disproportionate and excessive the urban and suburban classes. On the other hand, tience and violence of the Radicals, and yet more of nisters and Ministerial partizans who are not Radicals, be consciousness of a bad cause or at least of a weak distory will record with amused amazement that dstone and Mr. Chamberlain accused Sir Stafford to, or even Lord Randolph Churchill, of obstruction. bry will remember what the present generation forgets atructive tactics by which Mr. Chamberlain forced his the front, and his leader's plain-spoken, vehement, if ment, defence of those tactics.

before Lord John Manners placed the issue clearly arliament and the country, its true character was fully of by thoughtful and intelligent men on both sides, the debates on his amendment, and still more in all subdiscussions, that issue has been studiously evaded or cuted. Ministers, ministerial orators and journalists, strately preparing to appeal to the country under false

colours;

colours; to charge the Opposition and the House of Lords with hostility to the extension of the franchise, arising from disrust of the agricultural labourer. They are firstful, passionar, abusive, as men ever are from the consciousness of a take poution, of motives they cannot avow and arguments they cannot use. The real question is a much larger one than that where they choose to present; no less than the total reconstruction at our representative system on a new principle, the completon of a constitutional change far greater than that of 1832; to less than the substitution of a pure democracy for a balance and open aristocracy, as the supreme and indeed sole motion force of politics and government. Such a question obviously chould be dealt with as a whole. No one wishes, or at less dare arow his wish, for a patchwork result; there can then be

no justification for piecemeal treatment.

The truth is simple, and to those behind the scenes was endent from the first. The separate Franchise Bill belongs to that class of mancavres for which modern courtesy has devised many graceful cuphemisms—what when practised by Tones a is permissible plainly to call a dirty trick; we forbear to seed an epithet applicable to the tactical stratagems of the great orator of Miclothian. Redistribution is the critical and dangerous point; the rock ahead on which the boldest and mosskilful pilot may well be wrecked; the peril which dissort all discipline in the savage instinct of self-preservation. The equalization of the franchise logically involves on equal datribution of representation, if not between individual constituencies, at least between great classes, certainly between the counties and the towns. If a difference is to be allowed, exter principle, every practical consideration yet suggested, world require that the rural population, silent, scattered, comparatively feeble, should enjoy more than its numerical proportion of Parliamentary power. But then equal justice, even-hanced dealing, would require the distranchisement, enlargement, or grouping, of all boroughs with fewer than fifty thousand a habitants. Every borough or group with a population of much less than one hundred thousand would have to be content with a single seat. A mere glance at the list of constituences shows why the most powerful Minister must shrink from such a proposal; a closer examination reveals the attong and special motives which render a Liberal Government doubly averse to so sweeping a measure. If but half the Members threatened with the loss of their seats obey the instruct of self-preserve tion, as strong in politics as elsewhere, no logical scheme of Redistribution can possibly pass without a dissolution. If the constituencial

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constituencies be governed by the same instinct, the result of a

dissutton would be more than dubious. No party leader in Mr Gladstone's position dare propose a casare, which must involve a total disfranch acment of fifty-three legish boroughs with fewer than ten thousand inhabitants, and st take a very large proportion of their representation from ary as many with from ten to forty thousand. No statesman a seriously contend that it is just to give the counties the han franchise and still withhold from them an urban share of presentation. This is the dilemma of the Ministry, and oce their resort to piecemed action and untenable argument. is alleged, indeed, that 'we are giving the county population e boon, electoral rights, we need not delay this to give them further boom of equal representation.' But this pretext—it nore—assumes what every one knows to be untrue, that aplete legislation involves practical delay. The injustice of appeal upon the most vital of all questions to a provisional antituency is obvious. A dissolution after the passing of the anchise Bill, to carry a Redistribution Bill, would virtually te the apportionment of scats to the class which now enjoys arrighteous preponderance. It would mean that the luture ated on a basis so obviously unfair, that no party pretends to tilly or proposes to retain it. It, on the other hand, Redistrision is to be settled by the present Parliament, if there should no intermediate dissolution, then the new electors gain thing by the premature gift of a franchise they are not to recise. Another party is deeply concerned. The existing noty electorate are entitled to claim that, if they resign their casive provilege, they shall receive in return their full and share of political influence under the new system, their htfal proportion of seats; and that the price shall be paid fore the regignation is complete. The present county electors England and Wales, 967,000 in number, have but 187 cosbers. Under household suffrage they would form (say) s-third of a county constituency entitled to 225 scats. They asked to accept for the present one-third of their actual 187, at is 62 in lieu of 85. But this arithmetical statement salv under-states the truth. There is no reason to doubt the actual county electors do, on the whole, tairly express ders, who control and guide the present, will to a very large ent lead and influence the new constituency. Under housed suffrage, then, the present county electors would properly represented by at least 200 Members. They are asked to be

content for the present, if not for an indefinite period, with (say, 140. And this is not the whole nor half of the tren. he present moment is a crisis in the fortunes of the country Upon the reform scheme now to be carried depends the face of the constitution, the security, the influence, the Pulls mentary and local power of different classes, sections, ast interests, for a time which no one can venture to forecast. To deprive a great class with very special interests of adequarepresentation at a crisis like this, is a greater wrong than some deprive it for twenty years of ordinary political tife. If the possessors of the rounty franchise forego their claim now, the forego their chance of securing justice to themselves and to to new county electorate alike, at the only moment when sucjustice can really be secured. They are asked to resign the rightful control over an irrevocable national decision, deep affecting themselves and those whose interests are identified with theirs; and to such a wrong no class of Englishmen was willingly submit.

What is the special function of the House of Lords, if it be not at such conjunctures to prevent the consummation of ajustice by a temporary majority in the Lower House? Rejection by them means, as is well known and understood, simply s reference to the people. If this issue be not one for reference, what can be? Mr. Gladstone's language, then, on the third reading of the Bill, is not only unbecoming and unconstructed tational, but unprovoked and mexplicable. There was nothing in the expected action of the Upper House to justify sock a departure from the usual reserves and amenities of Pirliamentary conflict. Even if the Lords had thrown out the Franchise Bill upon principle, they would have been within they rights. To carry such a measure by the brute force of a ment well-disciplined, and not particularly enthusiastic majority, of the fifth session of a Parliament, without an appeal to the people, is more than any Minister has a right to expect or be But to refuse the franchise to the county householder is not the purpose or the wish of any considerable party. States men like Mr. Goschen would wish to preserve a double suffree

a higher franchise enabling the propertied and educated classes to return a certain number of Members. But no conbelieves that the end can be attained by the exclusion of rund householders. The incidental vices of the measure, the hord suffrage offered to Ireland, the refusal of a borough vote to borough freeholders, and the like, forced through by 'street party votes' in contempt of argument and authority, might of themselves have justified its rejection. But the real issue is that

LUTRACT.

and by Lord John Manners on the second rending in the lover House, and by Lord Cairus in the amendment which has w been carried in the House of Lords. The Peers object to icemeal legislation on the greatest of all questions, to piecemeal institution-making. They object to allow Mr. Gladstone to my one-halt of a revolutionary scheme, while keeping the ter half in the dark. This issue the Ministry, the Ministerial They object to allow Mr. Gladstone to ally conspired to ignore, to misrepresent, and to facily. t no one knows better than Mr. Gladstone, as was virtually lowed by his colleagues in the Lords, that this is the true and post the sole issue. By evading it, he confesses that upon point he has no case, or a case which he dare not state. If on a question like this the Lords are not entitled to compel appeal to the people, what is their function? Even if it aid be truthfully affrmed that the main lines of the Franchise Il were submitted to and accepted by the country in 1880, it certain that the separation of the franchise and redistribution s never submitted and never dreamed of. Under the Bill, towns, with an identical suffrage, would enjoy just double representation allotted to the same population in the inties. If these be not questions for a Second Chamber, what a Second Chamber for? If the country insists on a separate schise Bul, it can have one. If the nation choose to invest Gladstone with the electoral powers of a Roman Censorsomething more—the Lords only insist that the consent of country shall be asked.

We shall not call Mr. Gladstone's language unprecedented, is the common custom of Radicals to denounce the House of role whenever it is thought possible that that House may reuse an independent judgment upon any question whatsoever, the invectives of men like Mr. Chamberlaia, Sir Charles like, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, or at any rate in the ribaldry such delights the Radicals of Northampton, it may be easy to a examples of menace quite as unprovoked and quite as leat as Mr. Gladstone's. The case to which the Primo inster himself referred—the case of the Corn Laws—affords, a parallel, but a contrast to the present. In that case the proposed interests of the Petrs, as great landlords, were directly account interests of the country at large. There was, then, a tain obvious difficulty and danger in their rejection of a lease carried by vast majorities in the Lower House, and lared by the chiefs of both the great parties in lispensable to et the famine with which we were then threatened. Now, the

interests

interests of the Peers are identical with those of the entire body of the agricultural classes, the entire population of the coastic. They insist that the countres shall receive their full rights, and not a mere installment thereof, an instalment which would atdoubtedly be made the means and the pretext for refusing the rest. The only parallel to Mr. Gladstone's language must be sought in the stormy times of 1830-32, in a crisis which is any country but England, would have involved revolution unit civil war. occasion have uttered menaces as direct and even more defear than Mr. Gladstone's. But there is no doubt that the late Lord Derby and Sir James Graham deeply regretted their you als intemperance; and history has decidedly condemned at Neither youth nor public excitement, nor any peral except that created by his own and his colleagues wilful misrepresentations, can be alleged in Mr. Gladstone's defence. His imperious temper and high-handed disregard of all constant tional principles, all political rights that interfere with in sovereign will and pleasure, explain what from other lips were be regarded as a wanton insult and a deliberate challengechallenge which, addressed to a high-spirited body of Eag ist gentlemen, could only be intended to provoke the very quarel to bring about the very issue it pretends to deprecate. We will not ask whether Mr. Gladstone meant to cite Polonius as the best model for an aged statesman; but he might have remembered another of his precepts-

'Give thy thoughts no tongue,
Nor any unproportioned thought his act."

Briefly stated, the case of the Government is this. 'We cannot carry household suffrage unless Parliament and me country are kept in the dark as to Redistribution. We cannot carry Redistribution except by the overwhelming majority which we expect that household suffrage without Redistribution and give us.' Such an argument, however potent with party conclaves, secret caucuses, and Members trembling for their seats, cannot be addressed to or avowed before the public at large. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain demand a 'blank cheque' on the greatest of all political questions; a clear sheet, signed and stamped beforehand, on which to write at their pleasure the future constitution of the country; and to stample a claim is to refute it.

Piecemeal legislation implies fragmentary and imperfect consideration. The statesman who introduces a fractional measure dealing with one side of a many-sided question, one parties

an integral whole, naturally and almost necessarily confines his sucction, and directs the attention of others, to that fraction The very choice of method shows a wilful or unconscious disregard of the intimate connection between that which he ass chosen and that with which he has refused to grapple. It is not only that the mutual dependence, the inter-connection of by its working as a whole, are left out of account. Many consecrations that bear on the immediate point in hand, but bear on it as part of the whole, are mevitably neglected. Thus the separate treatment of the franchise blinds the Cabinet, the House of Commons, and the country, to the real magnitude of be issue, the true significance of an all-important change. For this error Mr. Gladstone is immediately but by no means soily responsible. The Reform of 1867 was unhappily, in another and a less obvious sense, fragmentary and imperfect. The step might be complete in itself, but it involved others thich, because postponed, were left out of sight; it entailed consequences which even now statesmen refuse clearly to undersand and resolutely to contemplate. With the establishment of household suffrage in the boroughs, its extension to the ounties became a mere question of time. Household suffinge means democracy; democracy means, not merely the introduction a new motive power, but the substitution of one motive force for another, a change as revolutionary as when the steam-engine superseded the water-wheel in our cotton factories. Such a tunge may necessitate a complete change in the machinery; comunds at any rate that the machinery shall be overhauled, requaidered, read usted to the new principle which controls and directs it. A constitutional machinery well adapted to an arisberacy the broadest and most open ever known, but still an ratocracy, may be inapplicable to a democratic system. A and incomparably more powerful motive force, a force tiose action is in many respects incalculable, has been introduced. What engineer would venture on such a change without aquiring whether the governor, the fly-wheel, the checks and brances, which sufficed for a measured water-force, will be strong wagh for a steam-engine of tenfold horse-power; whether they act at alt, waether they will not be simply and instantly propowered and neutralized? or again, substituting electricity tream, what may be the influence of the new force upon a hat mass of iron machinery, an intricate combination of iron twels, bars, and rollers? Yet, in making a change at least as mentous, at least as revolutionary, involving consequences kite as all-pervading and incalculable, our statesmen have hitherto

hitherto refused to consider its effect as a whole. Only a few Liberals of thoughtful and independent temper, men like Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Sir John Lubbock, and Lord Gree, have ever asked themselves, or called upon the country to cosider, what it is that we are really doing; what household sifrage means; how the old machinery, constructed on a much are rower base, adapted to far feebler forces, will bear the new strain; how far the checks and balances of the old constituted are applicable to or suffice for the new. In one word, thee me sponsible for the greatest of all political revolutions, refuse to recognize that it is a revolution; that they are not emarging by remodelling the constituency; not liberalizing and extendit an estate of the realm, but substituting for an estate of the real the people as a whole; not widening the bounds of aristocrass but substituting a democracy, and a democracy such as the world has never seen.

Household suffrage excludes the true residence; that class me dangerous in all old countries, and especially in cities, while lies below the lowest ranks of settled, honest, regular labor But, with this important qualification, household suffrage g : us a pure democracy, and a democracy hitherto practical unknown to human history. It means the absolute ascendency of those who live from day to day and week to week a the week's earnings. Now such a democracy is without parent or precedent in the annals of the past, without example in the present. The world has seen, here and there, something like at certain times and within narrow limits; but never yet has great State accepted and endured a prolitaire democracy. B latter democracy of Rome, the degenerate civic populace of the last days of the Republic, must have been of this type. result we all remember; a century of attempted pillage, seething anarchy and corruption, alternations of proscription and massard ending in a despotism which, if it gave peace to the Roma world, was forced to plunder the provinces in order to pamp the rabble of the capital: a despotism not tempered be demoralized by incressant insurrection and assassination. similar democracy governed Paris and dictated to France danny the Reign of Terror, and again, during the brief fever-dream the Commune, would fain have revived the traditions of Row pierre and Marat. But the stable republics of to-day, to l'nited States, Switterland, and even France—if fourteen yest prove the stability of the French Republic-are landed it mocracies. The example of the first, with its unlimited and fertile land, with the boundless resources of the West within reso of every dissatisfied labourer in the Eastern States, is after inapplicabl

implicable to an old country with a crowded population, with tery foot of land appropriated, with numbers growing happily less mpidly than its wearth, but too fast for their own well-bring. Switzerland and Norway, again, with their almost dumary population, their settled, traditional, simple habits, the every family established on its own farm, generally of some ment, with legal or customacy restraints on murriage, are as eller from America on the other. France owes what order, hast accurity, what stability she possesses, to her millions of assant proprietors, furnishing through the conscription an ray which keeps down perforce the tumultuous and lawless elast half century have we seen Paris on the very verge of the serors of the first Revolution and saved only as by fire? Four mes within living memory has her Government been overfrown by armed violence, thrice within the remembrance of the pet middle-aged has that 'Queen of civ.lization' been craaced with something worse than Blanqui's douze houres do idage. The political equality of modern democracies is founded a pre-existent and very substantial social equality. It is the tural outgrowth of a social system, wherein proletaire and Poerat alike are insignificant exceptions to the broad level of entort, independence, and education. A democracy like test I regland is an absolute and portentous novelty. Political peality, resting on ingrained inveterate social inequality, astron divorced from representation, political power withrawn from wealth and rank, where wealth is most envied, rank ost coveted-the whole authority of the State controlled by one who hold their incomes, their homes, their very bread, at repleasure of others—a political democracy of the proletariate posed on a social plutocracy and aristocracy, the richest, but luxurious, most powerful in the world-such a contrast tween society and politics, between tradition and practice, wiween usage and law, the world has never witnessed; and the carest parallels, the aptest examples that history supplies, are, as the least, a little ominous. The stability of law and say the least, a little ominous. Fue same and the England of the all modern democracies, rests on that which England As. In America, as in France, the proletariate of the cities a dangerous, very often a corrupt element in the body politic. sample after example has shown how far wrong it might be d, what preparable muschief it might effect, if not constantly pt down, and from time to time forcibly coerced, by the moral d physical strength and sobriety of the territorial democracy. the older States there may be an actual majority of new men actually

actually living on wages; but substantial power resides in the

who are, or hope soon to be, men of property.

But house add suffrage is a foregone conclusion. is our inevitable and immediate destiny, under circumsta wholly unprecedented-a democracy of thirty millions, me dependent on weekly wages; an imperial democracy, three hundred millions of subjects; a democracy controlle great military States, and compelled to maintain a great t and a more or less powerful army. When resistance or de cation are too late, regrets are futile. We are doomed to what is at best an utterly novel, according to all philosophy history a perilous and doubtful experiment. All that remis to consider and determine its conditions—to secure if sible that the best, and not the worst, aspects of the democ principle shall be in the ascendant; that the conservative not the destructive forces, the orderly and not the anare elements, inherent in democracy, shall be strengthened by forms of the constitution, the modes of ascertaining and gi We have chosen our soveres effect to the public will. sovereign whose power is by the nature of things absolute A monarchy, an oligarchy, an aristocracy autocratic. ever broad, can be placed under checks and restraints app from without; for below and around them there exist a and physical forces, sometimes weaker, sometimes stronger theirs, but always strong enough to exert a powerful pracrestraint upon the excesses, extravagances, and aberration But the sovereignty of numbers, especially founded on the overthrow or the capitulation of other power always despotic; despotic by its very nature, conscious irresistible force, and too often unconscious or contemptue any law superior to its will, any rights independent of its Happily for themselves, nations of Teutonic blood and tion still recognize, more or less clearly, a higher law that impulse of the moment or the will of the many. Religion impressed deeply and we hope ineradicably upon their min icea of duty, of laws they did not make and cannot abolish are bound to obey; and, partly no doubt from religion, p from immemorial experience alike of liberty and author from the slow gradual extension of political freedom, they acquired not merely an instructive liabit of submission to as such, but an instructive sense of its necessity.

An English democracy then may submit to checks restraints; but hardly to checks or restraints from will the democracy of America has set us in this respect a valuable example, and one which, now that we are

p complete and establish irrevocably and universally the presently of numbers, it behaves us carefully to consider, No modern constitution has limited more jealously the authority of an individual monarch; no European parliament submits to sel restrictions as fetter the legislative authority alike of State and Federal assemblies, representing technically or really the al of the majority. Except by a process exceedingly slow pent practically unworkable, there exists no power in the inted States to pass an Act of Attainder, to invalidate a conract, to confiscate property, to change the fundamental priniples of government, or to override in the interests of the ation at large the domestic legislation of a single State less spalous than most English counties, like Florica or Delaware. The most absolute and successful of democracies has established nd upholds the most stringent limits of democratic power, the parpest checks on popular passion or caprice. The stability the government, the permanence of the Union, is due quite much to the anti-democratic principles embodied in the onstitution as to its democratic essence. It is our task, at the oment when we are establishing in England a system as emocratic in principle, and from the circumstances of the more democratic in character, than that of America, to etermine whether we can at the same time dispense with se checks and securities which the founders of American emocracy deemed indispensable, and with which no great recrican party has ever since thought it safe or possible to aspense.

It will be said, of course, that we have checks and balances a wholly different character; better suited, perhaps, to our cry different circumstances, at any rate the growth of our suive soil, strong in our ingrained habits of thought and ction, firmly rooted in English tradition and public feeling; ancient, powerful, and popular Thione; an hereditary aristocy, strong alike in character, in wealth, in social influence at public respect. But the experience alike of other demonstrate States, and of our own increasingly democratic constitution, renders it futile to expect that either the TI rone or the present compelied to select his Ministers from the majority in House of Commons, and to rule by their advice; a House I Lords which could at any moment be swamped by such a finistry—which represents but a fraction of the wealth, and wen of the solid, visible, immovable wealth of the country; buld impose no effective restraint on a House of Commons

elected

elected by household suffrage, on a constituency include substantially, if not literally, the whole body of respectablindependent responsible citizens—the whole manhood of the country, the floating residuum excepted. Already the House of Commons has arrogated to itself a control practically absolute over legislation and administration—has virtually monopolized political power. As the constituency has become more democratic, the representative body has become at once more powerful and more imperious. The equalization of the franction of the franction body of English manhood, no element of public opinish outside the pale, renders not merely its political, but its remainment of public opinish and morally impossible for the most powerful senate serious to resist the deliberate will of such a representative assemble

Already the Upper House is not merely overweighted, to overawed. Not through weakness or fear has it yielded a easily and so implicitly, whenever of recent years the deliberal. real, earnest, convictions of two nominally co-equal brancis of the Legislature have been brought into conflict. His spirited, conscientions, deeply convinced, individually wil as to risk privilege, lame, and fortune, rather than do what 'be think wrong or injurious to their country, the Peers have now theless yielded against their judgment, against their private · o science, whenever the House of Commons has insisted 434 for the obvious reason that no four hundred men-represented not the whole wealth, not the whole natural aristocrace, alless the great body of educated opinion, but one kirs of property, one limited class of the great body of educated independent, and thoughtful Englishmen—no such body as without arrogance of which English politicians are incapable pretend to set their collective convictions in opposition to the of the country at large. The moral as well as the physical tur of democracy is too strong for any check that any weaker political element, any artificially-constructed senate, or any single day however distinguished by wealth, intelligence, birth, or melcan possibly supply. The preponderance of the House Commons is such that no power appared from without coalone can give to balances and checks sufficient moral with and political force, to stand against the overwhelming pressof the popular will under a democratic constitution. be remembered, that both from the absence of the near checks and balances supplied by the power of the States unb Federal system, and from the absence of a written inviolity constituteomerica and even in Switzerland. In neither country, in no emocracy save perhaps that of Athens, has there existed anyling like our ownipotence of Parliament. A Senate selected by he states, a President directly chosen by the people, divide over not unequally with the so-called popular branch of longress. But Congress and the President together are powerless to do what Parliament can do by a single Act; powerless to change the Constitution, to pass an expost facto law, pechaps to legalize paper money, certainly to expropriate unpopular or porations, to touch the fundamental rights of property, or to locate the few simple rules which restrain any glaringly unjust opportionment of taxation. The omnipotence of Parliament, a omnipotence virtually vested in the House of Commons, enders our experiment in yet another aspect wholly unprecented—renders it the more needful to find in the constitution the House of Commons staelf the requisite securities against

he dangerous or evil tendencies of democracy.

On these tendencies, however, it is useless and needless to sist. They are as notorious as history and philosophy can aske them, and they are now inevitable. It may be well, hower, to insist somewhat upon a point of more immediate oment, less obvious at first sight and too commonly neglected. e the principle false or true-or as, we believe, false in some ial circumstances and conditions, and true in others-many the worst evils of democracy originate in, and all are aggrasted by, the divergence between principle and practice; a ivergence widening with the size of the State, deepened by the recessity of representation, and intensified to the uttermost by e system of party. The theory is the sovereignty of the lany, the practice is too often the rule of the Few; and not of select, organized, and superior, but of a chance, floating, and enerally demoralized Few. The idea is that every citizen has and gives an equal vote; that every question is determined by se thoughtful, deliberate, free judgment of the majority for the me being. In practice the majority are too often indifferent, deless, thoughtless; those whose voice should be heard are alent; those whose petulant self-conceited ignorance should be perruled by the sober quiet common-sense of the many, are may, forward, and active. If democracies are reckless, caucious, passionate, tyrannical, the fault lies not with the Many to much as with those who usurp their right and speak in their ome. The worst crimes and follies with which democracies reproached were probably—like the Reign of Terror, the Vol. 158.-No. 315.

Charles I., even perhaps the change of dynasty in 1688-the acts of a minority, suffered by an mactive, disorganized, alest majority. It is a striking fact that the evil was discerned, and the same remedy proposed, by the arch-legislator of Athen # tradition and by the statesmen of the second French Republic, Five hundred years before, eighteen hundred and fifty seat after Christ, the same danger was lelt, the same remedy proposed. The Athenian pronounced neutrality in political one flict a species of treason; the French Conservatives proposes punish abstinence from the polls with a fine. The estimate gancies of democracy are commonly the work of an extent section, forcing or hurrying a reluctant majority along with floating section, changing from side to side for mere love of change. Hence all examples of brilliant or solid democrats success are the examples of small States. In Athens or Unterwalden every citizen can attend; every man knows some thing of the business in hand, every man is consciously to directly interested therein. Only when Athens became imperial State, dealing with affairs beyond the grasp of the makers and farmers, petty tradesmen and artizans, was Demi demnation of the Ten Generals, or follies like the Syracus expedition.

The sudden and violent changes of 1874 and 1880 and the acts of a very small minority. The great back of electorate in both years was not unevenly divided between moderate Conservatism and sober Liberalism. A though changeable, insignificant minority was persuaded by the orston Mid-othian to reject in 1880 the best, strongest, most respect Government, that England had seen for thirty years. A tept sentative system, which enables a bare majority in each costituency to pronounce the decision and to wield the power the whole, gave on each occasion to a very narrow majority of the electorate an absolute Parliamentary preponderance. The pal tical vagrants do not exceed ten per cent., perhaps hardly five 🛰 cent., of the electorate; but that maignificant minority, thanks a system which represents only the temporary majority of codconstituency, imparts a dangerous uncertainty to domestic life lation, a still more perilous instability to foreign policy. Pas spirit, party organization, ensure to this minority-of all man rities numerically and morally the most insignificant and least reputable—the power of changing, once at least in at years, the whole course and tenor of government. The entence of a third party hostile to the first principles of consult tional government, to the common ideas of both the great assume divisions of the community, is an accidental, and we may hope a temporary complication. But even in the absence of as freconcilable faction disloyal to the Empire and to Parliamentary rule, the present system aggravates to the uttermost all the dangers of democracy, and above all its characteristic

swience and variability.

It is well that the case for the defence should have been at this moment boldly and frankly stated. Believers in the divine agat of the majority, like Mr. Bright, confine themselves for the most part to declamation and invective. The difficulty of the advocates of a real proportional representation, a genuine Parliamentary democracy, has hitherto fain in the obviousness of their own arguments and the absence of reply. Silence is the strength of those who advocate under new conditions a asstem that grew up and worked well under utterly different circumstances, and who would keep unaltered the machinery adapted We are grateful then to Mr. Shaw-Lefevre for his open and energetic detence of a rule which gives absolute power to a bare impority; which enables eleven-twentieths of the electorate to change the whole constitution of the realm; to carry at their pessure a series of measures, agreeable probably not to the assority, but only at best to a majority of that majority perhaps only to the active section which, in American parlance, mas the machine. As an experienced official nover charged with the higher duties of statesmanship, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre thinks it right and convenient that eleven-twentieths of the exctorate should be represented by an overwhelming Parliamentary majority. 'How else, especially in the presence of a third faction obstructive on principle, is the Queen's Government to be carried on? This question, however, is the sole segument; with this the case for the defence concludes. The sirocate overlooks altogether the tremendous legislative power of a Parliamentary majority. He would hardly maintain that an great change, any constitutional innovation, any alteration of social manners and customs, still less any important alteraton of the moral law or any innovation on the privileges of property, should be carried by a narrow and temporary popular sujority; least of all by a majority changing every five or six years. sub measures as the Irish Land Act-or a change in the marriage ar meritably involving a total revolution in family relations, the speedy abolition of all restraints based on affinity—should be the result of deaberate conviction on the part of a large and Present majority of the people. The truth is, that the omnipotence omnipotence of Parliament belongs to one class of governments, one type of social and political order, the ascendency of a numerical majority to another and utterly different class and type; and the two principles are radically and practically incompatible. Every democracy has found it needful to impose strong and severe restraints on the legislative power of a single representative chamber, and even of a primary assembly. Omnipotent' as was the Athenian Demos, its powers fell short of those vested in our Imperial Parliament, and practically monopolised by the House of Commons. The stability of the American and Swiss systems is due mainly to the good sense which has rendered it impossible for a bare majority to carry any fundamental change; which requires for change the assent of a large proportion of the people, given under condition which ensure deliberate, slow, and thoughtful action. This is the true democratic principle. A system which allows the party dominant for the moment to carry whatever legislation of pleases, subject at best to an appeal which again lies to a bar majority of the constituency, is utterly incompatible with tro-

democracy.

True democracy is seen in perfection, in sure and simple working, only in primary assemblies-in States so smal, the the whole people can meet to deliberate and decide upon ever important matter of legislation or administration. Her obviously every citizen has a voice; every voice counts equal; nothing can be carried, to which a clear majority of qualified citizens does not at the time consent. But the common serior of experienced democracies has never been satisfied without requiring for important changes either a large proportionals majority, or surpler opportunities for deliberate reconsidention, or both. Everywhere, or almost everywhere, the political constitution, the fundamental institutions of the State, and placed under special protection. The case of the United State is in this respect a typical one. But Parliamentary omapotence dispenses with all these checks. Representative government dispenses even with the bond fide assent of popular majority. It aggravates to the uttermost the graddanger of democracy, the probability that the powers of government will be wielded, not by a genuine majority, but by that most dangerous of all minorities, a majority of the majority. The indifference, the slowness or slackness, the gregarious instincts of the Many, make this but too possible even a primary popular assembly like that of Athens. The transfer of popular power to an elective assembly chosen by her majorities converts an abuse into a practice, an occasional info a permandi connent peril. Obviously, if the Legislature were elected ational vote, 1,000,001 might absolutely silence, deprive resentation, 969,999. In the assembly thus elected the intatives of 500,001 might be absolute, might carry res obnozious to three-fourths of the constituency. So the majority in each constituency elects all its Members, division can wholly avert this danger; and the more receous the country, the less effective is the security of ision. No country, Switzerland in some sense excepted, is no geneous as England and the southern part of Scotland. any system of fairly equal distribution, we should still a vast majority of constituencies in which the urban, an, or manufacturing village element would more or less in the interest of the ty, not in all, but in by far the greater number. Ireland part, it is quite conceivable that a very narrow majority country might be represented by an irresistible majority frament.

ed, we have seen of late something very like this. organization, without which our present system could be worked, which is at any rate ineradicably rooted practice and traditions, renders the danger constant, and eminently practical. Under the present system more under such modification, giving some approach al numerical apportionment, as the equalization of archise irresistibly demands-four hundred out of five d Members might well be returned by the same party; parties are brought into conflict at the polls, the by the majority, or more probably by the most active, the most extreme section of his party. Of those who him at last, probably one-third had originally objected many more had accepted him reluctantly. Three d and twenty Members of Parliament may represent cent.; one hundred and eighty, 45 per cent., of the d votes. But upon those points on which the majority fully and heartily in accord-and on very few points are and Radicals fully in accord—280 of the 320 (280 sainst 220) may represent, not the majority, but only the y of the majority-not 55, but 30 or 35 per cent. of the te. Thus, till the intestine conflict has gone so far as to up the party organization, a minority of at most 35 per e practically arresistable—can carry through Parliament, mority against which the House of Lords will hardly

venture permanently to make a stand, measures utterly detected by 45 per cent., and coldly disliked by another 20 per cent., of the electors. That this has occurred again and again, and occurred in matters deeply affecting no mere issues of party, no mere change of administration, but grave questions of public morals, economic interests, and proprietary right, few case

observers of recent events can seriously doubt,

Proportionate representation, then, is not, as is commonly supposed, the interest of a minority. It is demanded in justice to majorities-in justice to that which, though the minority of the day, may be the majority of to-morrow, and find itself unable to undo what it will most deeply disapprove and regret. principle of democracy demands the proportionate representation in the Legislature of all parties, majorities and minorities also, is sufficiently obvious. Only by such representation can the Legislature possibly represent the country; become what a should be, a select, improved miniature of the now impossible primary assembly. But that minorities should be represented, and proportionately represented, few Radicals deny. Tase contention is that under any modification of the present system even under a system of equal electoral districts, the divergre interests and opinions of different localities will ensure seco representation. We must observe in the first place that-u Mr. Shaw-Lefevre admits, and as has been shown beyond dispute—this is not the case at present. The majority of the electorate, Conservative or Radical, is largely over-represented in Parliament; and this, as has been proved above, is a clear violation of the principle of democracy, a naurpation of the sovereignty of the people. And further, all changes, all reli-tribution, must be in the direction of more equal, probable larger, and certainly more homogeneous constituencies, in-pairing even the very imperfect security at present afforded for the representation of the minurity. But the point of peramount importance, the argument which should weigh at least as powerfully with loyal and cornest democrats as with the staunceet Conservatives, is that only through proportionate representation can the rights of the majority be secured; that nothing else can prevent the usurpation of those rights by a mere section, the substitution for the majority of the people of that which a always a minority, often the worst of all minorities, the more extreme and violent, the more active and noisy, majority of the majority.

The question then concerns, not the rights of minorities, and the limits to be placed in the interest of those rights on the power of a narrow majority, but the truthful representation of

ell, majorities and minorities alike. And the majority, as for the time being the rightful holder of power, the force which ought to preponderate, and under any just and equal system must preponderate for the time, is chiefly interested therein. Univ through the proportionate representation of all can the trie representation of the majority upon any given question be secured. Under any system which allows a party majority to earn all the representatives of each constituency, there is in obvious theoretical, and, as has been abundantly shown, a partical likelihood that, on any but the main issues of party parties, and to a great extent even on these, the country will

e reled by a minority of the electorate.

It is contended that the present system, with its anomalies, sequalities, and theoretical iniquities, works well in practice; se least that it attains the object. Mr. Snaw-Lefevre himself has shown that it does nothing of the kind. It gives to a hare ad fluctuating majority a practical omnipotence, inconsistent like with democratic principle and with the invariable practice of every well-governed democratic country. And that power is suited in practice by a mere majority of the dominant party; minority—sometimes large, occasionally perhaps very small, at always a minority—of the people. We shall presently show but, contrary to the received theory, neither the smallest nor ar secondary class of constituencies, which under a logical and really democratic system would necessarily be disfranchised, patribute anything to preserve the balance either between maties and towns or between parties. But were it otherwise, momalies so utterly incompatible with the democratic principle et clearly doomed. A democratic franchise, and a distribution shich creates so many favoured oligarchies within the electorate bouseholders, cannot long co-exist. And herein lies a strong and rogent objection to any small, meagre, illogical scheme of contribution. It may serve the purpose of a porty, it may be trepted for the moment at Mr. Gladstone's hands, it might oscervably be endured by Conservatives, though most unjust ite to their party interests and to those great classes and reciples of whose rights they are the natural guardians. But must lead inevitably to a permanent agitation, a continual inkering of the Constitution, which Conservatives and sober attends alike dread and deprecate. There may be no pressing exercity for any change whatever, but if a great change must e, let it be-at least for thirty years, at least while the condiion, the character, the organization of English society remain that they are—the last.

At present, with a population of more than 13} millions,

with 23 millions of inhabited houses, the counties of England and Wales return but 187 Members. The boroughs, with 121 millions of inhabitants, with little more than 2 millions at inhabited houses, return 297. The Scotch counties, with more than 2 millions of inhabitants, with more than 400,000 houses, return but 32 Members; the boroughs, with over 1,600,000 population, and 330,000 inhabited houses, return 26. But u is well known, the anomalies in the distribution of power among the boroughs themselves are far more extravagant, sad excite yet greater dissatisfaction. Some fifty great Enguh towns with their suburbs, with a population of 57 millions, return 73 Members. There are no fewer than 53 borougus with a population of less than 10,000 each, an aggregate of 377,000, returning 53 Members. That is, the population, which in Manchester returns three Members, scattered among fifty petty villages enjoys seventeen times the Parliamentary power of the great cotton capital. On Radical principles, no borough with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants is entitled to a single sest But while many towns with from 12,000 to 30,000 inhabitant have actually two Members, no fewer than 54 English borough having from 10,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, and with a total population of less than 1,200,000, return 90 Members, or roughly one for 13,000; while Devon, with 387,000 inhabitation without the borough boundaries, has but six, or one for 64,000 Kent, six for 563,000, or one for 94,000. The Irish figures are still more startling; startling indeed to any Radicals who have not yet accepted with implicit faith the doctrine that Ireland lies beyond the domain of arithmetic, belongs to that transcendental region in which, as the late Professor Cliffort assures us, two and two may make five. Of 31 Irish boroughs returning 37 Members, only Belfast, Cork, Dublin, and perlaps Limerick, are theoretically entitled to representation. Be tol might claim four, Cork two, and Dublin five scats, while at or seven at most would form the arithmetical share of the whole remaining borough population. A strict application of the arithmetical rule would disfranchise every Scotch borough group, Kilmarnock, Leith, and Montrose excepted; while the fitteen Members allotted to their population of 535,000 would be cut down by one-third.

With an equalized franchise, with the acceptance of the democratic principle, the continuance of such anomalies because impossible. Whatever their present justification, neither undition nor convenience, none of those pleas by which hitiers the practical working of the system has justified inequality, where inequality was a general rule, can preserve gross

diversity

deprived

of representative power together with an equal and franchise. The anomalies, moreover, have lost even ctical merit which recommended them to statesmen relul of ends than of means, of practical results theoretical equity. The small boroughs no longer a nursery of statesmen: nor do they supply a check overweening power of a narrow majority. For the it they belong, not, as has been pretended, to the agrior rural, but to the urban interest. They aggravate r-representation of the majority, which they have been to correct. The 53 petty boroughs, with fewer than inbabitants, were at the last general election almost divided between the two parties. They contributed either to redress the balance or to aggravate its disturb-But the secondary boroughs of England and Woles, with an 10,000 and fewer than 40,000 inhabitants, returned rals and only 25 Conservatives. The case would be ened if we included Ireland and Scotland. It is then wond all question that the existing anomalies, so far iding to redress the balance in favour of the counties, heir weight into the urban scale; that, instead of the excessive representation of the party temporarily they are themselves a main cause of the excess, ne working of the present system within the consti-themselves reveals anomalies still more startling and to inconsistent alike with democratic principle and with justice. Six hundred Liberals return a Member for i fifteen thousand Birmingham Conservatives are e always been unrepresented, despite the device ino give to a smaller minority one Member out of three. and large constituencies alike, the smaliness of the which monopolizes the representation is the most and most striking feature of the electoral returns. From nine Scotch constituencies, for example, return the mber of Conservatives; but the issue of the last election ded, in Bute by 17 votes out of 1100; in Dumfriesshire, t of 3000; in Perthshire, by fewer than 500 out of Roxburghshire, by 10 out of 1700; in Selkirkshire, st of 1000; in the Wigtown districts, by 12 out of 1800 such were the make-weights in the balance which gave Liberals the monopoly of six seats, leaving 6499 Con-nrepresented. In Brighton, Bristol, Dublin, Edinouth-East Lancashire, Southwark, the North and West bersis a monopoly of representation, and in each case

deprived a body of Conservative electors, incomparably larger than the average constituency of a borough Member, of all Parliamentary influence. The wrong is not redressed, the country is not the less misrepresented, because in an equal number of southern and home counties a similar proportion of Liberals are practically disfranchised. The Radicals of 150 denounced with good reason the theory of 'virtual representation,' according to which the unrepresented electors of Louis Manchester, Sheffield, were supposed to obtain their fair share of Parliamentary influence, the due protection of their interests through the Members for some neighbouring borough or distancounty of similar political and social complexion. Their descendants rest on this very theory their reply to the aggricult

minority in Radical cities and Tory counties.

Yet there was more truth in the doctrine under the oassystem than there is at present. The merchant princes, the cotton lords, the great tronmasters, the coalowners, could purchase seats over the heads of peers and squires, and proceunquestionably very able spokesmen and loyal advocates of the great communities to which they belonged. The virtually defranchised minorities of to-day obtain no such efficient serve Between the Tories of a West Saxon and the Conservatives of a Midland or Northern city, and still more between the Liberat of a Southern county and the Radicals of Newcastle or Glasgos. there is no kind of solidarity; on all but mere party quest one on all issues of commercial policy, of agricultural interest, if social morality, they differ quite as widely as, for example, or Stafford Northcote does from Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Forster from Mr. W. H. Smith and Sir Richard Cross. Ass the classes thus disfranchised are precisely the most valuable. the voices silenced are those best entitled to be heard; the dements excluded from Parliament are the very elements me needed there to moderate the antagonism of parties, to give effect to the real deliberate opinion and deepest feeling of the country, which is never or soldom for any long time together vehemently Radical or strongly Tory. County Liberals and dat Conservatives represent, much more truthfully than those whose political convictions and social instincts accord with and in tensify one another, that ma media between extreme views, that combination of all that is best and soundest in the permaner doctrines and traditional instincts of both parties, which co bodies the genuine, abiding, prevalent character and spirit of the English people, their habit of compromise, the Liberal tour of their Conservatism, the Conservative moderation of their Liberalism. It is needless to insist on the preposterous extent m which such important elements of opinion as Scotch Con-

mentiam and Irish loyalty are practically disfranchised.

Of the various remodies suggested, that which has found most facur among thoughtful and candid Radicals, and which passes for the simplest, most practical, and least startling, seems at once the most likely to fail and the most fraught with dangerous Mr. Forster at least seriously believes that a system of equal electoral districts, each returning a single Member. and secure the adequate representation of minorities. We where that it would fail entirely to redress the grievances of the minority, while it would aggravate to the uttermost the gare, subtler, and more permanent danger of democracy—the marepresentation of the majority. Where but a single Member a to be returned, that Member must be the representative of the menger party, be its prependerance ever so small. Compromise tetween parties becomes impossible; separate districts will gne on no arrangement by which one seat out of three, for rample, shall be assigned to the minority, or closely-balanced paties shall each return one representative. No scheme could be irrised so cortain to enhance to the uttermost the ascendency of be Causus, to render party discipline stringent and imperative, n confirm and perpetuate the usurpation of 'the machine.' At dections, general or particular, the attention of each district is concentrated on itself. No victory, no compromise elsewhere, wik induce the stronger party to acquiesce in the return of an apponent, or of a doubtful, independent, or exotebetty supporter. If the single sents, either party in each district chooses the most amilable candidate; closes its ranks, regards secession, revolt, or even abstinence, as descritton under arms; and the majority zeams the largest possible number, not of the ablest, wisest, or men the most popular, but of the staunchest and generally the Bost extreme partizana.

Nor will subdivision as a rule materially benefit the minority. As aforesaid, the country as a whole is exceptionally homogeneous in character and feeling, still more homogeneous in a response to any sudden wave of opinion or revolution of public feeling. Extensive districts are still more homogeneous. The Manchester with Salford and the surrounding boroughs, at the Birmingham district, or again counties like Norfolk and Suffolk; break them up into districts with an average population of 54,000, the majority in one will probably be the majority, not indeed in all, but in nine at least out of ten. Intess the districts were arranged with special regard to the local position and pulitical tendencies of their inhabitants, has would assuredly be the case; and any such arrangement,

besides

besides being impracticable-besides opening the way to that which the Americans call gerrymandering, the manipulation of boundaries in the interests of the dominant party-would be defeated, within the course of ten or twenty years at most, by the incessant movement of population. Westminster excepted, the most aristocratic and Conservative parts of London return Radical Members by exceptionally strong majorities; and the fashionable aristocratic Conservative district of to-day is tomorrow abandoned to the upper bourgeome, and in another generation becomes an integral part of the city, sharing to the full its social conditions and political temper. Divide Manchester and Salford into a dozen wards, each with 7000 electors. in eight out of ten 3700 Liberals would carry their man, 36,000 Liberals would return eight, 34,000 Conservatives but two Members. The case would be worse still in a smaller and therefore more homogeneous town like Bradford or Blackburn. or in great towns like Sheffield, Birmingham, and the Pottery Districts, the seats of a single industry with no distinctive interests save those of the vast majority of labourers and the small minority of capitalists. How so shrewd and practicals statesman, whom none can suspect of disguising a capitalatus under the form of a compromise, or wishing to abandon without disavowing an unpopular principle, can accept as a means to Lis end the favourite scheme of those to whom that end itself is utterly odious, it is hard indeed to understand.

The plan, moreover, is open to other and more striking, if not more serious objections. The greater number, at least, of our present constituencies are living entities, corporate bodies with a spirit, a life, a character, traditions, interests, opinions, of their own; with a pride and self-respect which contribute not a little to elevate the tone of their political action and to influence that choice of representatives. They are above and beyond comp tion, too large and powerful for underhand manipulation, compelled by their very magnitude, as moved by their self-respect-if not to a wise, at least to a dignified and respectable choice No rich man can nurse, no mere vulgar demagogue can we seduce them. But a ward of Manchester or Salford, of Livepool or Birmingham, a district artificially created for the sole purpose of returning a representative, is subject to no surb elevating influences, no such wholesome restraint. An ambitom capitalist can corrupt, a reckless demagogue can easily delade to Nor would ten representatives chosen by ten such wards possess the collective weight, much less the individual character, that belongs perforce to the present Members for great communities. manufacturing, commercial, or agricultura. A surer was of degrading grading the House of Commons to and even below the

merican level, can hardly be imagined.

No feature of American politics is more striking than the periority of the Senate, individually and collectively, to the ouse of Representatives. They are chosen practically by the me constituencies; and though the Senators are returned by State Legislatures, the character of those bodies affords no on whatever to anticipate a better choice than might be sected from a direct popular vote. But the choice of Represtatives hes with artificial districts mapped out for that spose alone; with no corporate existence, no common funcms, no collective life, thought, or principle, no traditions to pire, no shame to restrain, their choice. The Senators resent sovereign or quasi-sovereign States: communities like associates and South Carolina, as distinct, almost as national, Scotland; having like Scotland a history of which they are and, a State character, life, identity, older than that of Igium, Italy, or modern Greece; or newer States, the newest id most artificial of which is at least a separate and for many sposes a sovereign community, with a character and indidunity at least as distinct as that of Liverpool, Glasgow, or conshire. And hence, while the Representatives are for most part individually insignificant and often almost thown, the Senators are as a rule men of weight and ation, the political if not the social leaders and spokesm of their soveral communities. Their official character one, as charged with the interests, expressing the conviction. and aims, of great, proud, and powerful communities, was them a weight, a dignity, a responsibility, which react on personal character. Extravagant professions, sometimes or corruption, may win for the most insignificant politician, a distionest contractor, or a half-false half-frantic demagogue, Kearney or O'Kelly, the suffrages of a district. His con-Porce are neither proud nor ashamed of him, nowise identify muches, their character, and reputation, with his; have in on an collective character that he can raise or degrade. But Senators for Virginia or Connecticut, even for Florida or of fornia, are men of ability if not of character, of note if not buthority; and they must so speak and act that, if their State not proud she shall at least be not ashamed of them. And the sunction between South Carolina and her Seventh Electoral Patrict, between the State of Illinois and the 'Shoestring Dist of Mississippi, is hardly greater than that between even mird-rate English borough and a mere artificial fragment, a mementary ward, of Manchester or Liverpool, Leeds or Edinburgh. Edinburgh. The House of Commons as yet represents, and he always represented, communities, opinious, convictions; a House returned by wards and hundreds could but represent croteless and passions, incoherent groups, thance masses of men; too probably nothing but the choice of a telf-constituted caucus, directed by a secret central committee at the Reform or ils Carlton.

The best known, perhaps the only familiarly known scheme, that aims directly at proportional representation, is that ideanfied with the name of Mr. Hare. So widely and so long his this been discussed, that to a majority of our renders the plasse proportional representation probably suggests at once that technical and somewhat intricate plan, and this alone. But a now cut down and modified, its author would hardly recogn to his intellectual offspring. His scheme was wide, logical, cou-plete, and revolutionary. In fact, if not in name, it would have abolished constituencies altogether, would have enabled ser 658th part of the electorate of the United Kingdom to choose a Member of their own. Of 3,300,000 electors, any 5000 sesttered over the country from the Land's End to John O'Gras--anti-Vaccinationists, Southcottians, Communists, Nihhay Orangemen, Ultramontanes-might have chosen a Member each group could send up a number of Members procuse proportioned, not to their weight in the country, but to a number of votes they could respectively muster. Theoretical perfect, the scheme was for that very reason absolutely in wildly impracticable. All that is now proposed is that, in light and the perfect of the scheme was for the perfect of th of subdividing constituencies to the uttermost, they shall ? grouped or rather massed according to convenience or asturfollowing geographical, traditional, or legal divisions, so 12 each should return from three to seven or even more member. Each man possessing a single vote, each quota of a constituer can at pleasure return a member of its own. The quots " found by dividing the number of actual wters (not of electrics) to the number of seats plus one. Thus, in a constituency of 3f, !! electors returning seven members, say that 32,000 vote. At candidate receiving 4001 votes is sure of his return, since by a means can 28,000 minus 1 so subdivide their votes as to no more than 4000 votes apiece to more than six candidates,

It is thought, however, that only the strictest party discipliff such as has in Birmingham and Glasgow defeated the intense of the law, could secure to a large majority its fair or auxility like its fair share of power. Thus, if of the 32,000 voters, 21,000 were Liberals, 12,000 might probably vote for A., 600 for B., while the remaining 6000 scattered their votes among

D, E. and F., so that none of the four should have 2500; ale 5000 Tories could give 2600 apiece to X., 1, and Z. eming not one-fourth, but three-sevenths of the total repreration. To prevent this, it is proposed that each elector al be at liberty to vote, not for one candidate only, but for real alternatively in order of preference. Thus the 24,000 betals might all give their first vote to A, placing B., C., D., and F. in such order as they pleased upon their several lists, ur thousand and one voting papers would be appropriated to and, his return being assured, the remaining twenty thousand was one would be available for the return of his Liberal colgues. If B's name were found to stand secund on 4001 of e papers, he also would be returned, and these 8002 votes a saide. It is plain then that the party could return five, thaps six, out of seven Members; since eight thousand Tories ad not give four thousand and one votes to more than one adidate. But the slightest change in the electoral numbers ers enormously the issue of the election. Thus 4001 Torica ad return one candidate out of seven, and 8000 can do no bie; but 5002 can return two candidates; 12,003, three; tile 19,397 Liberals out of \$2,000 voters must be contented to four seats. The utmost that the majority can be expected concede is equal representation; it will never agree that the sority should obtain more than its numerical share, that for simple 4001 Blue votes should balance 4993 Yellow, or vice

Az even graver theoretical and very grave practical objection the absence of any satisfactory and simple working method of sortioning the second votes: of determining which papers d be counted for A., and which be distributed among B., C., L.E., and F. All methods hitherto suggested leave this point ectically to chance. Take for simplicity a sake a smaller con-mency, with 12,000 electors and two Members. The quota is insency, with 12,000 electors and two Members. te more 4001. A.'s name appears first on all the papers. Is stands second on 4200, C.'s on 4100, and D.'s on 3700. this case it would seem that A, alone should be returned; or, however the 4001 votes needed for his return be chosen, one of the other candidates is likely to be left with much ore than 3000 votes. But supposing only three candidates: bas 12,000 first, B. and C. 6100 and 5900 second votes, spectively. But it may happen that of the 4001 votes needed A.'s return, 2200 are A B.'s, and only 1801 A C's. In some B. will be left with 3900, C, with 4099. No arrangent that has yet been suggested can prevent this, can preclade possibility that in a close election the greater number of

around votes shall remain to be counted for the candidate who had as matter of fact received the smaller. There is another and subtler objection to this plan, which should not be overlooked. It is at present in the power of a small minority to return the worst of the hostile candidates—the worst whether in a personal or a public or a party sense. Under the present system this power is seldom used, because it involves the abandonment of any attempt to return a candidate of their own But under Hare's scheme every Tory vote would be given first to N., their own man, and accordly to C., the least popular with his own party of the Liberal candidates. Thus in every constituency where the minority failed to return their own man, the most obnoxious, the weakest whether in character or in party loyalty, in a word, the least antisfactory of the majority candidates, would be carried to the head of the poll. And worst of all, the knowledge of this would induce an extra candidate to come forward, relying less on the support of he nominal friends than on the second votes of their opponents.

Another mode of securing at least the rights of minorities and perhaps of protecting a majority from the usurpation of m power by a mere section, has been actually put in force at our School Board elections. Here the minorities were the object of especial administrative and Parliamentary care. Dissenten. Catuolica, Secularists, feared lest they might be everywhere overpowered, and not merely overpowered but silenced, by a body of Churchmen which, though weaker perhaps than the whole number of dissentients, was incomparably stronger than any one of the three or more irreconcilable fractions opposed w The 'cumulative vote,' as it is called, precisely met the case. If there are five members to be elected, the voter may bestow five votes on one candidate, or distribute them a pleasure among several. The result is, of course, that in minority greater than one-sixth can return a representative. that if the majority and the stronger minorities be at all divised. a much smaller fraction may secure a seat. But in this car the over-representation of minorities was regarded as an object desirable in itself. The intention was that no majority should be despotic; that no narrow majority should be all powertethat even a small minority should at least be heard, should have a voice; and the ordinary division of parties, the existence of permanent administrative majority, and a minority in coasts opposition, was neither intended nor probable. There was to question as to how the Queen's Government could be carred on. Therefore the tendency of the 'cumulative vote' to es courage the formation of small 'groups,' as the French call men, to split up parties and give a potent, perhaps a decisive, mee to an alliance of crotcheteers, was not in School Board dections—as it would obviously be in national politics—a serious rol. A constituency consisting say of 11,000 Liberals, 10,000 Conservatives, and 4000 voters who, whether Liberal or Tory, refer the tenets of a sect or the crotchets of a clique to the mater or smaller issues of party politics, has to return five combers. Each elector has five votes, and these each of the mater parties divides probably among four candidates, since to mag forward more would be to court defeat. It is obvious, in the first place, that if the Tories will content themselves with tree candidates they can carry three of the five seats, giving to sen of their candidates 10,000 votes. But if each party brings levard the same number of candidates, the poll will stand onewhat as follows:—

A.	4.0			17,000	W.	**			15 000
В.	84		11	14,000	X.	••	**	49	13,000
C.	44		2.9	12,000	Y.	**		+4	11,700
D.	4.5	**		12,000	Z.	44	7.7		10,500

Four thousand crotcheteers can place their candidate, the buce of but one-fifth of the entire constituency, at the head of e poll with 20,000 votes. Three thousand could certainly, id two thousand five handred, or little more than one-tenth of entire constituency, might very probably, secure a seat. The Spectator' attaches greater weight than we do to the first of ear objections. The majority might at first be revolted or moved to find the representative of an insignificant section ared above all the real favourites of the constituency. But age would soon render them indifferent to a position which fould lose all significance, all the credit and prestige at present taching to it, when its real meaning came to be understood. he power of an insignificant fraction to secure an utterly disoportionate share of power, to impose on both the two great in es a close party organization, a strict limitation of the ember of candidates, on peril of having a large share of presentation snatched from them by a fraction numerically morally insignificant, is a much more serious, perhaps istal objection to the cumulative vote. Wirst of all is its dency to encourage the formation of groups and cliques, the standard from general politics and party organization into aves of their own, of bodies like the Tectotallers, the Orange-ta, the English Catholics, the Irish Nationalists, may of autiaccinationists, anti-Sabbatarians, and Socialists. The return even twenty or forcy Members pledged to such objects, bound Vol. 158 -No. 315.

to prefer them to all wider interests, inclined and almost compelled to sell their alliance to the party from which they could gain the most support for their special crotehets, would be a very serious mischief. The number might well be ereo larger; and, great or small, it would constitute an intractable, injurious, and—not as regards its motives, but its influence—a corrupt element in political life and Parliamentary strategy.

The first of these three schemes is simple, but ineffective for the main purpose, and open to other objections so grave that only if it were the sole and certain means of securing proportionate representation, would thoughtful constitutionalists accept it. The second is complicated and unworkable; unworkable not because the electors could not easily be brought to understand and carry it out, as Mr. Arnold Forster has shown, by from the defect we have pointed out at length, the uncertain operation of the secondary or alternative votes. The third looks perhaps more complicated, novel, and unsatisfactory, than it would prove or has proved in actual working; but neither the alternative nor the cumulative vote has a chance neither could be rendered acceptable to the public, both have at artificial, unconstitutional, un-English air. Both would be soupconnée d'être suspects. No plan that looks as if devised to balk the majority of its right, to defeat indirectly the democrate principle directly and formally accepted, could secure toleration or even obtain a hearing. Whatever method is seriously jut forward, whatever means of attaining the common end is to have a chance of adoption, must be simple, obvious, and straighforward.

The single vote—as some Radicals phrase it one man over vote'-is a principle popular, intelligible, and unsuspected. It is the ideal of democracy; it is clearly just, or at least equal, and in constituencies returning three or more Members it give the minority their right, and no more than their right. By leaving large constituencies with their present boundaries, by merging those whose separate existence is incompatible with equal or proportionate representation in the counties. by extending others to their natural limits, and removing purely artificial divisions, it would be possible to obtain a natural, plausible, and obviously democratic distribution, under which, except in the wilder parts of Ireland and Scotland, even constituency should be a real and natura, corporate entity, as at present, and even more than at present, each returning three or more Members, each elector having but a single vote. This system is undeniably at least as just, equal, and democratic, as that of equal electoral districts with single sents; while it would

protect

or as absolutely against the undue ascendency of the majo-Theoretically perfect, however, it is open to one serious, at first sight conclusive, practical objection. Under the it may wrong the majority, and above all the favourite date of the majority. Fifteen thousand electors have to three Members. A. and B are the candidates of the sity of 8000, X, and Z, of the minority of 7000. At the of the poll, however, it might well prove that A had red 6000 votes, B. 2000, X. 4000, and Z. 3000; the majobeing thus defrauded by the better organization or more division of the minority -perhaps by the interior character candidates, neither commanding personal support like that to A .- of the second sent to which it is obviously entitled. e next election the result is still more unsatisfactory. Defined not to repeat their mistake, considering A. safe, the intr are chiefly careful to secure the return of B. He ies 5000, X. and Z. 3600 and 3400 respectively; while Λ_{σ} avourste of the one party, and very possibly a man whom his opponents would be sorry to eject, is thrown out by his popularity, by the universal confidence that his seat at is safe.

is objection is at first sight fatal. It attaches, however, to the present system of secret voting, and not even to winciple of the Ballot, but to the machinery by which rocked. It is held essential, not only that each vote shall cret, but that the result shall only be known at the close po.l. Under the old system the state of the poll was a from hour to hour; and the moment that A.'s election ecure, as soon as he was known to have received more 4001, say 4200 votes, the remainder would have been erred to B. Is it absolutely impossible, through the teleand the telephone, to attain this object without impairing recy which surrounds the individual vote, and even withsclosing the general course of the poll? The publication airly 'states' was thought to encourage bribery, a close st driving each party to secure a few score or hundreds of pt electors by any means in their power. This danger has greatly diminished, and might perhaps be disregarded, the stringent penalties of the renewed Corrupt Practices and with greatly enlarged constituencies. But it is needo go so far. All that is required is that, as soon as any date has received the necessary quots of the constituency, fact, and that alone, should be made known; and this t surely be accomplished if the votes were scrutinized from to hour by poll-cierks sworn to secreey. Thus, say at two o'clock

o'clock it is made known that A. has received 4200 votes: at three the telegraph flashes through the constituency the tidage that X. has secured 4100; the remaining 3800 votes of the operaty are diverted to B., the 2900 of the other to Z.; and A. X. and B. are returned. The working of the scheme will not be perfect. A certain number of votes must be wasted in securing the seats of A. and X., because the necessary quota of the constituency is larger than that actually required to return candidate, owing to abstentions, whose number is, of course uncertain to the last. But this inconvenience attaches to both parties alike. It can hardly work any serious unfairness comparable to that under which the 8000 electors now monopolar the representation, and the 7000 are practically disfranch.sed

We are far from pretending to pronounce finally or positively for or against any one of these proposals, the first excepted. The division of the country into equal electoral districts with population of (any) 54,000 each, in each of which the material is necessarily absolute, appears to us to unite every possess evil quality that can aggravate the dangers, and defeat the accepted principle, the avowed aims, of representative democrative works badly in America; it would work even worse her among a population much more homogeneous, with incorparably greater diversities of social condition and bitter antagonism of class-feeling and interest. The destruction of the constituencies, the breach with tradition and history, the artificial character, the insignificance and incoherence of the separate electorates, would render such a scheme in the laddegree unwise and dangerous, even were it probable that the divergence of opinion in different neighbouring districts would secure the representation of local minorities, a hope we can for a moment entertain.

A glance at the working of the present system in district tolerably uniform character leaves no room for reasonable dost upon this point. The three divisions of Kent, for example are in social and economic character far less alike than would be the great majority of these new divisions: but all the return Tories. So with suburban Surrey and agreedlent Sussex. The three divisions of the West Riding, on other hand, are all represented by Liberals. The granging of Radical Members in the Metropolis, the absorb ascendency of the Radicals in Glasgow and Birmingham, the minority vote notwithstanding, the enormous preponders of Liberalism in the towns of middle size, the Home Rulpower in Connaught and Munster, are all ominously significant Lancashire alone do the two parties divide the representations.

to of fairly homogeneous constituencies; but the experiof the last three elections has shown how exceptionally is the balance of opinion in that county, and how very of a wave of temporary feeling would suffice to give to a very unrighteous and disproportionate preponderance, even Lancashire tends to confirm our apprehension, non in the South-Eastern division is very closely divided, sleven out of its twelve borough and county Members are rals, and the one exception is due to Manchester, with its mity vote. The balance in the South-Western division is aps still closer; but of its six Members four are Tories, the Liberals owed one of their two seats at the last election e minority vote of Liverpool. Subdivision, of course, if give a small fraction of the numerous seats bestowed either division to the minority; but the over-repretion of the majority would probably he more signal at present. On the other hand, any workable and equiform of minority representation, any well-devised distion of constituencies according to their natural boundaries, the single vote in any well-considered form, would give be moderate and thoughtful agricultural Liberals of Kent bussex at least one-third of the representation of those ties; would secure to the Tories of South-East Lancashire element with which the Conservative party in Parliament Ill-afford to dispense-not one, but at least five scats out of e; while it would ensure to many classes now almost ly deprived of Parliamentary influence a reasonable repre-

matters stand, Her Majesty's Catholic subjects in Greatin, two millions of loyal, constitutional, law-abiding are practically unrepresented; or worse, represented sen whose course they despise, whose aims they abhor, conduct lowers them in public esteem, associates them all they most deeply disapprove alike as Catholics and anglishmen, yet whom, for lack of better spokesmanthey cannot utterly renounce and disclaim. Nothing ibutes more to exaggerate the weight and influence, to make credit, of the link hireconcilables, to give them a lon and dignity to which as a party they are not entitled, which they have done their best to forfeit, than the fact for mere lack of worthier advocates, they seem on all lous or quasi-religious questions to hold a brief for the blits, not of Ireland alone, but of the United Kingdom. No lar rebuke, no sharper check could be administered, nothing so rapidly sap their credit and authority in Ireland or their

their importance in the eyes of Great Britain, nothing strengthen the hands of the two great parties in dealing but and sternly with their disloyal and unconstitutional factics, the presence of a score of loyal Eiglish Catholics—patric gentlemen, thoughtful politicians, as well as earnest detendent their faith-in the House of Commons. And whatever we is think of the religious tenets or political tendencies of Romana it is a monstrous anomaly, a sharp reproof to our board religious tolerance, a stjuging reproach to the doctrines religious equality professed by all Liberals and many Coast vatives, that one-fitteenth of our British fellow-subjects through their religion alone practically deprived of Parti mentary representation. This is but the most striking scandalous of many instances of the unfair, unbealthy, anon stitutional domination of the local majority; of the unconst tional exclusion of evenly distributed minerities, hower large, not only from positical power, but from the right to make their voices heard in the national conneils; an evil which morecilement of electoral districts, nothing but a direct water

of proportional representation, can correct.

Proportional representation, then, is no party crotches political doctrinaires, no "counsel of perfection," no about theory, which, whatever its logical justice, practical states? can afford to disregard. It is of the very essence of represent tive democracy; in its absence Parliamentary representation popular sovereignty, party government and the rule of the Man are practically incompatible. Nothing else can secure est that the majority shall rule or that the minority shall be bear Nothing else can protect us from that worst form of disguis oligarchy, the despotism of an accidental few, composed the best of the majority of the majority, but it may be on of the most active, fossy, dictatorial section of the strong party. To give effect to the democratic principle, Parliam must reflect roughly, but truly, that primary assembly was the size of modern States precludes. And no system un-which the majority of each electoral division,—be it largesmall, natural or artificial, whether it return many members. few, monopolizes the representation, can afford any permane or practical guarantee that Parliament shall reflect or report the nation. Upon all these points, the last excepted, al. part are in theory agreed. Even the bitterest Radical, the most in tical devotee of democracy, may, the most unscrupulous puller that ever 'ran the machine' and controlled the action five hundred nominally elective caucuses, admits in words 🗓 Parliament should represent all parties and sections.

Mr Staw-Lefovre excepted, has yet argued that even the disproportionate representation of the majority is desirable or justihable. One school of Radicals contends with Mr. Bright that is present system affords, whether through its anomalies or its escental principles, through the proposterous over-representation of perty and secondary towns or the diversity of large conesturacies, a sufficient corrective for its theoretical tendency to are the majority an undue share, if not a monopoly, of Parsmentary power. This assertion, confidently as it is repeated, has been clearly and unanswerably rejuted. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre bu shown by indisputable figures that the majority of the hour, loty or Liberal, is actually and necessarily over-represented; hat the narrowest party majority, a majority of 5 or 10 per cent, secures for five or six years an absolute preponderance, rabling it not merely to grasp and control the Executive, but a carry by overwhelming majorities in the one House, over the stranous resistance of the other, whatever measures it pleases. less theoretically obvious, it is practically notorious, that the amority in favour of these measures represents, not the opinion of the narrow majority that elected them, but, at most, the enjority of that majority, not 55 but 35 per cent. of the excitorate.

We have shown that the anomalies of the present system do est correct but aggravate this preponderance, first of a narrow espority, ultimately of the majority only of that majority, a assenty of the people. Finally, even if these anomalies serve When all householders are their purpose, they cannot endure. qually entitled to vote, the householders of the countres and the great towns will insist that their votes shall have equal efect. No democracy will permanently put up with an olisuchy visibly illogical, an oligarchy not of wealth, or birth, or Macation, but of chance. It is impossible that a thousand suseholders in Bedford or Coleraine should continue to outto thousand richer and probably better educated house-soiders in Laverpool or Kent, Leeds or Lanark. If, after the etty boroughs, in preserving which neither party has an atterest, are swept away, the towns might possibly desire to preserve an apportionment under which a Member is altotted to very 7000 urban and only to every 14,600 county householders, be counties have the stronger reason for refusing at the present coment their assent to any imperfect piecemeal legislation which shall leave so monstrous an inequality uncorrected.

The advocates of equal electoral districts are not perhaps more numerous, but more powerful and more practical, than those who argue that the present system fusfils its end; but

while

while for the moment agreed upon the means, they are dismetrically at variance upon the end. Mr. Chamberlain looks to this, or some modified and gradual approach thereto, as the means of establishing permanently and securely the irresistible ascendency of the Caucus, the despotism of an organized parts majority; in a word, the tyranny of the extreme section of the more numerous party. Mr. Forster, almost alone smoog thoughtful and candid democrats, fancies that in Mr. Chamberlain's favourite ideal he may find the means of bailling Mr. Chamberlain's purpose. That as regards the choice of mean, as regards the working of the machinery, the political mechanist is right and the philosopher wrong, is a priori probable, and becomes more probable the further we enquire. Such isde pendence, such revolt from the tyranny of the Cancus, as that to which Mr. Forster himself owes his seat, would, under the system of equal electoral districts, be as impossible in England as it is found to be in America. Equal representation, the rib of a real majority, the genuine sovereignty of the people used a Parliamentary system, can be secured by no such indirect means, by no reliance on anomalies already doomed, by nothing but an open, direct, straightforward, and above all a simple aid intelligible scheme, devised frankly and immediately to attain its end. And that scheme must consider, not minorities as sud, but minorities and majorities alike, and primarily the real and not merely nominal government of the majority.

And if the end is ever to be attained, if the attempt is are to be made with a serious practical hope of success, it must be made now. Now if ever, now or never, when we are initialing democracy in absolute irresistible power, must we determine what democracy it shall be; real or nominal, genuine or lass. the government of a national majority, or the dominance p each constituency of a local majority, resulting in the distrachisement of minorities, and of those very minorities wask voice is best worth hearing, which form the most valuable element of their several parties. It is agreed on all hands that Rollitribution is a necessary accompaniment or complement of the Franchise Bill. We are therefore anxious that the subject should be carefully considered in all its bearings, before either of the two parties in the State is committed to any particular scheme of Redistribution. We do not write from a party posse of view, or to gain a party advantage. We have shown that whatever it may have done in former days, the monopole of representation by local majorities fails even now to secure inportional representation, or to protect us from the domination of a mere majority of the majority. We have shown that any system

which preserves their monopoly must under a democratic suffrage work worse than at present, and worse and worse as the country becomes more and more homogeneous. But if this monopoly be now preserved, it is inevitably perpetuated. A democratic majority, once invested with such a power in each locality, will sever consent to part with it. And not only is this moment the only one, it is favourable as no other could be. This is the one moment at which a real redistribution could be effected, without inflicting upon the smaller constituencies what would be feet by each individual elector as a personal injury, if not a Hitherto the disfranchisement of a borough involved the infranchisement of a large proportion of its electors. With the equalization of the franchise this objection disappears. the electors of a small borough now merged in the county will lose nothing but the special, unfair, extravagant weight of their several votes. Every one of them becomes a county cleater, and, if their due share of representation be given to the counties, sustains no great or painful loss, cannot persuade homself that he is wronged. The equalization of the franchise afonts an obvious, immediate, and sufficient reason for giving the counties their due share at the expense of the smaller towns.

But if the occasion be lost, or rather deliberately passed by, we invest the electorate of those towns, collectively and severally, with a privilege which it is their interest, and which it will be in their power, to retain. We can never allege a reason for withdrawing that privilege which does not now exist. The smallest class of boroughs is condemned; but the intermediate one, identified in interest with the population of the great towns, will form with them an oligarchy invested with twice its rightful share of power, and too probably resolved to retain it. We shall have laid down a rule in favour of the urban population, which no one would now justify, which contradicts dametrically Mr. Gladatone's own doctrine, that distance from the centres of political power, not proximity thereto, should continue a title to be favoured in the distribution of seats, but a rule which, once acted on, will be eagerly seized, upheld, and justified, which cannot be reversed save by the assent of those who profit thereby. We shall have established, at least for England, a law under which the representation of the towns mil he precisely double that allotted to the counties. great cities, indeed, may feel themselves unfairly treated, may Probably insist on redress at the expense of the smallest class of lowns, but the distranchisement of the fifty-three boroughs with ever than ten thousand inhabitants will satisfy their demands; and thereafter the orban population will stand together in

defence of a privilege which gives them twice their fair share

of political power.

It is not for as to indicate to the Conservative party, or to its leaders, the course they should follow. It is for them to judge whether, with the introduction of a new and irresistible moure power, the introduction of new and stronger guarantees and securities be or be not required; whether the old machiners, the old checks and counterpoises, 'governors' and balance, are adequate to the control of a new, much more potent, and possibly incalculable force; whether a partial or a total revision, a reconsideration embracing the whole Constitution and not limited to a single element—in a word, deliberate, systemate, and not piecemeal and fragmentary reconstruction—be not detrue principle of Conservatism, the soundest and safest, if as

the sole sound and safe, Conservative policy.

And, as we dismiss these pages for press, the response to ear appeal is already made by the decisive vote of the House of Lords. On no occasion has their power in debate been more worthily sustained; and we cannot but be gratified to find how largely the chief points at issue have been anticipated in ar own argument. On the one great question-we may now my the sole remaining contention- habenus confitentem reum i us necessity of redistribution is fully admitted, and the only plan for evading it is a techle non poseumus. What the Lorus tare decided is simply to overrule the disability by insisting on the necessity. If the temple of our constitution has to be rebut as wisdom builds, every part of the structure must be prepared for its new inhabitants before possession is taken by the party whose first act may be to exclude their fellows. The dela is due solely to the refusal of the Government-formulated of explicit terms by Lord Derby—to accept the compromise which was the crucial test of their sincerity, or ability, or both. fat from resisting the popular will, the Lords insist of its expression being elicited; and, at the present crisis, they almocan atter the Appello Casarem.' From that position, we trust neither menaces nor cajolory will move them.

L-1. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt; No. 23, 1884.

Actes and Questions in the Mouse of Commons on the Angloach Agreement. June and July, 1884.

dOST from the first hour of the existence of the present Government until now, their foreign policy has been a al source of amazement to every practical man in No one professes to be able to explain it on any ale which is ordinarily adopted in the management of a st.og's affairs. Sometimes it has appeared to be dictated ere caprice; at others by fear; at others by an uneasy a the part of the Prime Minister that a decorous approach stency would be required of him at last, and that at all he must be true to the wild programme of Midlothian. conversions, one after another, and such as have never n before in the life of any public man not even of Sir Peel-were freely allowed to him; but only when they oversions to the views of the Radicals. A conversion er way was not even to be thought of, and it will be bered that Mr. Gladstone was not long in power before ved several unmistakable hints to that effect. He had ected by the Caucus, and he was taught that he must At first some sense of shame, or some remnant of for the old traditions of public life, kept him from the gross injustice to the late Sir Bartle Frere which the is had long demanded. But the Caucus clamoured loudly, Cladstone, whose gratitude for his unexpected success I new, yielded the point; only, in order that it might faid that he had immediately recalled Sir Bartle Frere, ed part of his salary to be struck out of the estimates. as the high-minded and statesmanlike way of dealing e difficulty. The same influences were at work when he way Candahar, and surrendered the Transvaal. Later of a still more dangerous or more ignominious character, even these reckless sacrifices out of the public mind; but on will eventually be compelled to acknowledge that in nd Africa alike we have immensely weakened our own , while actually inflicting an injury, instead of bestowing at upon the people whose interests were so dear to haadhorst and his fellow-workers. And now, after Egypt, we have suddenly become so alarmed at our bilities, that we have called the Great Powers to London them to take the country off our hands, kindly permitting some more rough preliminary work, and to pay all

expenses. Let us admit all round, Conservatives and Liber's alike, that no one can be offended now at the presence among u of the spirit of Chatham and Pitt, of Canning and Palmerson.

We do not intend to take a long retrospect in what we have to any on this subject. We are aware that the acts done by Ministry can no longer be recalled without producing a languatery of 'ancient history.' Therefore we shall not go very st back, but it is of some importance that the public should keep well in mind the results of the surrenders already made by Mr. Gladstone. In India, ever since we retreated from Candaba, we have been falling lower and lower in the estimation of the natives, a rapidly growing trade has been cut off, and Rusta has boldly taken advantage of our weakness and folly to pursue be open, unfaltering, resistless policy of aggression. lost; the natives of India have lost; Russia alone has gained The English people, unfortunately, do not know anything what goes on in India, and they have for the moment takes Mr. Gladstone's word for it, that Russia is a civilizing agract. and that her encroachments in the East should receive encoragement rather than provoke opposition. England is old, and worn out, and no longer equal to the burden of her duties w must avoid new enterprises, give up some old responsibilities and nurse our strength. These are the thoughts expressed of Mr. Gladstone—with a much greater flourish of words, and identically to the same effect—in countless speeches, essays, and Whether they have once for all been formally adopted letters. by the English nation may be a matter of doubt, but it is on at all doubtful that the only statesman alive who would renut to stake his foreign policy upon them is Mr. Gladstone.

For let it be carefully observed, that there is no sign while ever that any other nation intends to follow the pure and let example we are setting. We have the field entirely to are selves. To sit down in the dust, moaning over the ambition and rapacity of youth, and promising to make restitution, of to the rightful owners—if any there are—but to the first chance comer—this is evidently not the fashion at Berlin, or St. Petersburg, or even at Paris. Mr. Gladstone has not only struck out a new line in his own country, but he has absolute no competitors anywhere. In whotever direction he may unhis eyes, he will find that foreign governments are taking a markably good care, if they have much, to keep it: if the have little, to add as fast as possible to the little that the have. This is the rule everywhere, and Mr. Gladstone, if were closely pressed, would be obliged to admit that it is We prench our Birmingham doctrines, commercial or political

and the hearers go away holding up their hands in astonishment, or struggling to suppress their laughter. They think that Lagland has gone mad. We know what Prince Bismarck holds to be the daty of a great government concerning the main-tenance—and, if possible, the expansion—of its territories, and we see what the French are doing at Tunis, in China, and elsewhere. As for Russia, her statesmen never, in their most hopeful dreams, dated to look forward to the day when as fast as she advanced England would retire. That is something new in her experience. Her recent despatches to the British fromment show how confident she now feels that there is assising to apprehend from Mr. Gladstone. She went so far as to refuse to bind herself not to occupy Sarakhs, although such p'edges are real y quite immaterial to her, since it costs nothing to break them. Lord Granville has used a few honeyed words of protest, such as the following, which few will be able to read without a smile:—'It appeared to us that if the possession of Sunkhis were at any time to be arrived at by the Russian Concernment, it could not be necessary for the purposes which have hitherto been stated by them as their object.' This passage occurs in a despatch written in March, 1882. Since then, Busis has pushed on to Sarakha and left Lord Granville to Rassia has pushed on to Sarakha, and left Lord Granville to amuse himself by speculating on the 'purposes' for which she requires it. There is nothing now to keep Russia out of Herat, and this consummation of the first half of her gigantic project will doubtless be associated in after times with the history of the Gladstone Ministry. The prominence, says the Calcutta correspondent of the 'Times' (June 30), 'which the Indian rative newspapers are giving to the subject of the Russian alrance, proves how great has been the impression made on the takive mind. All my information is to the effect that this strance is a topic of common discussion in every bazaar in the country; and I am told of one large city in Bengal where it is confidently asserted and believed that the thunder of Russian gons had been heard in Cashmere.' Any one who fancies that al, this may safely be disregarded in England, knows little of e real tenure by which we hold our Eastern Empire.

If Mr. Gladstone had come into power unfettered by previous plotges, it is quite possible that Candahar would still have been under British rule, to the great benefit of our declining trace, and the immense advantage of the natives themselves. We cannot afford to lose any chance of extending our commerce, and India is the one country in the world which offers us practically unlimited facilities for extending it, on our terms—that is, of true Free Trade. But Mr. Gladstone was not a free

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man when he entered once more upon the office which he had solemnly renounced for ever. He had bitterly denounced every act of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, no matter of what com plexion it was, and he felt himself bound to construct a police on the very simple plan of turning round upon the course of his predecessors. To that, combined with Mr. Gladstones uncertain opinions on foreign affairs, as shown all throngs as connection with them, and to his invariable desire to find a compromise, or to turn his back altogether on a threatening crisis, we owe our present position. When the true history of our times comes to be written, by some thoroughly competent hand, it will appear very plain that the personal rivatues of Mr. Dismeli and Mr. Gladstone were the means of indicus; many a heavy blow upon England. Sometimes one tried to out bid the otler in concessions to Democracy; sometimes the greek aim pursued was to reverse all that the other had done, entirely regardless of the welfare of the country. If Mr. Disraeli tol. one road, that was quite enough to induce Mr. Gladstone to take the other. This spirit has led to most of our presest difficulties. In the last speech which Mr. Disraeli delivered to the House of Commons, he expressed confidence that, 'as loss as England is ruled by English Parties who understand to principles on which our Empire is founded, and who are resolved to maintain that Empire, our influence in that part of the world (Eastern Europe) can never be looked upon with indifference . . . What our duty is at this critical moment of to maintain the Empire of England. Nor will we ever agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative que and false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that Empire These words, and such words as these, were denounced by the Radicals at the time as evincing a truculent and awagering spirit, and Lord Beaconsfield was assailed, by tongue and peaas a grasping, an ambitious, and a dangerous Minister. Whee Mr. Gladstone came into office, he was steeped to the lips is pledges to go as fast and as far as he could in the opposite direction, and the result was that in the course of two years ac found himself obliged to carry out certain 'military operations' in Egypt-which have hitherto been better known as war-to bombard Alexandria, to throw the valley of the Nile interacting such as it is not known in this century, and finally to go before flurope as a suppliant, begging its support and encouragement in his difficulties, and meckly promising. teturn, to give up everything that war has given him, and make another historic flight from Egypt, on the first day of 1888.

Mr. Gladatone's

Mr. Gladstone's own supporters stand amazed or aghast at this. Why Arabi was overthrown, why Alexandria was stroved, why the battles of Tel-el-Keblr and Teb were aght, why we have sacrificed so many lives and looked at so many massacres-all is a mystery to them. The Disinters are like men thunderstruck. 'I cannot make out what Ir Gladstone is driving at, said Mr. Spurgeon recently, and far as that goes, the whole world is in the position of the Prime Minister's most powerful Nonconformist supporter. was worth while fighting in Egypt, how can it be worth thie to give up all that we have gained there, either to France to any other Power, or to all the Powers? We have decoved all settled government in Egypt, virtually dispossessed sature, and turned the Khedive into a mere pupper. We chowledged to the full our responsibility for the maintenance confer and the protection of the people, and almost as soon as a Lad done so, we began to talk of running away from it. It s been Mr. Gladstone's invariable course to run away under miar circumstances. He ran away from the Crimean war, her helping to make it; he ran away from the leadership of is party in 1874, when the position was for a time hopeless. but the ligyptians did not know of this peculiarity, and they poght that when he went to their country, and killed their and upset their institutions, he intended to remain, and ere them the blessings of a just and stable government. And is, apparently, was his intention for a brief period, but the d instinct came uppermost; to run away seemed easier than star; the burden must be shifted to that old fetish of the remier's, the 'European Concert.' Thus every agent of the hastry, great or small, found himself stultified. Lord Dufferin sent out to 'enquire' and 'report;' but he might as well are gone as the special correspondent of a newspaper, for his ork led to no tangible result. The literary ment of his report as elmitted, and then it was laid upon the shelf. It has been e same with every other representative of the Government, own to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. Each has gone out under the demon that the Ministry would support him and profit by his ruces, and each, not excepting General Gordon, has found in time that he went out on a fool's errand

After the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, over which there was as much interior as if it had been another Waterloo, it was generally undered in Europe that England had acquired a footing in the state of the Eastern possessions, she was fairly entitled to be No one rentured to hint at so improbable a supposition

as that she would herself come forward voluntarily to abas France did not expect it, as we may see very clearly M. Ferry's recent speeches. Russia was obviously takes surprise when the announcement was made. The pretext England's surrender is limited to the financial control of B does not deceive any man outside this country, nor is it while to argue against it. Mr. Gladstone himself disposed very effectually on the 12th of February last, in the Hou-Commons. He quoted a warning he had delivered to the Government, to the effect that the appointment of 'a family Commissioner, having control over the revenues, would likely entail upon us still greater difficulties, and mix us up farther with a heavier responsibility for a portion of the inte government of Egypt.' This warning he repeated, and ad that the financial control involved a progress * from financia political, and from political probably to territorial reaponsis ties. In plain English, the financial control carries with the absolute control of Egypt and its people, and it is not less than this which Mr. Gladstone proposes to cede.

The English public does not yet understand this large section of it takes everything that is said by Mr. G stone upon trust, and reads very little more than his spece and the flattering echoes which they find in some obsequant real paper. Now, Mr. Gladstone's speeches are 'polenic controversial, and intended to put opponents and enbody else on a false scent, in accordance with the real able code of Parliamentary ethics devised for his own but for his own use only, by the Prime Minister. He happens that people who read these speeches and little it happens that people who read these speeches, and little nothing else, are left in a whirl of confusion, and are glaget back to solid ground again, with the advice ringing in the cars, to beave the matter in Mr. Gadstone's hands, in hope that somehow or other everything will turn out right. Prime Minister has not chosen to take them into his confident even so far as to tell them how much money he intends to out of the public Treasury, or to reader the country respect for. But he thought it consistent with his duty and his professions, to enter into a confidential understanding M. Ferry as to the proposals which were to be made to Conference. The French Minister was approached, as hetold the Deputies, in a spirit of great concession, and author a portion of the French press pretend to be sceptical as to concession, it is not seriously questioned anywhere that I'm was very much surprised when Mr. Gladstone proposed great capitulation. It was a totally unexpected prece of people, ever suspicious of la perfide Addion, cannot quite believe it to be genuine. They are inclined to think that in Mr. Godstone they have to deal with another Bismarck -a mistake such is so supremely ludicrous, that a keen-witted people ought not for a single moment to have fallen into it. Mr. Gladstone, bet may rest assured, has no arrière pensée. He means all that it is promising, and more, for he would be glad to get out of keipt to-day or to-morrow on any terms, leaving 'English iteretta' to take care of themselves. The French people do not tet understand England's 'great statesman,' having so wrath had to do with a man in Germany of a totally different the They doubt our Prime Minister's 'sincerity,' which has ever before been questioned, and some of their papers have tried to show that he is 'deluting France, Europe, and hagland herself,' and that he has concluded with M. Ferry a

'stipefring agreement'

Stapelying it underiably is in one sense, for no one is able to explain why it was made. The high contracting parties themselves have not yet been able to interpret its real meanalike, for while M. Ferry gave one account of it to the French Chamber, Mr. Gladstone gave another and a totally different account to the House of Commons. On the allimportant question of the British evacuation there is a loud through of voices to be heard. M. herry declared that 'Europe, as England, would be the judge' as to whether we should be allowed to remain in Egypt after the close of 1887. On the eaer hand, Mr. Giadatone's followers in the press and elseweere endeavoured to represent that the dissent of England is to the verdict of the other Powers would give her the right so bold Egypt, especially if she could get one other Power to but her. And this was apparently supported by an official on anniqué to the Daily News' (June 28th) to the effect that the Luropean Powers can only speak unanimously, or not at al'-a construction of the arrangement which M. Ferry as false as it is ridiculous. One thing is clear—we 20 into the Conference bound hand and foot by a secret Treaty with France. We give up our whole case beforehand. This is the very same blunder which Mr. Gladatone committed in 1872 in reference to the Geneva arbitration, and which cost the *nortry 3,229,1661. Before entering the Conference, we agreed to terms of reference which rendered it utterly impossible that the arbitration could be in our favour. From the moment we consented to the famous 'three rules,' the United States had everything their own way, Mr. Gladstone secured a verdict Vol. 158 .- No. 315. T against

against us by adopting conditions imposed upon him by the other side; and to all intents and purposes he is now repeating the costly experiment. We go to this new Conference with the French agreement, dictated by the interests of France, tied like a millstone round our necks.

The most extraordinary part of it is that, while the agreemen was being entered into, and afterwards, Mr. Gladstone was repeatedly going down to the House of Commons, and sarang to it, in effect, 'See how entirely I have taken you into 20 outdence. I keep nothing from you, because I have so professed a respect for the rights and privileges of Parlianess Other Ministers would have sought to throw dust in your con-but pray observe my loyalty and frankness. I cannot recal m Minister who has dealt so freely and openly with you as I in doing. This is little more than a paraphrase of Mr Glubson's speech of the 23rd of June; and while he was making it, he was keeping Parliament in atter ignorance of every material feature in his agreement with M. Ferry. He refused to tell the liner how much money he was about to pledge himself to find, or to guarantee, until he could go before it with a compact privite made with the other Powers-a compact which Parliament could not well reject, after giving its countenance to the cocitions under which Mr. Gladstone had called the Conference together. All attempts which have been made to extract tour the Government an intelligible statement of the financial responsibilities they are incurring, have been repulsed by the Ministry with an arrogance which would have raised a stern throughout the country had a Conservative Ministry ten guilty of it. Every little town would have rung with or cos against the infringements on the ancient rights of the Commute But Mr. Gladstone triumphantly pursued a line which will have ruined any other man in his position. In the Common impertinent questions were received with a digged refusal with answer. In the Upper House, the Government were cast pressed to explain their intentions on the money question. Was there, Lord Cairns asked, any agreement or any understanding either formal or informal, with the Government of France as \$ the financial arrangements? Lord Granville, less dextered than his elitef at tossing words in the nir, admitted that the was something, although it was not to be called an 'ager ment, any more than the Treaty of Kilmainham was to be called a Treaty, 'There are,' said the Foreign Secret. ' things about finance submitted to France,' but any details and these things must be withheld. Mr. Gladstone, as we say! remarked, refused to make any statement whatever.

declined, he said, on the eve of the Conference, in nost explicit, founded on a conviction based upon a most ant principle, to give any information as to the nature of

nacial proposals.

at was the 'most important principle referred to by the Minister? He did not deign to explain, but it clearly not be that which he laid down as a part of the 'moral then he was endeavouring to get into office. He expressed atest abhorrence of the misconduct of the Foreign Secrethat day 1879), in coming to any kind of private underswith the Russian Ambassador before the great Powers Congress. Secret bargains, on the eve of a European lance, were a breach of fair dealing, and an insult to the

It was quite evident, in the month of June last, that ime Minister had made such a bargain with M. Ferry, at the French Minister knew long before the House of ons how many millions Mr. Gladstone intended to , or to get advanced, to Egypt. It is no justification of assert that the consent of Parliament must be obtained the secret agreement can take effect. Mr. Gladstone ted the very offence for which he arraigned Lord isheld's government—the offence, that is, of trespassing the jurisdiction of Parliament, and by the attempt to its whole influence on exterior policy to the formality of veto. This is the utmost that Parliament can expect rise under the circumstances prepared for it by Mr. ne. The Minister has usurped its functions, and left with the shadow of a 'final veto.' Should Parliament the scheme when it is allowed to see it in detail, the y will assume an aggrieved attitude, and ask why it ned the Conference, if it was not prepared to sustain Her y's advisors in the conclusions which they had accepted? t reason, if for no other, the Conservative party could bonour or in prudence, permit the Government to go he Conference absolutely unchallenged. It was not B, by a mysterious Parliamentary manœuvre, to give to its protest, but it has at least prevented Mr Gladin which he takes so much childish delight, nemine coute. 'Gentlemen,' he said in one of his 'rousing' s, dwelling upon the wickedness of secret agreements, aid, and said truly, that truth beats fiction; but what s in fact from time to time is of a character so daring,

so strange, that if the novelist were to imagine it, and to put a upon his pages, the whole world would reject it from its mprobability. And this is the case of the Anglo-Turkish Consertion.' It is the case, as all Europe sees now, with the Gladience Ferry secret agreement, destined long to be famous in the annas

of back-stairs diplomacy.

The Conservatives, then, were bound to object, at the eather moment they could find, to this Secret Treaty, and to oppose ! every means at their disposal the wild scheme of advancus eight millions, or any other sum, to Egypt, while we were required at the same time to give up all security for the mone. by evacuating the country at a fixed date. But when the day came on which their arguments were to be heard, they do covered that another ingenious ruse had been invented, sprung up by accident, to stifle the discussion. came forward and said that the debate would be inopportur and Mr. Gladstone, seizing the opportunity at once, declared that it would be not only "inopportune," but "most injurious a the public interests.' At this interesting point, Mr. Goscher stepped to the front, in the character of the innocent countries at a fair, and urged that the 'debate ought not to be allowed proceed.' The Ministerialists were delighted with the suggestion: Mr. Gladstone was discreetly shocked by it: and to followers all rushed into the lobby to support it. Thus a new way of applying 'gag law' was found, far more expeditions as more effectual than that which the late Speaker on one occasion applied to the Irish members. Another precedent has been created, under the distinguished authority of Mr. Gladstone, in the future arrangement of Parliamentary conflicts, and be bringing out the full force of party majorities. A Minim with a well-drilled force at his back need never be at a loss per some Mr. Goschen to open a door of escape from a discussion which he has reason to dread. He may shake his head at the stratagem, and may even vote against it, confident that his followers will understand his meaning, and go into the other lobby—especially when his whips are standing at the door to direct them. Does anybody suppose for a moment that it Mr. Gladstone had wished to keep faith with the Conservatives his followers, the most docide crew that ever obeyed a captuo. would have dared to oppose him? In the coming days, it will be strange if this new and successful appliance is not frequently put into operation, as a means of keeping minorities in their 'prop' place,' and preventing a great Minister from being ' badgered some critical moment when he is about to push on the revolvtion, or barter away the honour and glory of the country.

statesman

incident may perhaps serve to make clear to some sturdy in the unchangeableness of the 'good old ways' the real nature of the changes now going on in our mode ament. The Democratic party will not tolerate that ression of opinion, which has hitherto been looked upon of an Englishman's birthright. Tan House of Commons hall for the registration of the decrees of the majority. demic discussion will be allowed now and then, but it regarded by a powerful Minister pretty much as he looks debate in the Oxford Union. It may be interesting, or sting, but it will not concern him. The only parallel to a made in the House of Commons on the 30th of June, is and in the proceedings of the House of Representatives in ad States during the celebrated 'Reconstruction' debutes. there party were in a great minority, and the majority, ling to be bothered with their 'rubbish,' simply retused hem. The minority had no power, and the party which power silenced them, and either left them to talk other and to the empty benches, or brought out the gag it over their mouths. Then legislation could proceed thing like a satisfactory manner. But even in those head of a party did not solemnly promise to give a day ing the weaker side, and allow all the arrangements to on that understanding, and then, when the day came, a trick to choke off al. discussion. We can sometimes even upon the American model.

ractical joke which the Ministerialists thus played upon ervatives is quite in harmony with the Prime Minister's of the House throughout this Egyptian business. he has been telling it that it should have an oppordiscuss his plans, and when it asked whether the time e, his answer was easy Not yet. He assured the ourse with much earnestness, that discussion would inconvenient; and undoubtedly it must have proved dinister who was concealing all sorts of secret agreebout him. For not only was there the understanding ance about 'financial things,' but it leaked out that Governments had agreed upon a ' plan for the neutraliza-Egyptian territory.' This was Mr. Gladstone's own on the 23rd of June. M. Perry was still more 'Another clause,' he told the French Deputies, 'still portant, settles beforehand the consequences of evacuahe freedom of the Canal, guaranteed by the neutralizagypt, is a broad, lofty policy, worthy of the illustrious

statesman inspiring it.' The two last words show that the project in question, subversive as it is of all our interests in-Egypt, political and commercial, actually originated with Mr. Gladstone. What it involves, we shall presently ask the reader to consider attentively for himself; but it is essentiato complete the true and impartial history of the Anglo Presch agreement, and of the subsequent farce of the Conference, w place the fact clearly upon recerd, that every important step #14 taken with Parliament blindfo.ded. We saw, in reference to the Army Purchase Bill, what was the true nature of Mr. Gladstones respect for Parliamentary traditions and rights; but the gunden portion of the public must have found with some surprise that at the very time he was promising to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of the House, he was 'settling beforehood' every important matter, including the grant of public money, with M. Ferry. In the same extremely clever and 'masteris way, he gave repeated assurances that his proposed arrangement with the Powers should be 'laid before the House at a day anterior to the Conference,' and, when these words were broughup against him, he tell back upon his old and never-failing ples that he was not sure of the accuracy of the report. 'I came say' such was his excuse 'whether the words quoted by the hon, member are precisely reported or not. I would require have the opportunity of comparing the report.' Day after dit and week after week, the country was treated to the sight A the most elaborate fencing with simple questions, of prevications about the meaning of words, of pretended doubts also the accuracy of reports; and in the meantime the cause of Egipt which once aroused Mr. Gladstone's tenderest susceptibilities and the interests of England, were being east to the wires Nothing like this has been seen in modern English history Bitterly as the Schouvaloff agreement was denounced by Mr. Gast stone, he could not pretend that it compromised the honour of the welfare of England. It gave up nothing that we had just dearly for; it sacrificed nothing; it abandoned nothing to a foreign power. Mr. Gladstone treated it as a crimical at because it was entered into without the knowledge of the oxi world—the outer world never having had any real right to a consulted in regard to it. 'Secretly,' said Mr. Gladause. one of those grand fits of moral indignation which so su! amuse careful students of his life and character, 'secretly, without the knowledge of Parliament, without even the forms of office procedure, Lord Salisbury met Count Schouvaloff in Louis and agreed with him upon the terms on which the two I'vest together should be bound in honour to one another to act upon a

And this was the head and front of Lord Salisteding. Change two names and a few words, and we nact account of the way in which Mr. Gladstone France to pay the eight millions and to 'neutralize' is no new thing, to be sure, to see the Prime Minis the very acts for which he has vilified others; but cample as this, at such a moment, is totally unique most wonderful and incredible causer.

most wonderful and incredible career. Conference met, with some of the most important to business already cut and dried for it, at least as ance and England. Germany, of course, had been left ideration altogether, although a few words which were Prince Bismarck—not so accidentally as he made -about the very time Mr. Gladstone and M. Ferry osing their parts, must have warned the Prime Minister d perhaps been reckoning without his host. For German Chance lor took occasion to succr at several nglish and French, and to announce that he did not becognize the Anglo Portuguese Freaty relating to the foreover he complained that England had taken a to answer a question of his on the subject of Angrain fact, she had deliberated upon it from December buch was 'somewhat surprising.' But, continued the th a mixture of sarcasm and earnestness, England maches a high value to the friendship of Germany; of the German Empire was not to be underrated, he put forth, moreover, without its possessing a flect very pregnant words at the present moment, by to be pondered thoughtfully than all the long which we English take so much delight. Lastly, as d the world how completely at variance he was with and the party which now govern England, Prince assured the Reichstag that Germany would always by colonists that it might come to possess, and that fide in the Creis Romanus sum feeling.' We do not by two points in our present national policy which ave trodden under foot more contemptuously, for we to the conclusion to accept the doctrine continually by Mr. Gladstone, that England has too much on and must get rid of some of it; and we have agreed s stigma of 'Jingoism' to the 'Cieis Romanus sum

^{*} Third W Hotlann Speech, November 29th, 1872

feeling.' It is singular enough that, at this remarkable crise of our affairs, the shrewdest man in Europe, and the on y really great statesman it possesses, should have chosen thus over-tationally to adopt the phrase first applied in modern times by Lord Palmerston, and, as a matter of course, prompo-repudliated on the spot by Mr. Gladstone. It was two, Mr Gladstone thought, for an English statesman to comparan Englishman with a Roman citizen, for the Roman citizen belonged to a conquering nation, while it was our business to study first and foremost the 'preservation of the future brotherhood of nations.'* No one foresaw then that the day would come, when the treatment of our foreign affairs and the entire destinies of England would be placed in the hands of the amiable philosopher of 1850. The ardent love of country, a despised here, has become the chief article in the faith of pregressive Germany, and, instead of serving out milk and water to the brotherhood of nations,' she is busily taking care of ber own house and family, and endeavouring, like some less energetic nations, to profit by the torpor and debility who have settled down upon England.

We cannot study Prince Bismarck's words, without perevious that he referred in his favourite vein of grim irony to the 'luga value 'which England attaches to the 'friendship of Germus He is well aware that under Lord Beaconsfield's Government we did most sedulously, and most wisely, cultivate the friex ship of Germany. That had been the traditionary policy of England till the accession of the Whigs to power in 1880. If this friendship was of importance to England in former days when Germany was divided, how much more important is if now, when she is united, and wields the power in Europe which, under Pitt, belonged to England! There was on motive which alone would have been sufficient to lead Mr Gladstone to depart from this pradent and far-seeing policythe same motive which, as we have said, has haunted him al through his present Administration. It was that Lord Beacons field had assiduously sought to strengthen our friendship with Germany. A total reversal of the 'Tory machinery' involvecourting still closer bonds of intimacy with the French, 201 concurrently with, but at the expense of, the German allisace Lord Beaconsfield always endeavoured to reduce the potential perils of the Eastern Question to the smallest limit by getting Austria and Germany on his side, and he succeeded. and, so far as human eye can see, for no other reason, Mr. Ukad

[.] Speech in the House of Commons, 27th Jane, 1830.

or went about the country insulting Austria - insults ich Austria compelled han to retract as soon as he reed an official position. No other English statesman could written the famous letter to Count Kirolys, describhis own solemn statements as merely 'polemical,' and laring that he had at a l times particularly and heartily bed well to Austria,' without much humiliation. The ustry began its work in connection with foreign affairs in must.on, if not disgrace, although in these days of short nonces its first severe rebuth, ominous as it was for the re, is doubtless clean forgotten. But when the country is posed once more to look at facts, the attacks upon Austria, the subsequent prostration of their author at the feet of tra, will not be readily condoned. It was said to have Prince Bismarck who brought the pressure to bear which Mr. Gladstone to issue his recantation to the world, and the tation of the Berlin papers gave strong support to the amption. Since then, the Prime Minister has betraved ate of chronic irritation with Germany, and this is not ly to be lessened by some very acute remarks made by ce Bismurck to the Reichang last month. Whether the man statesman had his eye upon England or upon his own by when he spoke, people are at liberty to decide for stelves; we may safely assume that one eminent man here very strongly dissent from his views. The authors of alboy exercises in speaking, said the Prince, might just as be entrusted with power as 'politicians who are merely masters of rhetoric.' 'Nor do I think,' he added, 'that t orators should be Ministers of State-for eloquence is a waich is esteemed far above its real value. A good speaker starally a bit of a poet, and, as such, he is not always quite that. I hea he must be impulsive, passionate, easily moved oler that he may impross others, so that it is very seldom powerful rhetorician makes a safe statesman.' Again: due weight is given to chaquence over sense, because it ons the unthinking multitude. But the man of cool reion and quiet deliberation, to whom we would wish to de the arrangement of great and important business, is ray ever to be found among your highly accomplished ray. Sayings, these, which might well be written in letters old on the walls of the House of Commons, where colore run mad counts for more than reason, wisdom, or ight. Yet we need not wholly despair. Infinite mischief be done, but we venture to predict that, after the fall of Gladstone, 'cloquent statesmen' will be at a discount in England

England for a very long time, and that the country will look for a man of suber sense and business capacity to conduct is affairs, even if he never once mounts the stump during as

whole term of office.

We admit that it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that an alliance with Germany, while such a man as Prince Bismsut is at the head of affairs, can be congenial to Mr Gladston. Therefore he has sought to let the good feeling which alrests existed cool down, and he has laboured with might and mus to court the goodwill of France. His emotional temperment, his delight in word-spinning and wire-drawing, naturals led him to look askance at the hard headed downright statesman, who has made Germany what she is to-day. Mr. Gadstone apparently made up his mind to do without German But even his Radical supporters begin to have uneasy doubts whether he will be able to settle the Eastern Question, or all other foreign question, with M. Waddington and M. Ferry He may be the master of the House of Commons, but is European politics there is a master behind him, and every sor and then he is made to feel the pressure of his authority. He entered into a treaty with Portugal concerning the Con-river territory, and a most imprudent treaty it was. But escaped observation in this country, for who knows anything about the Congo river? It happened, however, that we Germans were endeavouring to found a colony in that rep a and, acting on the principle of Civis Romanus surv. Providentation of leaving them to be ground between the upper and nether millstone of England and Portugal, resurve to take them under his protection. What was the consequent It was shown by a very short, and not very pleasant, state-in made by Lord E. Fitzmaurice in the House of Commens on # The agreement had fallen to pieces Ote 30th of June Powers had objected to it, and consequently it could not be Prince Bismarck, in plain English, had compelled a ratified. to go home with our treaty stuffed into our pockets. Is it to be supposed that in the forthcoming settlement of Egypt German' will consent to remain far away in the background, a deinterested spectator? She may prove accommodating coverate the Conference, but when England has restored order Egypt, and expended her treasure lavish.y and perhaps life " lavisbly, for we have still got the Mahdi to 'smash'-then webe the moment for Germany to appear upon the seene. Ho power, as Prince Bismarck reminded us—in curious imast of of Lord Beaconsfield's language at the Mansion House - 13 pl to be underrated, and France will find it difficult to resist us

dains which she may put forward when notice is served upon

us to take ourselves out of Egypt.

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We do not seek to undervalue the French alliance, and it is wedless to say that we have no sympathy with the rash and beedless remarks concerning it which were made by Lord Randopt Churchill on the day of the Ministerial statement. That breach Ministers are frequently changed, is a matter which does not concern us; we have to deal with the French nation, and secan only deal with it through its government, which, while we desire to have friendly relations with it, is to be treated with Lord Rando ph Churchill sometimes inflicts great dimage upon his own party, as every man in his position must do who speaks before he thinks, and who gives utterance to the his words that come into his mouth. In this case, his attack spon France was engerly beld up for exhibition to the country by the Radicals, as a fair expression of the general views of Conservatives. Nothing could be more preposterous. The Conservatives. Tory party has considered it a sacred duty to preserve the hindly relations with France which practically began with Napo-leon III., and no French statesman has ever accused it of entertaining even a latent feeling of hostility. But the late Lord Derby, as well as Lord Beaconsfield, were too well versed in foreign politics to suppose, or to act as if they supposed, that the French alliance was worth more to England than all other alliances put together. We prize the friendship of France, but at the same time we attach great importance to the friendship of Germany, and would be no means sacrifice the latter to gain the former. The would by no means sacrifice the latter to gain the former. Germans have much in common with us, and it is impossible to deny that their sturdy nature presents a solid foundation for an alliance which we shall scarcely find, however hard we may look for it, in France. We have of late made great concessions to France, as M. Ferry admits, but the French are not satisfied. They are determined that nothing we can do shall please them. Somehow or other, they have persuaded themselves that they bare a right to Egypt, and that England is an impudent is under there; and Mr. Gladstone incautiously gave some countenance to this theory in his first statement to the House. Four position in Egypt, he said, 'was to be brought up by one Power in particular, undoubtedly France was the Power most extitled in every sense to take the lead, and to act, if I may so say, on the part of the rest.' Here we have the Prime Minister ractically admitting the right of France to call us to account thenever she finds us in Egypt, and we have his further concasion that France acted upon this right-or, in Mr. Gladstone's own words, she 'invited from us explanations.' Ever since our unfortunate

unfortunate intervention in Egypt, France has followed our movements with great scalousy and bitterness, and these feelings were not modified by our pressing invitations to her to shire with us the honours, it any, of the campaign against Arab. She allowed us to go and do the fighting, probably looking forward to the time, which has now actually come, when she could step in without any trouble or expense whatever, and elbow us out of Egypt. Ilad she shared with us the cost and dangers of the war, we could not more readily have admitted ber claims than we do now. Probably no Frenchman anticipated, after the refusal of his Government to act with us two years ago, that I rance would lose nothing whatever by that refusa; that, indeed, she would be far better off than it she had joined is expedition, by saving her money and yet being in a position to exact her own terris from the conqueror. In the old carestures, England was often represented taking the chestauts out of the fire for her rival, but cobody strained probabilities so at a to represent her as doing it for France. The French have good interests in Egypt, and she has a fair right to defend them But our interests ought not to be made subordinate to hers, and tais, and this alone, must be the practical result of the scheme devised between Mr. Gladstone and M. Ferry. The Free Minister, in reply to such of his countrymen as think that England has not yielded enough, justly pointed to the in-mense triumph which he had achieved in restoring France to any sort of contro. in Egyptian politics. He asked the Departs whether he would have been justified in turning his back upon this unique opportunity of re-entering into Egyptian affair. and upon some interruptions be continued, 'Yes, are had cross to be in them;" and not only was he right in this, but he mith have added that France had very properly ceased to be in the considering the way in which she had left her associate in the Dual Control to meet all difficulties when the Egyptian Govers ment was tottering to its fall. Was it not the general reman two years ago, that, as France had refused to take any part is 120 work of propping up the Khedive, the future of the country aus necessarily be in the hands of England? Who supposes, 1967 that she would be invited by Mr. Gladstone to dictate the term on which we should remain in Egypt, and fix the day for 0= summary and final withdrawal?

But the date of this withdrawal, we are told, has been extended by the French from two years to three and a half, and in consenting to this extension France has made another ig extension.\(^1\) It is a concession in favour of herself, for it prefects her against well-nigh every emergency. No one can face:

duties which may be thrust upon us, as the temporary namen of Egypt, during the next three years and a half. We are have one campaign, or halt-a-dozen campaigns, to conduct, or it is impossible now for any one in the Ministry, or out of the be deluded by the hope that General Gordon will quiet form or disperse the Mahdi and his troops. Fortunately for Gladstone, General Gordon was out of sight during the cent negociations, and the public had apparently almost squeten him and his ill-starred mission, out of which it was for a moment probable that good could come. But the and, has scarrely met with an important check ever since meral Gordon has been shut up in Khartoum. He is conmally poshing northwards, and, unless a stronger force than y which the native Government can conjure up is brought to ar against him, he will become the master of Upper Egypt, here is this force to come from? Mr. Gladstone may seek to suade the public that he has shifted the responsibility for are complications from England to the 'European concert,' s he must be well aware that no other Power will help him maintain order in the valley of the Nile. We, if anybody, at fight the Mahdi, who was to have been so easily managed General Gordon, who was afterwards to have been 'smashed' that gallant but highly eccentric officer, and who is now on way to the heart of Egypt to set secret Treaties and repean conferences at defiance. There is no one else to send a soldier against him, for France has expressly said she will fight-she will only wait till the fighting is over, and then We have been worsted ere now in diplomacy, as the result. the old world and in the new, but never before have we rushed th our eyes open into such an impasse as this. We are to bear expenses of past and future wars, to advance eight millions the benefit of all creditors of Fgypt, German and French well as English, and then the solid benefits of all our work to be transferred to the other Powers. We do not in the least tree exaggerate the dangers before us. The Radical Spechas stated one of them with perfect fairness. 'So far as can perceive,' it says, 'the British Government, in addition levery other labour and vexation, will within a certain number months, it may be six or it may be twelve, be compelled to ive a Soudanese army of 40,000 men back into the desert from ich it bas emerged. A traveller, who has recently explored good deal of the country, reports " that " there is not a mosque Cairo or Alexandria in which the Faithful are not exhorted

^{*} In the 'Pall Ma'l Gazette' of July 4th.

to prepare to execute vengeance on the lufidel. All over the country, in the Delta as well as in Upper Egypt, the attitude of the population is one of expectation. They are waiting to the advent of the Mahdi, whom they believe to be stronger than we' We shall be compelled to face 'the Mahdi's advance after a defeat on the frontier, and with a population sectning with religious and political discontent in our rear.' And we shall be obliged to do this without any assistance from the other Powers who will hold us to our liability to fulfil our contract and the to be suddenly ejected. We are useful only to find maney and men as fast as they are wanted, and when we have made keyw solvent and secured her peace, we are to be turned out. This at the situation we have to meet, and the Radicals acknowledge that they do not like it, but say that they would rather accept a than see the Tories in power. We have paid a menty pust before now for the blessings of party government, but we cannot recall the time when we were required to pay quite so crashes

a price as this.

Yet we are assured that France has really behaved generould to England, in that she has given up three things of great in portance in her own eyes. They are, first, the Dual Coston which she seemed disposed to cling to through thick and that But that was dead already, and what does M. Ferry say upon the point? That the new Pablic Debt Commission will have new ! all the powers of the old Control,' and that the consent of Eng sol to the neutralization of Egypt far more than compensates for mething that has been lost. The second great French concessions. that she pledges herself not to occupy Egypt after England but gone-just as Russia pledged herself never to go to Vist flow much such pledges are worth, the most care.cst of observers of political events ought to know. It will be east enough by and by for France to borrow one of Mr. Gis largest evergreen arguments, and urge that, as the difference is grown hetween the circumstances of 1884 and 1888, she had changed her mind. The second concession is, therefore, as hodow as the first. Lastly, she agrees— agrees with pleasure and express, as one of the Radical papers joyfully exclaims—to the neutralization of Egypt; and as this is, heyong a doctor. greatest juggle of all, her third concession must be pronounced rather more worthless than the other two. On the other and there is something practical and substantial about our surrecore We undertake to look after the order and finances of Egypt for three years and a half; to lend or present to her title millions; to pack off, 'bag and baggage,' on the first cay of 1888. There is the usual English solidity about these conce-SICES, sions, and the traditionary French flimsiness about those on the other side; and the more the matter is looked into, the

stronger will this old-fashioned contrast appear.

But then, there will be the neutralization of the country. his anybody who praises this arrangement thoroughly con-sidered what it involves? We cannot suppose that Egypt will be cattrely freed by magic from internal dissensions and nieries, such as have afflicted her for years past, as the date fired by the Conference draws nigh. If all the Powers are to leave her to her fate, or to be dealt with by Turkthe troops, the helpless population will have more reason tan ever to rue the day when Ling and first interfered. They are far worse off now, than they were before we suppressed their popular leaders, killed off their soldiers, and took tion under our care. All authorities concur in admitting that. Ir gandage is universal, the country never was so poor, the loss a he Soudan has exasperated every native who has intelligence ttough to understand what has befallen his country. 'The taglish policy in the Soudan, as an eye-witness has told the moie, has led to massacres and slavery which the English p: santhropists once so bitterly opposed. It has rendered its perfication impossible, and has turned a local insurrection into religious revolution.' Alexandria is in ruins, says Sir Smuel Baker, the government is at a deadlock, the country is my hot with insurrection; the Soudan has been ruthlessly abanband to anarchy, the work of sixty-four years since the conquest Mehemet Ali has been overthrown I've vast territory, conusing untold wealth, that required only patience and confidence for its development, has been forsaken; the seeds that were swan with so much labour have been trampled into dust; and the country will return to the anarchy and barbarism which regard in the days of Bruce, when he first travelled in the sidun, a century ago. The curtain falls upon a scene of general ruin, retreat, abandonment, and bankruptcy, which mans the necessity of a Conference to take into consideration the necessity to reduce the interest upon the Egyptian debtthat debt having been increased many millions by the mad siministration of Great Britain. Everybody who has any howledge of the real condition of the country will admit this statement is in no respect overcharged. so longer any machinery of government in Egypt, except such as foreigners may furnish, for the native administrators have wen turned out or reduced to cyphers, and the police and the trav are like the forces drawn up on the stoge in an opera lou fe. The

The world turns upon us and says that this is our work; and it is so; we do not deny it. No one but an incurable visionan can imagine that all this is to be changed during the interesallowed for the continued existence of English control. Is after this interval, we are to make our exodus from Egypt leaving in possession the Khedive, whom we have rendered ridiculous, and a rabble only waiting our departure to fir at acthroat of the country. Turkey, the rightful ruler under treates and European law, might have restored order long ago, without nur help or advice; but Mr. Gladstone would not hear That was part of his inheritance from his Turkey at any price. out-of-office speeches and pamphlets. The Saltan could have pe down Arabi almost with a word, and Alexandria would never the been burnt, and the 'military operations,' which were not 'ww. would not have been needed. The celebrated show of soldiers London—the finest outcome of pure Jingoism we are ever late. to see-would not have taken place, and Lord Wolseley wook not have got his peerage and 25,000%. What these boaring were all about, it must now puzzle the 'man in the street,' we gazed with open mouth at the march through London, to muc out. Turkey could have saved us all the money and the troube. but we had a Prime Minister who, notwithstanding his werivalled skill, acquired by fifty years' practice, in changes front rapidly, could not, with any show of decency, go is the face of Europe to the 'great anti-human specimen of human to the power which is 'deeply dyed, in hand and arm,' with black Therefore he undertook to settle the affairs of Egypt without Turkey, but it becomes more and more doubtful whether be will succeed. Turkey is prepared to press some inconvenent demands upon the Conference, and even if she is outroted the she will know how to put stumbling-blocks in the way later a Among the ramours with which all Europe is full, the most probable is that which states that Turkey will oppose to the last any substantial infringement on the Sultan's rights, or and project having for its end the so-called neutralization of Egypt If she persists in this determination, she might go so far as 12 force us into war, and where would the European concert is then? Where the French Alliance was when Arabi had to be suppressed. We should have to go into that war, or any oter war, single-handed. Much more improbable events have core to pass during the last two years.

The neutralization of Egypt is the figment of a dreamer's

The neutralization of Egypt is the figurent of a dreamer's brain. It would raise, in spate of all that we could do to grant against it, a very serious dispute concerning our right in that of war to send troops through the Sucz Canal. No doubt it

The Canal is stopped, he wrote. 'And what then? A lawy blow will have been inflicted on the commerce, the properity, the comfort of the world. We, as the great carriers, mil as the first commercial nation of Christendom, shall be the restest losers. But it is a question of loss, and of loss only. It is a tax, and a tax only. But it may be assumed that the Eaglish people are not prepared to take this free-and-easy view I their right of way through Egypt, and indeed Mr. Gladstone timeelf appears to have been 'taught a lesson,' as he expresses hy the responsibilities of office; for in August, 1882, Lord Innville was instructed to write to the British representative Constantinople, Lord Dufferin, informing him that the Government approved of his having officially stated that 'the atralization of the Canal' was a principle to which the buish Government would never subscribe.' This seems to be al their opinion, in spite of some very dubious answers given the Prime Minister. On the 30th of June, Lord E. Fitz-surice informed the House that the proposal before the enference is 'in the nature of an agreement to secure the free usage of all ships under all circumstances.' But here, again, bere is a considerable divergence of opinion between the union held by our own Government and that of other Powers laxia is evidently inclined to hold that neutralization means r exclusion of British ships from the Canal in time of war; of this result, and this alone, is pronounced 'satisfactory' by e 'Nord;' and doubtless it would be very satisfactory indeed, midering the rapid advance of Russia upon India. e British construction of the proposal will be accepted as it ands, or whether another compromise will be adopted, remains be seen; but it is quite certain that a strong effort wil. be ade to throw difficulties in the way of our free use of the

The talk of an 'Airican Belgium' is so absurd, that no actical statesman would condescend to waste a moment's time are it. The circumstances of Egypt and Belgium, the charter of the population, the conditions to be dealt with all read, are as wide asunder as the poles. To suppose that because a system has answered in one of these countries it will be answer in the other, even if it could be introduced at all the, this,' as the young lady says in 'Twelfth Night,' 'is the Midaummer madness.' Neutralization must mean Egypt seemed on the plan which Mr. Clifford Lloyd explained in

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his letter to the 'Times' on the 30th of June—a population intried without mercy by all sorts of tyrnats, small and great; men condemned to receive three hundred lathes, and symmethem; blackmail levied upon all who had any share of this world's goods, and the doors of foul prisons open to receive all who resisted the levy; the daily application of tortare to the weak and defenceless; punishments such as the following described by Dr. Crookshank, constantly in vogue:—

"The bastinade or kourbash was frequently applied. The prison was made to lie on the ground face dewnwards, and hell in a position by a man sitting on his back while another one held in arms, the ankles were then tightly fistened to the middle of a the which (nabout) about five feet long, which was twisted round one of twice, and then held well raised above the ground by two men, while a warder, with a rhineceres hide whip, infleted as many as 5.00 him across the seles of the feet—the prisoner frequently deal with a few he are of collapse, or if he recovered from the immediate common mable to walk for weeks after.

'The application of stocks was made more cruel by placing to feet reversed, with the victim lying with his face to the grand while a not uncommon form of torture, which I certified so recent as eight months ago, was to keep a prisoner standing for hours in a middle of his cell, with a strong iron chain round his neck fastest to a beam overhead, had the prisoner fainted, strangulation scale have certainly resulted.'

'What a mockery now,' says a Radical journal, in an anwonted fit of candour, 'seem all our impassioned invectoragainst Lord Beaconsfield.' Greater cruelties are daily inflictin Egypt than Bulgaria ever witnessed; but Mr. Gladdours voice is silent. The Mudirs and the Pashas may torture anmurder as much as they please, and no greater penalty will all upon them than that of having their proceedings mudi-

described as 'illegal.'

These were the very infamies which Mr. Cifford Lloyd ment to Egypt to abolish, and when he had well advanced this preparations for abolishing them, he was told that he not caused friction,' and was suddenly recalled. In February lat. Mr. Gladstone took credit to himself for having entrusted the work of reform to the 'efficient hands of Mr. Clifford Llow As usual, he 'changed his mind' before very long, and not the reforms are to be abandoned. This is what we are now presume Mr. Gladstone meant when he told the House on the 12th of February that he had undertaken to 'put down decreder, and establish some beginnings of tolerable government and that he and his colleagues would 'resolutely go up to the point where necessity calls.' Their resolution ended in the sacrifice of Mr. Clifford Lloyd to Nubar Pasha, followed to

the sampede provided for by the Anglo-French Treaty. When personed as to the promised reforms in Egypt, and the treatment which Mr. Clifford Lloyd has received. Mr. Gladstone merly replied 'that really the substance of what they could do to prevent cruel injustice was that they should continue to do test they had been doing.' Out of such answers as this—which seem more worthy of the defunct Hermit of Vauxhall than of a great statesman—the public have been left to extract for information they could concerning the intentions of the Greenment. And this system of speaking in riddles, or relating to speak at all, is adopted by the very same authority to has so often insisted that it is the first duty of a Minister to deal openly and above board with the country; that nothing mould be done 'in the dark;' that on foreign questions especially, every care should be taken to lay before the people the means of forming sound conclusions of their own. In place of all this, we have secresy and mystery on every side, a copious supply of words which will bear any interpretation, and replies which either mislead, or are utterly devoid of meaning.

It is now a standing wonder to all Europe, that the English reeple should support a foreign policy which is bringing their centry into disrepute, if not into contempt. But the simple are is that they do not support it; they do not even comprehend a The Prime Minister, in one of his numerous casesys, has deged that the English are, as a rule, hopelessly ignorant of weign affairs; and it is too true. That very ignorance has sen the salvation of many a public man who has led his country to the very brink of war, and sometimes over it, but who, by the energies of much talk and a little skill, has been able to show that he was not to blame. If the English people now understood what Mr. Gladstone is doing, and saw the certain effects of his acts, and realized all the perils which he is providing for the future, they would rise up in consternation, and has overtain would be more violent and more sudden than it was even in did. We do not believe that this knowledge has been brought time to them, and we are not at all sure that it will be until it atto late, considering the large class which is vitally interested

If we desire to make a safe and rational survey of our present unation and prospects, it must be borne in mind that numbers of persons are to be found all over the country who do not concern themselves in the least as to what policy Mr. Gladstone pursues abroad so long as he is 'sound' on all home questions, and is ready to push on what they call the 'cause of the people' that is Egypt to them? What do they know or care about it?

in keeping them in ignorance.

The

The history of the muddle into which we have got them in rather long, and very intricate, and few working men have the time to study it for themselves. Mr. Gladstone and his friends are continually telling them that everything which they see wrong, or which seems to be going away, is part of the legacy from Lord Benconsheld's Government, and, as it a much more likely that a Tory should go in the paths of wickerness than a Liberal one, the statement is accepted without ide, and a discussion, which could only be carried on with ign mase on one side and cunning on the other, is avoided. Word is set out from the Radical caucuses, that a vote is wanted in the loadistricts approving of Mr. Gladstone's policy-not suggesting a consideration of that policy, but demanding the 'straight' vin without any delay or nonsense. Such a notice, in reference to the Franchise Bill, just before it was sent to the House a Lores, was despatched in hot haste from the headquarters is Birmingham:

In the event of the action of the House of Lords being hestile in the passing of the Franchise Bill in its present form, please calls meeting of your clob, association, or committee, at once, and passesolutions expressing meshated confidence in Mr. Gladstone and in General terms of the veroment, arguing them on no account to resign office or dissorted and the dictation of the Poers, and assuring them of the vigorous support of the whole Liberal party in any action they may deem it advisable to take. Should the crims demand it, my committee is prespared to organize large and affective joint demonstraters and different parts of the country.

Do not discuss the subject—call a meeting 'at once,' and 'past resolutions of unabated confidence in Mr. Gladstone and has Covernment.' That is what we call public opinion nonadars. One crack of the party-whip, and all is over. Never were troop words spoken than those which Lord Derby addressed to the House of Lords on the 5th of July, when he warned it that he 'classes who have power' would not take the trouble to ask why the Franchise Bill was objected to 'Do you suppose the read long debates? Not they. If anybody tells them that the Opposition leaders have said they were not fit to be trusted with a vote, they will swallow it to a man. All your reasons will so for nothing.' And so it is—we cannot get the 'classes who have power' to see the truth, or all would be well. They have eyes and cars only for the party managers. The same powerly and cars only for the party managers. The same powerly and answer equally well should the foreign policy of the Government be seriously called in question. The reply to all objections would be summed up in a few words—call a meeting, pass your resolutions, and drum out all dissentients as traitors.

We must remember, still further, that there are thousands and but of thousands of persons all over the country who expect so and from Mr. Gladstone, in one way or another, that they roald be willing to condone any blunder which he might make is breign affairs, ruther than lose his services and torfest the they expect him to confer upon them. Look, for instance, it the Dissenters. Many of them, as there is plenty of evidence o prove, do not like Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy, and are as Cof apprehension as we are regarding its consequences. As Egypt, Mr. Spurgeon is reported to have said last month," council make head or tai, of the present policy, but-'Mr. I sistone knows more about it than I do, and a case is safe in is tands '-the blank cheque business with a vengeance! And by are the Dissenters thus enthusiastic? Why are they so corally Liberals? Mr. Spurgeon very candidly tells us, we did not know it before. The Established Church, says, is a great and crying injustice to all those who not belong to it.... I sometimes think that it is a peridential arrangement that the State Church should be runted to exist, in order to bind Nonconformists head d foot to the Liberal party. If that injustice were once moved, a considerable section of Nonconformists would go over ar Conservatives -and some other Providential arrangement ald be required to keep them Liberals. So long as the as Spurgeon, 'remain with the Liberal party, even though in any things they may prefer the politics of the other side.' less are very striking admissions, deserving of a great deal or attention than they have received. Mr. Spargeon, unlike Archibald Alison, proves that Providence is on the side of Liberals; and he also proves that Dissenters do not care ling for Egypt, but a great deal for Disestablishment.

It is much the same with the large and growing class which a strong and hopeful, though somewhat vague, expectations of cascal unsettlement of property. They see that this unsettlement lead to what it may—has actually begun; they see in my paper columns of advertisements of land for sale; they is of the straits to which landlords are reduced, of the poverty ich has fallen on many owners of estates, who were once attend to be rich, of the general anxiety with which all such mans regard the future. How they are to gain by this state affairs is not yet clear to them, but they are quite sure that y cannot lose; and therefore they will stand by the party

^{*} In the 'Pal. Mall Gazette,' Jane 19th.

which alone is likely to lead them to the promised land. For although we, the Conservatives, are bidden to be more 'progressive,' and 'Democratic,' and to march with the times, and give up our old crazes about Queen, country, and Constituted yet we are not aware that any one openly advises us to espect the great cause of promiseuous plunder and wholesale division.

of the spoil.

Whether or not the expectations which thus centre work the Prime Minister would ever, under any circumstances, of fulfilled, we do not attempt to decide. No one can say was he might do, time and opportunity permitting. As he was pleased to remark on one occasion-and it is curious that a characteristic a remark entirely escaped notice—' My futur, I think, is a matter with regard to which I am not able—at what I consider my past is—to say much!" We cannot we respectfully imitate this caution when Mr. Gladstone's future a concerned, and therefore we do not profess to know whether it would be found carrying the banners of Disestablishment and " Division of Property, nor is it very in portant that we kand seek to enquire. The essential taing to bear in mind is the the people who are eager to prompte these objects, see enough in his past to warrant the belief that he will lead them to the new work of destruction, just as he has led them to similar works which were once abhorrent to him, but which he came " look upon with approval. He takes very good care not to out courage this belief in their minds. That is why they lobel him with so much seal, and that is why he will be allowed throw away Egypt, as he threw away Candahar and the Trans anal, unless one of those sudden storms should arise which and ere now swept away Ministers quite as strong as Mr Gladston without giving them the slightest warning of its approach.

It would be idle to discuss the probabilities of this, for a man can see or measure them. It may be permitted to a however, to cherish an earnest, though perhaps a decusive top that the atom, if it is to come at all, will burst before not apread and irreparable mischief is done. The last two years have left behind them a long and dark track of blunders, atomic historian may hereafter call crimes. The end is not a Let the Ministry drag the country a little farther on the safetal road, and we shall be drawn into a European war to say those possessions which the English people never will give up when it comes to the last point, wit nout a hard and despend

fight.

[&]quot;Roply to a D putation from the "Lee's Four Hundred," March 28th, 18"
Times, March 29th, p. S.

To Prime Minister has now declared his views of the posiion and his intentions, in his two speeches to his party and the flowe, in which we find the whole principle we are controcing for. In his usua, style of reiteration he heaped sentence upon sentence, to show how fully the Government is committed Redistribution and prepared to devote the next ordinary then, still remains ! Is the whole contest being fought, as a Lileral journal has said, 'on a feigned issue '? The answer lies athe few words of Mr. Gladstone's summary: "It is our duty as to be content with an imperfect good, when we can get a priect one.' We adopt this as our plain answer to all mere possess, even in the solemn form of the offer made on July 8th; for their fulfilment or their nullification rests with the esticine party, moved by the Caucuses. But on the one great parts of principle the Government and the Opposition are areed; why then reject the clear and simple mode of procedure suggested by Sir Stafford Northcote? We still hold that the eight course would have been an immediate appeal to the constagencies; but the Government have used their power to deny The autumn Session is to be held, to pass the Franchise Bd.; and the ordinary Session of 1885 is devoted by the most sermn pledges to Redistribution. Why not make both the work of the one long Session; and, if there be a practical diffisale as to their joint progress, at least put us in possession of he whole scheme before any part of it be irrevocably adopted? To this procedure there can be but one objection. Chilstone's usual 'three courses'-in this case, resignation, assolution, or reasonable concession-if all are to be rejected, d can only be for the sake of using force, and making the tosiliation of the House of Lords, if not their so-called reformation,' a primary object.

People who have any foresight whatever have perceived very

People who have any foresight whatever have perceived very cearly, for years just, that the time must inevitably arrive when the House of Lords would have to make a final stand for its accent rights and privileges under the Constitution, or fall into after degradation and contempt. If it is not to be allowed to perform its proper function in the State, if it is to be a mere reamontal assemblage, existing on sufference, and licensed only a receive in a service manner the rescripts of the Commons,—then the sooner it is removed the better; for a Second Chamber would soon be found indispensable, and we should tand a chance of getting one which would not be afraid to do its duty, and which could not be terrified by found and angry threats of abolition. The Lords, then, having now taken up their

ground,

ground, are compelled to stand fast by it. They cannot, indeed, recede without inflicting a stroke upon their House quite as deadly as any that the Radicals can deliver. To be always making adshows of resistance, and always yielding, is more destructived the interests of the country, as well as of the House of Loas itself, than any fate which the Redicals have power to all down from the clouds. It will be easy for Mr Gladsmark friends and allies to get up and talk about abolishing the Buri of Lords, but it is not yet proved that the bulk of the people of prepared to see it go. Waiving, for the moment, the question as to the means by which the Radicals propose to carry their threats into execution, it might be well for them to consider against whom these threats are really directed. The well-know members of the House of Lords do not fear them; it is no secon that they say, better far to be deprived of legislative function than to be nominally invested with those functions, and then be subjected to every species of terrorism and insult, in the late of al. Europe, whenever we propose to use them.' The real able men in the House of Lords are tired of being made and in this miserable show; any man of common independence of free spirit would revolt from it; and therefore it is that the Lords, perhaps as a body, believe that the crisis might as vecome now as at a future time. The Peers have less to like the abolition of their House than the nation.

The real issue before the country is simple, It is atla whether it wants the Bill in its present imperfect shape, or of If the answer is 'yes,' the House of Lords pledges itself to page the Bill. The Government doze not go before the nation, in put the matter in this way-the only true and fair way-a therefore they set, on foot an agitation against the existence the Upper House. Mr. Gladstone deliberately opened it on the night of the third reading of the Bill. If he does not place the arts of the demagogue, he at least is willing to prefall them all, and be wantonly provoked this struggle, alth mgh . man can know better than he how vast must be the core quences of any attempt to put into execution the threats who his followers are perpetually shouting forth. He warned the Lords of the terrible doom which awaited them if they date! lay unholy hands upon his Bill. They have deemed it the duty to disregard his menace. Their only course now lett is maintain their position until the Franchise Bill has been su mitted properly to the whole country, and until the rose of

been heard which all must obey.

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. 1. -1. La Démocratie et la France. Études par Edmond Sarres, Séasteur, Paris, 1883.

Tucards Democracy. Manchester and London, 1883.

2. Per Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and ther Organic Laws of the United States. Parts 1. and 11, quarto. Second Edition. Washington Government Printing Office, 1878.

ONSIEUR EDMOND SCHERER, the author of the powerful and widely-circulated pamphlet which we are placed at the head of this article, is well known to large numbers of cultivated Englishmen as one of the most intelliput and judicious, and one of the best instructed, of French much writers. He is remarkable not only for his knowledge s English literature, but for his singular sympathy with its But M. Scherer is not solely a man of letters. He is a experienced and observant politician. If the colour of his potical opinions has to be given, he must be classed as a Re-Shean. He is not a Legitimist, nor an Orleanist, nor a Bonaunist, under disguise. He did not accept the Republican en of government as a merely provisional arrangement, unwidable in the existing circumstances of France. He thought on the establishment of a Republic was inevitable, and that experiment should be honestly tried, and tried out to the When the National Assembly, having constructed the Constitution, proceeded under its provisions to the election Senators for Life in 1875, M. Scherer was one of the caudities of the Left Centre for these seats, and he was chosen by a us, derable majority. From the point of view thus obtained, he as surveyed French politics for nearly ten years, and the picture thich Le draws of Republican government in actual operation melancholy to the last degree. Englishmen on the whole newed with strong disapproval the attempt of the Duc do rogite's government to dragoon the French electorate into Vol. 158.-No. 316. returning

returning a majority resembling that which had controlled National Assembly, and the complacency with which they its defeat may have brinded them to the true results of an periment in government, which was for the first time left to natural course by Marshal MacMahon's resignation of the Pra dency of the French Republic. We shall presently quete portion of M. Scherer's account of the methods by which the French political system is made to discharge the duties government; but, meantime, the greatest merit of his pamph does not seem to us to lie in its exposure of the servility of the depaties to the electoral committees, or of the public extra gance by which their support is purchased. It lies rather M. Scherer's examination of certain vague abstract proposition which are commonly accepted without question by the Ryd lican politicians of France, and indeed of the whole Control In our day, when the extension of popular government is tro ing all the older political ideas into utter contamon, a man ability can hardly render a higher service to his country, to by the analysis and correction of the assumptions which a from mind to mind in the multitude, without inspiring a deof their truth and genuineness. Some part of this intellect circulating medium was base from the first; another was se good coin, but it is clipped and worn on all sides; another of sists of mere tokens which, like the English half-sovereign the fature, are merely called by an old name, because there is conventional understanding that it shal stell be used. It urgently necessary to rate all this currency at its true val and, as regards a part of it, this was done once for all by M F. Stephen, in his admirable volume on Liberty, Prsteral and Equality." But the political smashers are constantif work, and their dupes are perpetually multiplying, while the by no means a corresponding activity in applying the per-tests to all this spurious manufacture. We Englishmen possithe Continent as masters of the art of government; yet it asy doubted whether, even among us, the science, which correspond to the art, is not very much in the condition of Political From before Adam Smith took it in hand. In France the cont. of political thought is far worse. Englishmen abandon a p tical dogma when it has led to practical disaster; but no Free man was ever converted, or even affected, by a democatrat that a government or an institution, which he abstract prefers, has worked badly in practice. The nation is so cerely and so naturally at the mercy of all abstractions generalizations, that it can only be influenced by a success attack on them.

M. Scherer, so far as our knowledge extends, has been the first French writer to bring into clear light a truth of the greatest implicity, which, nevertheless, in modern Continental politics is the beginning of wisdom. His subject is Democracy, and he affirms that Democracy is nothing but a form of government. There is no word about which a denser mist of vague language, and a larger heap of loose metaphors, has collected. Yet, although Democracy does signify something indeterminate, there is nothing vague about it. It is simply and solely a form if government. It is the government of the State by the Many, ment by the few, and to its government by One. The border between the Few and the Many, and again between the varieties of the Many, is necessarily indeterminate; but Democracy not the less remains a mere form of government; and, inasmuch as of these forms the most definite and determinate is Monarchythe government of the State by one person-Democracy is must scenately described as inverted Monarchy. And this descripmodern Republics have been formed. Villari t has shown that the organized modern State was first constituted in Italy. It grew, not out of the medieval Republican manicipalities, such had nothing in common with modern government, but sat of that most ill-famed of all political systems, the Italian granny. The celebrated Italian atate-craft, spread all over target by Italian statesmen, who were generally ecclesiastics, an applied to France by Cardinal Mazarin and his pupil, bein XIV.; and out of the contact of this new science with an Eministrative system in complete disorder, there sprang Mon-implied France. The successive French Republica have been whical France. The successive French Republics have been suring but the later French Monarchy, upside down. Simiarly, the Constitutions and the legal systems of the several Amb American States, and of the United States, would be sholly unintelligible to anybody who did not know that the accestors of the Anglo-Americans had once lived under a King, himself the representative of older Kings infinite.y more automatic, and who had not observed that throughout these bodies of law and plans of government the People had simply been pot into the King's seat, occasionally filling it with some awksidness. The advanced Radical politician of our day would com to have an impression that Democracy differs from Mosuchy in essence. There can be no grosser mistake than this, and none more fertile of further delusions. Democracy, the

^{*} Seberor, p. 3.

[†] Villari, 'Machiavelli,' 1, 15, 26, 37.

government of the commonwealth by a numerous but indeterminate portion of the community taking the poace of the Monarch, has exactly the same conditions to satisfy as Monarch; it has the same functions to discharge, though it discarges them through different organs. The tests of success in the performance of the necessary and natural duties of a government

are precisely the same in both cases.

Thus, in the very first place, Democracy, like Monardy, like Aristocracy, like any other Government, must preserve to national existence. The first necessity of a State is that a should be durable. Among manking regarded as assembler of andividuals, the gods are said to love those who die sousc. but nobody has ventured to make such an assertion of States The prayers of nations to Heaven have been, from the earliest ages, for long national life, life from generation to generation. life prolonged far beyond that of children's children, life his that of the everlasting hills. The historian will someture speak of governments distinguished for the loitiness of their aims, and the brilliancy of the talents which they called form but doomed to an existence all too brick. The compliment of in reality a paradox, for in matters of government all objects are vain and all talents wasted, when they fail to secure national durability. One might as well eulogize a physician for the assidaity of his attendance and the scientific beauty a his trentment, when the patient has died under his care. Not perhaps to the paramount duty of maintaining national case ence, comes the obligation incumment on Democracies, as an all governments, of securing the national greatness and dign.tr Loss of territory, loss of authority, loss of general respect, loss of self-respect, may be unavoidable evils, but they are territe erris, judged by the pains they inflict and the elevation of the minds by which these pains are felt; and the Government which fails to provide a sufficient supply of generals and statesmen, of soluters and administrators, for the prevention and cure of these evils, is a Government which has miscarred It will also have miscarried, if it cannot command come qualities which are essential to the success of national actus-In all their relations with one another (and this is a funds mental assumption of International law) States must act is individual men. The defects which are defects in individual men, and perhaps venial defects, are faults in States, and generally faults of the extremest gravity. In all was and so diplomacy, in every part of foreign policy, captice, wilfulness loss of self-command, timidity, temerity, inconsistency, sade cency, and courseness, are weaknesses which rise to the leve " destructive

destructive vices; and if Democracy is more lialle to them has are other forms of government, it is to that extent inferior to them. It is better for a nation, according to an English pulse, to be free than to be sober. If the choice has to be made, and if there is any real connection between Democracy are observe, it is better to remain a nation capable of displaying

the strines of a nation than even to be free,

If we turn from the foreign to the domestic daties of a nation, re shall find the greatest of them to be, that its government hould compel obetience to the law, criminal and civil. The rolgar impression no doubt is, that laws enforce themselves. and some are not. But the trath is (and this is a commonplace the modern jurist; that it is always the State which causes micro be obeyed. It is quite true that this obedience is micred by the great bulk of all civilized societies without an out and quite unconsciously. But that is only because, in be course of countless ages, the stern discharge of their chief but by States has created habits and sentiments, which save the cossity for penal interference, because nearly everybody shares The venerable legal formulas, which make laws to be dministered in the name of the King, formulas which modern depublics have borrowed, are a monument of the grandest touce which governments have rendered, and continue to taker, to mankind. It any government should be tempted to treet, even for a moment, its function of compelling obe-Suce to law if a Democracy, for example, were to allow a ortion of the multitude of which it consists to set some law at shince which it happens to dislike—it would be guilty of a time which hardly any other virtue could redeem, and which

On the whole, the dispassionate student of politics, who has no pot into his head that Democracy is only a form of government, who has some idea of what the primary ditties of government are, and who sees the main question, in choosing between the term, and who sees the main question, in choosing between the term, to be which of them in the long run best discharges these axes, has a right to be somewhat surprised at the feelings him the advent of Democracy excites. The problem which he event, if it be near at hand, suggests, is not sent mental but faction; and one might have expected less malediction on a side, and less shouting and throwing up of caps on the fact. The fact, however, is that, when the current of human but, call tastes, which in the long course of ages has been tin ag in all sorts of directions, sets strongly towards one articular point, there is always an outburst of terror or

enthusiasm;

enthusiasm; and the explanation of the feelings mused or aid occasions, which is true for our day and of a tendency towards Democracy, is probably true also for all time. The great rutte of Democracies in some men's eyes, their great vice in tar eve of others, is that they are thought to be more active than our forms of government in the discharge of one particular funct. This is the alteration and transformation of law and customthe process known to us as reforming legislation. of fact, this process-which is an indispensable, though in w long run a very subordinate, province of a good troots government - is not at all peculiar to Democracies. If the wade of the known history of the human rate be examined, we stall see that the great authors of legislative change have test powerful Monarchies. The long wail at the iniquities of Ameveb and Babylon, which runs through the latter part of the Old Testament, is the expression of Jewish resentates at the 'big legislation' with which the nations that most stols the Old Testament are supposed to have fallen in love. trituration of old usage was carried infinitely further by the Roman Emperors, over increasing in thoroughness as the despotism giew more stringent. The Emperor was in the the symbolic beast which the Prophet saw devouring, breaking to pieces and stamping the residue with its feet. We ourselve live in the dust of Roman Imperialism, and by far the largest part of modern law is nothing more than a sedimentary formant left by the Roman legal reforms. The rule holds good through all subsequent history. The one wholesale legal reformer a the Middle Ages was Charles the Great. It was the Front Empire of the Bonapartes that gave real practical currency to the new I reach jurisprudence which has overran the critical world, for the governments immediately arising out of the Revolution left little behind them beyond schemes and projects of law.

The truth seems to be that the extreme forms of government Monarchy and Democracy, have a peculiarity which is about from the more tempered positical systems founded on composition. Constitutional kingship and Aristotiucy. When they are first established in absolute completeness, they are highly constructive. There is a general, admentines chaotic, upband while the monrelles conches are settling into their place to us transformed commonwealth. The new rulers sternly ineast, the everything shall be brought into strict conformity with the central principle of the system over which they preside; and the are sided by numbers of persons to when the old principle were hateful, from their fancy for ideal reforms, from impatience

of a monotonous stability, or from a natural destructiveness of leaperament. What the old monarchies, established in the vallers of the great Eastern rivers, had to contend against, was signus tenacity and tribal obstinacy; and they transported whose populations in order that these might be destroyed. What a modern Democracy fights with is privilege; and it knows no rest vill this is trampled out. But the legislation of absolutism, democratic or otherwise, is transitory. Before the Jews had taken home their harps from Babylon, they had found themselves the subjects of another mighty conquering Monarchy, of stich they observed with wonder that the law of the Medes and Persians altereth not. There is no belief less warranted by atual experience, than that a democratic republic is, after the 5rst and in the long run, given to reforming legislation. As is well known to scholars, the ancient republics hardly legislated at all; their democratic energy was expended upon war, diplo-ency, and justice; but they put nearly insuperable obstacles in the way of a change of law. The Americans of the United States have hedged themselves round in exactly the same way. They only make laws within the limits of their Constitutions, and especially of the Federal Constitution; and, judged by what has unhappily become the English standard, their legislation within these limits is almost trivial. As we attempted to show in a former article, the legislative infertility of demoracies springs from permanent causes.* The prejudices of the people are fur stronger than those of the privileged classes; they te far more vulgar; and they are far more dangerous, because they are apt to run counter to scientific conclusions. This asseris is curiously confirmed by the political phenomena of the moment. The most recent of democratic inventions is the teferendum' of the Swiss Federal Constitution, and of certain Cantonal Constitutions. On the demand of a certain number of fitzens, a law voted by the legislature is put to the vote of the "attre population, lest by any chance its 'mandate' should have bren exceeded. But to the confusion and dismay of the Radical coders in the legislature, nearly every law so put has been Bryatived.

Democracy being what it is, the language used of it in our days, under its various disguises of Freedom, the Revolution, the Republic, Popular Government, the Reign of the People, the recordingly remarkable. Every sort of metaphor, signifying tresistible torce, and conveying admiration or dread, has been applied to it by its friends or its enemies. A great English

Prospects of Popular Government, 'Quarterly Beview,' April, 1883.
 oratol

orator once compared it to the Grave, which takes everything and gives nothing back. The most widely read American in-torion altogether loses Limself in figures of speech. The change which Divine wisdom ordained, and which to huma policy or force could hold back, proceeded as uniformly ast majestically as the laws of being, and was as certain as the decrees of eternity. And again, The idea of freedom had a second as the decrees of eternity. wholly unknown; the rising light flashed joy across the dathet centuries, and its growing energy can be traced in the teaders of the ages. These hopes have even found room for the selves among the commonplaces of after-dinner oratory. To great tide of Democracy is rolling on, and no hand can star a majestic course, said Sir Wilfrid Lawson of the Franchise Biggies. But the strongest evidence of the state of excitement into which some minds are thrown by an experiment in government, which is very old and has never been particularly successful, is allored by the little volume 'Towards Democracy,' which we have named at the head of this paper. The writer is not destitute t poetical force, but he has followed a wretched American model and the smallest conception of what Democracy really is much his rhapsodies about it ridiculous, "Freedom!" sings that can ciple of Walt Whitman-

And among the far nations there is a stir like the star of U leaves of the forest.

'Aoy, joy, arising on earth.
'A allo! the bancers lifted from point to point, and the spirits of the ancient races looking abroad—the divinely beautiful daughters. God calling to their children.

*Lot the dwine East from ages and ages back intact her procle jewel of thought the germ of Democracy bringing down!

*O glane'ng eyes! O leaping shining waters! Do I not know be thou, Di morney, dost control and inspire, that than too hast related to them,

As auroly as Ningara has relations to Eric and Ontario?"

Towards the close of the poem we find this line. I heads voice say, What is Precion? It is impossible that the role Could ask a more pertinent question. If the author of 'Tours'

Democra?

^{*} Repercit "History of Ended States" vol 1. Mr. Baucraft was sired verbally aptroquited to this sentence by a person whom he reserved in 2012 extent has about of consecs. "Francia repellication," and Marier at he price in his speech at the festiva of the Borrent Berry, "t" stop parties. "Bury or qu't, one lo communicate that the partiest, bether this, and last, last.

† Itial vol 1xii. Mr Bancroft ma sire April Lott, leek

Democracy' had ever heard the answer of Hobbes, that Freedom is political power divided into small fragments,' or the dictum of M. Scherer, that 'Democracy is a form of government,' his poetical vein might have been drowned, but his mind would have been invigorated by the healthful douche of cold water.

The opinion that Democracy was irresistible and inevitable, and probably perpetual, would, only a century ago, have appeared a wild paradox. There had been more than 2000 years of telerably well-ascertained political history, and at its outset Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, were all plainly dis-comble. The result of a long experience was, that some Monarchies and some Aristocractes had shown themselves extremely tenacious of life. The French monarchy and the benetian oligarchy were in particular of great antiquity, and the Roman Empire was not even then quite dead. But the democacres which had risen and perished, or had fatlen into extreme inagnificance, seemed to show that this form of government was of are occurrence in political history and was characterized by a extreme fragulity. This was the opinion of the fathers of the American Federal Republic, who over and over again betray their regret that the only government, which it was possible for ben to establish, was one which promised so little stability. became very shortly the opinion of the French Revolutionists, for no sooner has the Constitutional Monarchy fallen than the belief that a new era has begun for the human race gives ligns of rapidly fading; and the language of the Revolutionary inters becomes stained with a dark and ever-growing suspiciousbess, manifestly inspired by genuine fear that Democracy must wish, unless saved by unflagging energy and unsparing severity. Severtheless, the view that Democracy is irresistible is of French origin, like almost all other sweeping political generaltestions. It may be first detected rather more than fifty years 50, and it was mainly spread over the world by the book of De Tocqueville on Democracy in America. Some of the younger speculative minds in France were deeply struck by the revival of democratic ideas in France at the Revolution of 1830, and among hom was Alexis de l'ocqueville, born a noble and educated in La timism. The whole fabric of French Revolutionary belief an apparently been rained beyond hope of recovery, ruined by he crimes and asarpations of the Convention, by military habits and ideas, by the tyranny of Napoleon Bonaparte, by the eturn of the Bourbons with a large part of the system of the over monarchy, by the hard repression of the Holy A liance. Yet so slight a provocation as the attempt of Charles X, to do what his brother had done without serious resistance, brought

back the whole torrent of revolutionary sentiment and dogus. which at once overran the entire European Continent. No down it seemed as if there were something in Democracy which make it resistless; and yet, as M. Scherer has shown in one of the most valuable parts of his pamphlet, the Frenchmen of that ides did not mean the same thing as the modern French Extreme or the English Radical, when they spoke of Democracy. If their view be put affirmatively, they meant the ascendency of the middle classes; if negatively, they meant the non-revival of the old fouds! society. The French people were very long is shaking off their fear that the material advantages, secured to them by the first French Revolution, were not safe; and this fear it was which, as we perceive from the letters of Mallet du Pan, * remsciled them to the tyranny of the Jacobius and caused them to look with the deepest suspicion on the plans of the Sovereign allied against the Republic. Democracy, however, graduality took a new sense, chiefly under the influence of wonder at the success of the American Federation, in which most of the Suiss had now adopted universal suffrage; and by 1848 the word := come to be used very much with its ancient meaning, the government of the commonwealth by the Many. It is perhaps the scientific tinge which thought is assuming among us, that cause so many Englishmen to take for granted that Democracy " Inevitable, because many considerable approaches to it has been made in our country. No doubt, if adequate causes are work, the effect will always follow; but, in politics, the use powerful of all causes are the timidity, the listlessness, and to superficiality, of the generality of minds. If a large number of Englishmon, belonging to classes which are powerful if the exert themselves, continue saying to themselves and others that Democracy is irresistible and must come, beyond all doubt it will come.

The enthusiasm for Democracy, which is conveyed by the figures of speech applied to it, is equally modern with the impression of its inevitableness. In reality, considering the brilliant stages in the history of a certain number of common

The newly published entrespondence of Mallet du Pan with the Cert of Vienna, between 17:4 and 17:38, is of the largest a terest and value. If The who contributes the Preface, has several times affirmed that Mallet was most the very few persons who undomited the French florelation. It seems that that while these letters were henry written, the Republic was fall an act to deepest unpropularity, antiqued only by the fears of when we have specific was undoubtedly saved by the nations genius of Napoleous B aspects. The one serious maintain of Mathet was his bit shows to that genius. He despit distered Bomparia a charlating and to opin a was probably shared at the factorial Bomparia a charlating and to opin a was probably shared at the bott on of their hearts, by those who sent the young toward in countries. Army of tigly, to their own ultimate ruly

the with which Democracy has been associated, nothing is remarkable than the small amount of respect for it procity for forming a judgment on it. Mr. Grote did his best mean away the poor opinion of the Athenian Democracy mined by the philosophers who filled the schools of Athens; he fact remains, that the founders of political philosophy themselves in presence of Democracy, in its pristine r, and thought it a bad form of government. The paneat which it is now the object are, again, of French origin. come to us from the oratory and literature of the first ch Revolution, which, however, soon exchanged glorificaof the new birth of the human race for a strain of gloomy cion and homicidal denunciation. The language of admiwhich prevailed for a while had still remoter sources; it may be observed, as an odd circumstance, that, while acobins generally borrowed their phraseology from the dary history of the early Roman Republic, the Gironpreferred resorting for metaphors to the literature which from Roussens. On the whole we think that the his-lignorance which made heroes of Brutus and Scavola less abjectly nonsensical, than the philosophical silliness a dwelt on the virtues of mankind in a state of natural ocracy. If anybody wishes to know what was the influence busseau in diffusing the belief in a golden age, when lived, like brothers, in freedom and equality, he should not so much the writings of the sage, as the countless printed in Franco by his disciples just before 1789. furnish very disagreeable proof that the intellectual flower cultivated nation may be brought, by fanatical admiration social and political theory, into a condition of downright al imbecility." The language of the Jacobins and the age of the Girondina might be thought to have perished ridicule and diagust; but, in fact, it underwent a rehabiliof Richard III. Tocqueville thought Democracy was able, but he looked on its approach with distrust and

riset, the Girendin leader, while still an enthusiastic Royalist, had hong before Proudler, that Property is Theft. There is, he said, a legit to correct the regarder of the institution, by steading. But he held I more remarkable a cross that consolians he natural and not find he argued ander the react. A short his sheep, why have not all these are actural right to cut creatures of their ewa kind? Thesher has the new rich has sure le front de propriets at sur le vol considéré dans sa nature.

dread. In the course, however, of the succeeding eighteen year two books were published, which, whatever their popular to might fairly be compared with the writings of which we have spoken above, for a total abnegation of common-sense. Loss Blane took the homicidal pedant, Robespierre, for his here; Lamartine the feeble and ephemeral sect of Girondins; solfrom the works of these two writers has proceeded much be largest part of the language culogistic of Democracy, when pervades the humbler political literature of the Continent, and

now of Great Britain also,

There is indeed one kind of praise which Democracy has received, and continues to receive, in the greatest abundance This is praise addressed to the governing Demos by those was fear it, or desire to concidate it, or hope to use it. When it be once become clear that Democracy is a form of government a will be easily understood what panegyries of the multiple amount to. Democracy is Monarchy inverted, and the most of addressing the multitude are the same as the mode of The more powerful and jealous the seeaddressing kings. reign, the more unbounded is the eulogy, the more extravast is the tribute. 'O King, live for ever,' was the ortage formula of beginning an address to the Babylonian or Mesua king, drunk or sober. 'Your ascent to power proceeded " uniformly and majestically as the laws of being and war certain as the decrees of eternity, says Mr. Bancroft to the American people. Such flattery proceeds frequently from the ignobler parts of human nature, but not always. What seem to us baseness, passed two hundred years ago at Versailles . gentleness and courtliness; and many people have every 13 before them a monument of what was once thought sain language to use of a King of England, in the Dedicates 4 the English Bible to James I. There is no reason to support that this generation will feel any particular shame at flaure, though the flattery will be addressed to the people and not to the King. It may even become commoner, through the growth of scientific modes of thought. Dean Church, in his recovery behaved himself to powerful men as he behaved himsels * Nature. Parendo vinces. If you resist Nature, she will cred you; but, if you humour her, she will place her trement. forces at your disposal. It is madness to offer direct resultant to a royal virago or a royal pedant, but by subservience 🕬 may command either of them. There is much of this Ire 1 in the state of mind of intelligent and highly educated bate cals, when they are in presence of a mob. They make the

e. according to the composition of their audience, between wonderful alternative theories of our day one, that the most the towns knows everything, because his work is so stonous and because he has so much time on his hands; the that the labourer of the country districts knows every because his work is so various and his faculties so contractive through this variety. Thus it comes to pass that adience composed of roughs or clowns, an audience quite under very slightly altered conditions to "eave" many an brick at the platform, is boldly told by an educated man thus more political information than an equal number of ars. This is not the opinion of the speaker; but it may ade, he thinks, the opinion of the mob, and he knows that solveould not act as if it were true, unless it worked through arry instruments.

e best safeguard against the various delusions and extraicies which we have been examining is a little better ledge of the true lines of movement which the political of mankind have followed. In the opinion of a number pectable gentlemen, whose authority is now somewhat on ecline, political history began in 1688. Mr. Bright manithinks that it began with the commencement of the Anti-Law agitation, and may be considered as having been ically arrested when the Corn-Law was repealed in 1846, are younger men who are persuaded that it commenced a certain mayoralty at Birmingham. The truth however at we live in a day in which a strand is unwinding itself, was steadily knitting itself up during long ages. It ificult to imagine a more baseless historical generalizaca. During all the period when a change was proceeding the no human policy could hold back, the movement of teal affaire—what Mr. Bancroft calls the tendency of the was as distinctly towards Monarchy as it now is towards Mankind appear to have begun that stage in their ocracy. m, which is more or less visible to our eyes, with the germs ch society of all the three definite forms of governmentrchy, Aristocmey, and Democracy. Everywhere the King Popular Assembly are seen side by side, the first a priestly adminl, but primarily a fighting, personage; the last someunder the control of an aristocratic Senate, and itself ng from a small oligareny to something like the entirety free male population. At the dawn of history, Arisoctacy. And this passage of political development is especially

especially well known to us through the accidents which he preserved to as a portion of the records of two famous societae the Athenian Republic, the cradle of philosophy and art, an the Roman Republic, which began the conquests destined embrace a great part of the world This last Republic vi always more or less of an Aristocracy; but from the time of fall, and the establishment of the Roman Empire, there was the whole, for seventeen centuries, an all but universal movement towards Kingship. There were, no doubt, evanescent rered of popular government. The barbarian races, when they but into the central Roman territory, brought with them yerr god rally some amount of the ancient tribal liberty which, remot duced into Europe, seemed again for a while likely to prive a seed of political freedom. The Roman municipal system, be a work unchecked within the walled cities of Northern bile, a produced a form of democracy. But Italian Commonwealth as feudal Estates and Parliaments, all sank, with one memeriexception, before the ever-growing power and prestige of a tary despotic governments. The historian of our day is up moralize and lament over the change, but it was everywood in the highest degree popular, and it called forth an enthant quite as genuine as that of the modern Radical for the or Democracy. The Roman Empire, the Italian symmetrics English Tudor Monorchy, the French centralized Kingso p. " Napoleonic despotism, were all bailed with acclamation, or of it perfectly sincere, either because anarchy had been susder or because petty local and domestic oppressions were kept and or because new energy was infused into national policy. Inown country, the popular government, born of tribal frost revived sooner than elsewhere; protected by the insularity home, it managed to live; and thus the British Constitu became the one important exception to the 'tendency of the ages,' and through its remote influence, and from no other case this tendency was reversed, and the insvement to Demois began again. Nevertheless, even with us, though the he might be feared or dislaked, the King's office never lost its poplarity. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate were und for a moment in real favour with the mation. The true cause siasm was reserved for the Restoration. Thus, from the will of Augustus Casar to the ostablishment of the United States. was Democracy which was always, as a rule, on the declar, was the decline arrested till the American Federal Government was founded, itself the offspring of the British Constitution At this moment, Democracy is receiving the same unquited eulogy which was once poured on Monarchy; and though is P moor 1

a shape it is the product of a whole series of accidents, it under by some as propelled in a continuous progress by sistible force.

pendently of the historical question, how the fashion of profoundly before Democracy grew up, it has to be ered how far the inverted Monarchy, which bears this deserves the reverence paid to it. The great philoso-writer who had the best opinion of it was Jeremy His authority had much to do with the broad on of the suffrage in most of the States of the American and he was the intellectual father of the masculine of English Radicals which died out with Mr. Groto. He d for governments having the essential characteristics of racy, that they were much more free than other governfrom what he called 'sinister' influences. He meant by er influence, a motive leading a government to prefer the t of small portions of a community to the interest of the We think that, with an all-important qualification to entioned presently, this credit was justly claimed for cracy by Bentham, and with especial justice in relation circumstances of his own time. During the most active of his long life the French Revolution had stopped all and, amid the relaxation of public watchfulness which d, all sorts of small interests had found themselves niches English Budget, like the robber barons of medieval Italy bertaany on every precipitous hill. Bentham thought it I that they should do this. The lords of life, he said, are re and pain. Every man follows his own interest as he tands it, and the part of the community which has all power will use it for its own objects. The remedy transfer political power to the entire community. It is lible that they should abuse it, for the interest which they

proper end and object of all legislation.

This apparently irresistible trasming, one or two remarks be made. In the first place, the praise here claimed for tracy is shared by it with Monarchy, particularly in its absolute forms. There is no doubt that the Roman or cared more for the general good of the vast group of a subject to him, than the aristocratic Roman Republic one. The popularity of the great kings who broke up can fendalism, arose from their showing to all their vassals nore even impartiality than could be obtained from petty rulers; and in our own day, vague and shadowy as are commendations of what is called a Nationality, a State

y to promote is the interest of all, and the interest of all

founded

founded on this principle has generally one real indivantage through its obliteration of small tyrannies a oppressions. It has further to be observed, that a ver-weakness in Bentham's argument has been disclosed experience of halt a century, an experience which a enquiry, which Bentham neglected and perhaps despised. cratic governments no doubt attempt to legislate and adin the interests of Democracy, provided only the we taken to mean the interests which Democracy supposes For purposes of actual government, the stand interest is not any which lientham would have appro-merely popular opinion. Nobody would have acknow this more readily than Bentham, it his marrellously I could have been prolonged to this day. He was the and the advanced Liberals or Radicals who now carry evelefore them. All their favourite political machiner from his intellectual workshop. Household suffrage (** faintly preferred to universal suffrage), vote by ballot, short Pacliaments once in favour, received his energetic eacy; and he netested the House of Lords. Yet these political writer whose strongest and most fundamental of are so directly at variance with the Radical ideas of the One has only to turn over his pages for abundant evid this assertion. Over and over again, you come upon stration that all the mechanism of human society depo the satisfaction of reasonable expectations, and therefore strict maintenance of proprietary right, and the invice of contract. You find carnest cautions against the acquisition of private property by the State for public tage, and rehement protests against the removal of abunout full compensation to those interested in them. As denunciation of these capital vices of the legislator amusing to read his outbreaks." of enthusiasm for the en of commons, now sometimes described as stealing the ance of the poor. The very views of political ar which he was thought to have disposed of for ever have s new vitality among the political school he founded. Anarchical Sophisms' which he exposed have interest

[•] In hepland one of the greatest and best make it of improvement of class for the latest of the latest the latest of the latest

succe to England, and may be read in the Literature of hunced Liberalism side by side with the Parliamentary Falces which he laughed at in the debates of a Tory House of rumons.

The name of Jeremy Bentham, one of the few who lived al taught for what he held to be the good of his race, has come even among educated men a byword for what is led his 'low view' of human nature. The fact is that, der its most important aspect, he greatly overrated human ture. He over-estimated its intelligence. He wrongly supsed that the truths which he saw, clearly cut and distinct in dry light of his intellect, could be seen by all other men or many of them. He did not understand that they were visible v to the Few-to the intellectual aristocracy. His delusion the greater from his inattention to facts which by little good the sphere of his vision. Knowing little of history, and ing little for it, he neglected one easy method of assuring east of the extreme falseness of the conceptions of their erest, which a multitude of men may entertain. . The world, d Muchiavelli, 'is made up of the vulgar'. Thus Bentham's plamen'at proposition turns against himself. It is that, if you be power in men's hands, they will use it for their interest, lying the rule to the whole of a political community, we to have a perfect system of government; but, taking it in aection with the fact, that multitudes include too much borance to be capable of understanding their interest, it furhea the principal argument against Democracy.

The immunity from sinister influences, the freedom from aptation to prefer the smaller interest to the greater, which pitnam claimed for Democracy, should thus have been extended him to the more absolute forms of Monarchy. If indeed is suggestion had been made to him, he would probably have plied that Monarchy has a tendency to show unjust favours the military, the official, and the courtly classes, the classes stest to itself. Monarchy, however, had had a very long mory in Bentham's day, and Democracy a very short one; It is only as the political history of the American Union a developed itself, that we are able to detect in wide popular governments the same infirmities that characterized the ingly governments, of which they are the inverted reproducpas. Under the shelter of one government as of the other, sorts of selfish interests breed and multiply, speculating its weaknesses and pretending to be its servants, agents, ed delegates. Nevertuless, after making all due qualifications, do not wholly deny to Democracies some portion of the Vol. 158. No. 316. advantage

advantage which so masculine a thinker as Bentham chime for them. But, putting this advantage at the highest, it is not than componented by one great disadvantage. Of all the term of government, Democracy is by far the most difficult, had as the governing multitude is conscious of this difficulty, por as the masses are to aggravate it by their avidity for take more and more powers into their direct management, it is fact which experience has placed beyond all dispute. It is the difficulty of the motratic government that mainly accounts for its

ephemeral duration.

The greatest, most permanent, and most fundamental of the difficulties of Democracy, lies deep in the constitution human nature. Democracy is a form of government, and to governments acts of State are determined by an exertion a sal But in what sense can a multitude exercise rolition? It student of politics can put to himself no more pertinent quality No doubt the vulgar op, mon is, that the multar makes up its mind as the individual makes up his mine, a Demos determines like the Monarch. A host of popular post testity to this belief. The 'will of the People, 'public opinion the 'sovereign pleasure of the nation.' Vox Populi, belong to this class, which indeed constitutes a great put the common stock of the platform and the press. But was such expressions mean? They must mean that a great numb of people, on a great number of questions, can come to an ide tical conclusion, and found an identical determination upon But this is manufestly true only of the simplest questions very slight addition of difficulty at once sensibly diminis 195 th chance of agreement, and, if the difficulty be considerable identical opinion can only be reached by trained min is asset ing themselves by demonstration more or less rigorous. con plex questions of politics, which are calculated in themselv to task to the utmost all the powers of the strongest minds, but " in fact vaguely conceived, vaguely stated, dealt with for the said part in the most haptazard manner by the most expenses statesmen, the common determination of a multitude to chimerical assumption; and indeed, if it were really possible to extract an opinion upon them from a great mass of men, at to shape the administrative and legislative acts of a State of this opinion as a sovereign command, it is probable tax't most ruinous blanders would be committed, and all sol progress would be arrested. The truth is, that the mola entlusiasts for Democracy make one fundamental contains They mix up the theory, that the Demos is capable of volus with the fact, that it is capable of adopting the opinions of we man or of a limited number of men, and of founding directions

to its instruments upon them.

The fact, that what is called the will of the people really consists in their adopting the opinion of one person or a few person, admits of a very convincing illustration from expe-tience. Popular Government and Popular Justice were origi-fully the same thing. The ancient democracies devoted much more time and attention to the exercise of civi, and criminal prodiction, than to the administration of their public affairs; and, as a matter of fact, popular justice has lasted longer, has had a more continuous history, and has received much more observat on and cultivation, than popular government. Over much of the world it gave way to Royal Justice, which was of at least equal antiquity, but it did not give way as universally was completely as popular government did to monarchy. We are in England a relic of the ancient Popular Justice in the metions of the Jury. The Jury -technically known as the country '-is the old adjudicating Democracy, hunited, modiled, and improved, in accordance with the principles suggested by the experience of centuries, so as to bring it into narmony the modern ideas of judicial efficiency. The change which as had to be made in it is in the highest degree instructive. The Jurors are twelve, instead of a multitude. Their main usiness is to say 'aye' or 'no 'on questions which are doubtless aportant, but which turn on facts arising in the transactions of everyday life. In order that they may reach a conclusion, by are assisted by a system of contrivances and rules of the beset artificiality and elaboration. An expert presides over at investigations -- the Judge, the representative of the rival and royal justice-and an entire literature is concerned with ac conditions under which evidence on the facts in dispute There is a rigid exclusion of all us be laid before them. sumony which has a tendency to bias them unfairly. They addressed, as of old, by the litigants or their advocates, but be renquiry concludes with a security unknown to antiquity, be summing up of the expert President, who is bound by all be rules of his profession to the sternest impartiality. or if they flagrantly err, the proceedings may be quasted a superior Court of experts. Such is Popular Justice, after of cultivation. Now it happens that the oldest Greek t has left us a picture, certainly copied from reality, of what opular Justice was in its infancy. The primitive Court is

This tateledo subject is discussed by Stophan (History of Criminal Lawr, 184) Stubbs (Constitutional History, i. 685, especially Probs 3) Moderly Law and Custon, p. 189,

sitting; the question is 'guilty' or 'not guilty.' The old mer of the community give their opinions in turn; the adjudicator Democracy, the commons stanuing round about, applicable opinion which strikes them most, and the applicable determines the decision. The Popular Justice of the ancient repulles was essentially of the same character. The adjudicating Democracy simply followed the opinion which must impressed ten in the speech of the advocate or litigant. Not is it in the lent doubtful that, but for the sternly repressive authority of the presiding Judge, the modern English Jury would, in the majority of cases, blindly surrender its verdict to the persuasiveness of one or other of the counsel who have been retained a address it.

A modern governing democracy is the old adjudicating doscracy very slightly changed. It cannot indeed be said, that me attempt has been made to introduce into the multitadass government modifications resembling those which have turned the multitudinous tribunal into the Jury, for a variety of case dients for mitigating the difficulty of popular government his been invented and applied in England and the United Satu But in our day a movement appears to have very distinct vein towards unmodified democracy, the government of a gramultitude of men striving to take the bulk of their own poly allairs into their own hands. Such a government can or decide the questions submitted to it, as the old popular Com of Justice decided them, by applianding somehody who spoils to it. The ruling multitude will only form an opinion by to lowing the opinion of somebody - it may be of a great preleader-it may be, of a small local politicisu-it may be, of a organized association-it may be, of an impersonal newspaper The process of deciding in accordance with plausibilities the strict sense of this last word) goes on over an enor-on area, growing ever more confused and capricious, and gainst results even more ambiguous or inarticulate, as the number be consulted are multiplied.

The most interesting, and on the whole the most successive experiments in popular government, are those which has trankly recognized the difficulty under which it labours. At the head of these we must place the virtually English discovery digovernment by Representation, which caused Parliamentary is stitutions to be preserved in these islands from the destructed which overtook them everywhere else, and to devolve as in inheritance upon the United States. Under this system, with it was in its prime, an electoral body, never in this countries traordinarily large, chose a number of persons to represent the

Parliam's

ment, leaving them unfettered by express instructions, but with them at most a general understanding, that they would o give a particular direction to public policy. The effect diminish the difficulties of popular government, in exact tion to the diminution in the number of persons who had de public questions. But this famous system is evidently sy, through the ascendency over it which is being gradu-tained by the vulgar assumption, that great masses of men ectly decide all necessary questions for themselves. by which the representative is sought to be turned into re mouthpiece of opinions collected in the locality which in to the House of Commons, is, we need hardly say, that is generally supposed to have been introduced from the States under the name of the Caucus, but which had very ly a domestic exemplar in the ecclesiastical organization. Wesleyan Methodists. The old Italian toxicologists are have always arranged their discoveries in a series of three -first the poison, next the antidote, thirdly the drog which ized the antidote. The antidote to the fundamental ina of democracy was Representation, but the drug which it has now been found in the Caucus And, by an mischance, the rapid conversion of the unfettered mtative into the instructed delegate has occurred just at e when the House of Commons itself is beginning to feel vitable difficulties produced by its numerousness. Jeremy un used to denounce the non-attendance of Members of ment at all sittings as a grave abuse; but it now appears e scanty attendance of members, and the still scantier pation of most of them in debate, were essential to the at of business by the House of Commons, which was then, still, the most numerous deliberative Assembly in the The Obstruction spoken of by politicians of experience mentation and surprise is nothing more than a symptom familiar disease of large governing bodies; it arises from anbers of the House of Commons, and from the variety of as struggling in it for utterance. The remedies hitherto or the cure of Obstruction will prove, in our judgment, to rely pathatives. No multitudinous assembly which seeks to govern can possibly be free from it; and it will prolead to a constitutional revolution, the House of Commons ning the greatest part of its legislative authority to a of Executive Ministers.

ther experiment, which, like the system of Representation, ded on the acknowledgment of fundamental difficulties, has elempted several times in our generation, though not in our country. In one of its forms, it has been known as the Plebiscite. A question, or a series of questions, is simplified as much as possible, and the entire enfranchised portion of the community is asked to say 'Aye' or 'No to it. The zealutest democracy are beginning to forget, or conveniently to put ande. the enormous majorities by which the French nation, now supposed to be governing itself as a democracy, gave only the other day to a military despot any answer which he desired; but it may be conceded to them that the question put to the voters was not honestly framed, however much it was simplified in form Whether Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be President for life with large legislative powers? whether he should be an hereditar Emperor? whether he should be allowed to divest himself of a portion of the authority he had assumed? were not simple, but highly complex questions, meapable of being replied to by a naked 'Yes' or 'No.' But the principle of the Plebis ite makes engrafted on the Swiss Federal and Cantonal Constitutions in which it is called the Referendum. Here there is no ground to a charge of dishonesty. A new law is first thoroughly debate. voted upon, and amended, by the Legislature; and the debates are carried by the newspapers to every corner of Swiss territory. But it does not come at once into force. If a certain number of citizens so desire, the entire electoral body is called upon to say "Aye" or "No" to the question whether the law shape become operative. We do not undertake to say that the expedient has failed, but it can only be considered thoroughly son cessful by those who wish that there should be no legislation at all. Contrary to all expectations, to the bitter disappointment of the authors of the Referendum, laws of the highest imporance, some of them openly framed for popularity, have been vetoed by the People after they had been adopted by the Federal or Cantonal Legislature. This result is sufficiently intelligible. It is possible, by agitation and exhortation, to produce in the mind of the average citizen a rague impressed that he desires a particular change. But, when the agitalso has settled down on the dregs, when the excitement has did away, when the subject has been threshed out, when the law ? before him with all its detail, he is sure to find in it much that is likely to disturb his habits, his ideas, his prejudices, or his interests; and so, in the long run, he votes 'No ' to every perposal. The delusion that Democracy, when it has once had all things put under its feet, is a progressive form of government.

What these expectations were, may be gathered from the language of Numa December of the Selection of the

deep in the convictions of a particular political school; but e can be no delusion grosser. It receives no countenance er from experience or from probability. Englishmen in the come into contact with vast populations, of high natural ligence, to which the very notion of innovation is loathe; and the very fact, that such populations exist, should test that the true difference between the East and the West merely in this, that in Western countries there is a larger ority of exceptional persons who, for good reasons or bad, a real desire for change. All that has made England as, and all that has made England wealthy, has been the s of minorities, sometimes very small ones. As has often observed, if for tour centuries there had been a very widely oiled franchise and a very large electoral body in this try, there would have been no reformation of religion, no ge of dynasty, no toleration of Dissent, not even an accurate The threshing machine, the power loom, the spin--jenuy, and possibly the steam-engine, would have been ibited. Even in our day, vaccination is in the utmost eer, and we may say generally, that the gradual establishof the masses in power is of the blackest omen for all Ustion founded on scientific opinion, which requires tension aund to understand it and self-denial to submit to it.

he truth is, that the inherent difficulties of democratic remeat are so manifold and enormous that, in large and plex modern societies, it could neither last nor work, if it is not aided by certain forces which are not exclusively assort with it, but of which it greatly stimulates the energy. Of a forces, the one to which it owes most is unquestionably

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o force acting on mankind has been less carefully exned than Party, and yet none better deserves examination. ditheulty which Englishmen in particular feel about it is hke that which men once experienced when they were told the air had weight. It enveloped them so evenly and and on them so equally, that the assertion seemed incredible. ertheless it is not hard to show that Party and Party Governt are very extraordinary things. Let us suppose it to be the fashion to write the apologues so dear to the last arr, in which some stranger from the East or West, some san full of intelligent currosity, some Huron still unspoilt by lization, or some unprejudiced Bonze from India or China, ribed the beliefs and usages of European countries, just as struck him, to his kinamen at the other end of the world. us assume that in one of these trifles, by a Voltaire or a Montesquieu,

Montesquieu, the traveller gave an account of a cultivated of powerful European commonwealth, in which the system government consisted in half the eleverest men in the come taking the atmost pains to prevent the other half from gover Or let us imagine some modern writer, with the flinching perspicacity of a Machiavelli, analyzing the gro Party Hero-leader or agitator-as the famous Italian apalial the personage equally interesting and important in his day, b Tyrant or Prince. Like Machiavelli, he would not stop praise or condeum on ethical grounds, 'he would tollon's real truth of things rather than an imaginary view of them 'Many Party Heroes,' he would say, 'have been imagined, we were never seen or known to exist in reality.' But he so describe them as they really were. Allowing them every of private virtue, he would deny that their virtues and effect on their public conduct, except so far as they be pel make men believe their public conduct virtuous. But public conduct he would find to be not so much immoral. non-moral. He would infer, from actual observation, tast party Hero was debarred by his position from the full post of the great virtues of verseity, justice, and moral interpola He could seldom tell the full truth; he could never be tall persons other than his followers and associates; he could not The post be bold except in the interests of his faction. drawn by him would be one which few living men world co to be correct, though they might excuse its occurrence in and on the score of moral necessity. And then, a century or later, when Democracies were as much forgotten as the lists Princedoms, our modern Machiavelli would perhaps be famous and his work a proverb of immorality.

Party has many strong affinities with Religion. Its denselike those of a religious creed, are apt to substitute the featthat they have adopted it upon mature deliberation for the that they were born into it or stumbled into it. But they in the highest degree reluctant to come to an open breach it; they count it shame to speak of its weak points, conto co-religionists; and, whenever it is in serious difficulty. It return to its assistance or rescue. Their relation to those side the pale the relation of Whig to Tory, of Conservato Liberal—is on the whole exceedingly like that of dea Samaritan. But the closest resemblances are between pudiscipline and military discipline; and indeed, historical speaking, Party is probably nothing more than a survival

^{*} The Princes' $xv_{-1}(0)$. We quote here and chewhere from the cross-lation by N H T

a massquence of the primitive combativeness of mankind. It is war without the city transmuted into war within the city, but mitigated in the process. Party strife, like strife in arms, oerelops many high, but imperfect and one-sided, virtues, it is faitful of self-denial and self-sacrifice. But, wherever it werass, a great part of ordinary morality is unquestionson suspended; a number of maxims are received, which are not those of religion or ethics; and men do acts which, carpt as between enemies, and except as between political opponents, would be very generally classed as either ains or amoralities.

Party disputes were originally the occupation of aristocracies, such joined in them because they loved the sport for its own sale; and the rest of the community followed one side or the other as its clients. Nowadays, Party has become a force ect ag with vast energy on multitudinous democracies, and a tumber of artificial contrivances have been invented for faciliusing and stimulating its action. Yet, in a democracy, the riginent of political power falling to each man's share is so istremely small, that it would be hardly possible, with all the prouse the interests of thousands or millions of men, if Party were not coupled with another political force. This, to speak plainly, is Corruption. It is on record that a friend, in conresation with the great American, Alexander Hamilton, expressed wonder at Hamilton's extreme admiration of so corrupt system as that covered by the name of the British Constituresuption came to an end the Constitution would fall to spenly practised by the Whig Ministers of George L and Grorge II., through the bestowal of places and the payment of same of money, but which in the reign of George III, had died down to an obscurer set of malpractices, ill-understood, but partially explained by the constant indebtedness of the thrifty Hamilton of course meant that, amid the many dirulties of popular government, he doubted whether, in its english form, it could be carried on, unless support were suchased by Governments; and this opinion might very handly have been held concerning the early governments of he Hanoverian dynasty, so deeply unpopular did the 'Revo-binon Settlement' soon become with large classes of Englishnen. What put an end to this corruption was in reality not a English but a French phenomenon—the Revolution begun 1789, which, through the violent repulsion with which it inspired

inspired the greatest part of the nation, and the half-avowed attraction which it had for the residue, supplied the English parties with principles of action which aid not need the cooperation of any corrupt inducement to partizanship. The corruption which we find denounced by Bentham after the close of the great war was not bribery, but rested interest, and did the old practices ever revive in England in their ancient shape. Votes at elections continued to be bought and sold, or

not votes in Parliament.

Whether Hamilton looked forward to an era of purity is his own country, cannot be certainly known. He and be coadjutors undoubtedly were unprepared for the rapid development of Party which soon set in; they evidently thought that their country would be poor; and they probably expected a see all evil influences defeated by the elaborate contrivances a the Federal Constitution. But the United States became rapidly wealthy and rapidly populous; and the universistings of all white men, native born or immigrant, was seen established by the legislation of the most powerful Matter With wealth, population, and widely-diffused electoral power corruption approach into vigorous life. President Andrew Jackson proclaiming the principle of 'to the victors the spoils,' which all parties soon adopted, expelled from office all administrative servants of the United States who did not belong to his faction and the crowd of persons filling these offices, which are neces sarrly very numerous in so vast a territory, together with the groups of wealthy men interested in public lands and in the countless industries protected by the Customs tariff, form it extensive body of contributors from whom great amounts of money are levied by a species of taxation to be present expended in wholesale bribery. The opinion of almost all the politicians now supporting Mr. Blaine bears probably theel as resemblance to Hamilton's opinion about Great Britain, 150 are persuaded that the American Party system cannot control without corruption. It is impossible to lay down M. Schere's pamphlet " without a conviction, that the same opinion is belo of France by the public men who direct the public affairs of the French Republic. The account which this writer gives of the expedients by which all French Governments have sought to secure support, since the resignation of Marshal Mac Mahos, " most deplorable. There is a scale of public corruption, with the excessive and extravagant scheme of public works deviced by M. de Freycinet at one end of it, and at the other the open

totes by the electoral committees of the arrondissement innumerable small places in the gift of the highly ed French administration. The principle that the long to the victors has been borrowed from the United ad receives a thorough-going application. Every branch ablic service-even, since M. Scherer wrote, the judicial has been completely purged of functionaries not pro-llegiance to the party in power for the time being. aglishmen, alone among popularly governed commu-ive tried an expedient peculiar to ourselves. We have over all patronage to the Civil Service Commissioners, have adopted the Corrupt Practices Act. It is a most fact, that the only influences having an affinity for the aption, which still survive in Great Britain, are such r brought to bear on those exalted regions of society, a stars, garters, ribands, titles, and lord-heutenancies, slate. What will be the effect on British Government stoic remedies we have administered to ourselves, has seen. What will come of borrowing the Cancus from ed States, and refusing to sail our fingers with the oil its antive country to labricate the wheels of the Perhaps we are not at liberty to forget that there kinds of bribery. It can be carried on by promising g to expectant partizans places paid out of the taxes, or onust in the director process of legislating away the of one class and transferring it to another. It is this h is likely to be the corruption of these latter days. and Corruption, as influences which have shown thempuble of bringing masses of men under civil discipline, bably as old as the very beginning of political life. ge ferocity of party strile in the Greek States has been by the great Greek historian in some of his most ed the proportions of the corruption practised at the of the Roman Republic, in spite of all the impediaced in its way by an earlier form of the Ballot. secent times a third expedient has been discovered for g, not indeed agreement, but the semblance of agreea multitude of men. This is generalization, the trick y framing, and confidently uttering, general propositions tal subjects. It was once supposed that the power of ting general propositions was especially characteristic ighest minds, which it distinguished from those of a samp always immersed in detail and in particulars. wice, indeed, in the course of their intellectual history, mankind

mankind have fallen on their knees to worship generalization; and indeed, without help from it, it is probable that the stronger intellect would not be able to hear the ever-accumulating bunter of particular facts. But, in these latter days, a ready beauf a generalities has shown itself to be a characteristic, not indeed a wholly uneducated, but of imperfectly educated minds. time, men ambitious of political authority have found out to secret of manufacturing generalities in any number can be simpler. All generalization is the product of abstract tion; all abstraction consists in dropping out of sight a certain number of particular facts, and constructing a formula waid will embrace the remainder, and the comparative value general propositions turns entirely on the relative important of the particular facts selected and of the particular facts resets The modern facility of generalization is obtained by a cursul precipitation and carelessness in this selection and rejected which, when properly carried out, is the only difficult put of the onlire process. General formulas, which can be see a examination to have been arrived at by attending only to put ticulars few, trivia, or irrelevant, are turned out in as much pofusion as if they dropped from an intellectual machine; as debates in the House of Commons may be constantly read, while consisted wholly in the exchange of weak generalities and street personalities. On a pure Democracy this class of gentle formulas has a prodigious effect. Crowde of men can be # to assent to general statements, clothed in striking language, is unvershed and perhaps incapable of verification; and thus the is formed a sort of sham and pretence of concurrent opinion There has been a loose acquiescence in a vague proposition and then the People, whose voice is the voice of God, is assure to have spoken. Useful as it is to democracies, this let us assent is one of the most enervating of national habits of min It has seriously enfeebled the French intellect. It is most use riously affecting the mind of England. It threatens little say of ruin to the awakening intellect of India, where political structions, founded exclusively upon English facts, and end here requiring qualification, are applied by the small educate minority, and by their newspapers, to a society which, through nine-tenths of its structure, belongs to the thirteenth century the West.

The points which we have attempted to establish are the Without denying to democratic governments some of the vantages which were claimed for them by the thinker of the first order who has held Democracy to be in itself a good for of government, we have pointed out that it has the significant of government, we have pointed out that it has the significant of government, we have pointed out that it has the significant of government.

SUCCESS

stage of being the most difficult of all governments, and principal influences by which this difficulty has hithermitigated are injurious either to the morality or to the of the governing multitude. If the government of the e really ineritable, one would have thought that the posof discovering some other and newer means of enabling fil the ends for which all governments exist, would have uestion exercising all the highest powers of the strongest particularly in the community which, through the success opular institutions, has paved the way for all modern acy. Yet hardly anything worth mentioning has been d on the subject in England or on the Continent. We t, however, fail to notice a series of discussions which ig been going on in the little State of Relgium, ending in kable experiment. Alarmed by a reckless agitationlor I saffrage, the best heads in the country have devised an law," which is worthy of the most respectful attention, as provisions, an attempt is made to attach the franchise. to property, but to proved capacity in all its manitesto confer it not simply on the men who contribute a amount to the revenue, but on every man who has taken at a High School or at College, on everybody who can examination with credit, on every foreman of a workshop ry. The iden is to confer power not on the Many, but trongest among the Many. The experiment, however, esent confined to Provincial and Communal Elections; have yet to see whether an electoral system, which would sted by peculiar difficulties in England, can be successried out even in Belgium. On the whole, there is only ntry in which the question of the safest and most workrm of democratic government has been adequately disand the results of discussion tested by experiment. This nited States of America. American experience has, we hown that, by wise Constitutional provisions thoroughly out beforehand, Democracy may be made tolerable. blic powers are carefully defined; the mode in which to be exercised is fixed; and the amplest securities are ast none of the more important Constitutional arrange hall be altered without every guarantee of caution and portunity for deliberation. The expedient is not confor the Americans, settled in a country of boundless uned wealth, have never been tempted to engage in socialrislation; but, as far as it has gone, a large measure of Phetoral Be ge ' p. 189 Previncia, and Louisittal Law of Hh, 1803

success cannot be denied to it, success which has all but dispelled the old ill-fame of democracies. The short history of the United States has, at the same time, established one momentus negative conclusion. When a democracy governs, it is not all to leave unsettlet any important question concerning the element of public powers. We might give many instances of this, but the most conclusive is the War of Secession, which was crime owing to the omission of the 'fathers' to provide beforehad for the solution of certain Constitutional problems, less they should stir the topic of negro-slavery. It would seem that, by a wise Constitution, Democracy may be made nearly as calma water in a great artificial reservoir; but if there is a weak post anywhere in the structure, the mighty force which it contrar will bartt through it and spread destruction for and near.

This warning deserves all the attention of Englishmen. The are opening the way to Democracy on all sides. Let them take heed that it be not admitted into a receptacle of loose earth adsand. And, in laying this caution to heart, it would be nel ... them to consider what sort of a Constitution it is to which the must trust for the limitation of the powers, and the neutralization of the weaknesses, of the two or three millions of voters who are presently to be admitted to the suffrage, in addition to # multitude enfranchised in 1867. The events of the last to months are not reassuring. During all that time, the air Laster hot and thick with passionate assertions of contradictors op cias The points on which the controversy turns are points in the construction of the Constitution, and the fact that the ablest me in the country have taken sides upon them proves them a be unsettled. Nor does there exist any acknowledged authority by which they can be adjudicated upon and decided. f 34 Dietell to appeal to the law, for the very charge against the House of Lords is, that the law has been put abusively into operation & is useless to allege the authority of the electoral body, for the very charge against the House of Commons is, that it does at represent the constituencies. To describe such a dispute a serious, is hardly to an it justice; but, in order to bring markal light the scope and number of the doubtful questions which has shown to exist, we will mention in turn the principal deposit aries of public authority in this country—the Crewn, is Cabinet, the House of Lords, and the House of Common and we will note the various opinions which appear to be will as to the part which each of them should take in the legislation by which the structure of the Constitution is altered,

The powers over legislation which the law recognizes in the Crown are its power to veto Bills which have passed both the

the

e of Commons and the House of Lords, and its power to ve Parsament. The first of these powers has probably lost through disuse. There is not, at the same time, the est reason for supposing that it was abandoned through any istency with popular government. It was not employed, he there was no occasion for employing it. The reigns first Hanoverian Sovereigns were periods of activity in policy, and the legislation of the time was utterly insigat ; the King's Government was, moreover, steadily drawing If the initiative in legislation, and for more than a century ings succeeded on the whole in governing through what ters they pleased. As to the right to dissolve Parliament independent exercise of the Royal will, it cannot be quite eatly asserted to have become obsolete. The question on much discussed in the Colonies which attempt to the British Constitutional procedure, and it seems to be med for maisting on a dissolution of the Legislature, a his Ministers are opposed to it. It is probable, however, this country the object would be practically attained in cent way. The Crown would appoint Ministers who were g to take the not very sezious risks involved in appealing constituencies. The latest precedent in this case is quite m. Wil iam IV., Her Majesty's uncle and immediate sessor, replaced Lord Melbourne by Sir Robert Peel in and Sir Robert Peel, as he afterwards told the House of ions, toock upon himself the entire responsibility of ring Parliament.

Cabinet, which through a series of Constitutional fictions acceeded to all the powers of the Crown, has drawn to all, and more than all, of the royal power over legistic to a dissolve Parliament, and, if it were to advise own to veto a Bill which has been passed through both a there is no certainty that the proceeding would be a spected to. That it can arrest a measure at any of its progress through either House of Parliament, is led on all hands; and indeed the exercise of this power templified on the largest scale at the end of the last a, when a large number of Bills of the highest importance abandoned in deference to a Cabinet decision. The thas further become the sole source of all important tion, and therefore, by the necessity of the case, of all Connal legislation; and as a measure amending the Constipasses through the House of Commons, the modifica-

the Ministers of the day. Although the Cabinet, as such, is quite unknown to the law, it is manifestly the English insution which is ever more and more growing in authority and rateence; and already, besides wielding more than the legislature powers of the Crown, it has taken to itself nearly all the legals tive powers of Parliament, depriving it in particular of the ward right of initiation. The long familiarity of Englishmen was this institution, and with the copies of it made in the Europea countries which possess Constitutions, has blinded them in a extreme singularity. There is a fashion among historiass of expressing wonder, not unmixed with dislike, at the ser-bodies and conneils which they occasionally find invested was authority in lamous States. In ancient history, the Spatter Ephors-in modern history, the Venetian Council of Ten-see criticized in this spirit. Many of these writers are Englishmen and yet they seem quite unconscious that their own country governed by a secret * Council. There can be very little took that the secreey of the Cabinet is its strength. A great just " the weaknesses of Democracy spring from publicity of Giscasion, and nobody who has had any share in public business 32 have failed to observe, that the chances of agreement among civil a small number of persons increase in nearly exact properties to the chances of privacy. If the growth in power of the Cabinet is checked, it will probably be from causes of terrecent origin. It is essentially a committee of the men who leve the party which has a majority in the House of Commons. In there are signs than its authority over its party is passing " other committees, selected less for eminence in debute and alministration than for the adroit management of local pout a business.

The House of Lords, as a matter of strict law, has the rights reject or amend any measure which is submitted to it; not has this legal right in either of its forms been disused or abandoned, save as regards money-bills. But it has ately become excentilist, when the right is exerted over measures amending to Constitution, strong differences of opinion exist as to the mode and conditions of its exercise; and, as is not uncommon this country, it is very difficult to gather from the viscos

[&]quot;No secret has been better kept than that of English Cabinet possess. Apart from Labinet Maint is, past and present, there are prome you? The men in the country who know accurately how Cabiness conduct that leads to those and how they arrive it a cenel islam. Some inforcation was been of the red from the published Dia on of the arcens. Lord Ellen's each come printed, but an excitated, Mainters 1-4 by Land Boughton (Sr.) (a Home was), and, in some degree, been Lord Malmesbury's researt Mainters.

orange of the disputants, whether they contend that the law bould be altered, or that the exertion of power with which they the quarrelling is forbidden by usage, precedent, conventional aderstanding, or mere expediency. The varieties of doctrine he many and wide apart. On the one hand, one extreme party impares the rejection of a Bill by the House of Lords to the do of a Bill by the Crown; and insists that the first power bould be abandoned as completely as the last is believed to ive been. Conversely, the most influential * members of the Buse of Lords allow that it would act improperly in rejecting constitutional measure, of which the electoral body has signified approval by the result of a general election. Between these outions there appear to be several intermediate opinions, most them, however, stated in language of the utmost uncertainty of ragueness. Some persons appear to think that the House Lords ought not to reject or postpone a constitutional measure hich affects the powers of the House of Commons, or its relaon to the constituencies, or the constituencies themselves. bers seem to consider that the power of rejection might be percised on such a measure, if the majority by which it has sied the House of Commons is small, but not if it exceeds certain number. Lastly, little can be extracted from the aguage of a certain number of controversialists, violent as it is, cept an opinion that the House of Lords ought not to do roog, and that it has done wrong on one particular occasion.

The power of the House of Commons over legislation, inlanding constitutional legislation, might seem at first sight to
complete and unqualified. Nevertheless, as we have pointed
it is some time ago surrendered the initiative in legislation,
it is now more and more surrendering the conduct of it, to
so-called Ministers of the Crown. It may further be obeved from the language of those who, on the whole, contend
to the widest extension of its powers, that a new theory has
take its appearance, which raises a number of embarrassing
testions as to the authority of the House of Commons in
astitutional legislation. This is the theory of the Mandate,
ascens to be conceded that the electoral body must supply the
ficuse of Commons with a Mandate to alter the Constitution.
It is asserted that a Mandate to introduce Household Suffrage
to the counties was given to the present House, but not a
hadate to conter the suffrage on Women. What is a Mandate?

As used here, the word has not the meaning which belongs

Levi Schol ter strongly a god this principle upon the House of Lorde when it is a loss of it had not not unwing the Hotsalishes. Clerch of Iroland before it. This speech probably mounted the passing of the Bill.

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to it in English, French, or Latin. We consecture that is a fragment of a French phrase, mandal imprint f, which means an express direction from a constituency which is representative is not permitted to disobey, and we imagise to mutilation to imply that the direction may be given in se loose and general manner. But in what manner? Is it men that, if a candidate in an election-address declares that be sell favour of household suffrage or woman suffrage, and is alter wards elected, he has a mandate to vote for it, but not coe wise? And, if so, how many election-addresses, contains such references, and how many returns, constitute a Mandato the entire House of Commons? Again, assuming the Manda to have been obtained, how long is it in force? The House Commons may sit for seven years under the Septennial Act, by the strict law has hardly ever prevailed, and in the gremajority of cases the House of Commons has not listed nearly the whole period. May it give effect to its Mandate! its foarth, or fifth, or sixth Session, or must an alteration of \$4 Constitution be the earliest measure to which a Parasass commissioned to deal with it must address itself?

These unsettled questions form the staple of the confront which has been raging among us for months, but the promound which they have obtained is not in the very least arbitrary accidental. The question of the amount and nature of the notice which the electoral body shall receive of an intent change in the Constitution; the question whether anything a a Mandate' shall be given by that body to the Legislatine; if question whether existing constituencies shall have full in diction over proposed constitutional innovation; the quest of the majority which shall be necessary for the decision of a Legislature on a constitutional measure; all these questo belong to the very essence of constitutional doctrine. no one of them which is peculiar to this country; what peculiar to this country is the extreme vagueness with which of them are conceived and stated. The Americans of United States, feeling on all sides the strongest pressure Democracy, but equipped with a remarkable wealth of each stitutional knowledge inherited from their foreiathers, have to take up and solve every one of them. We will endeaves? show what have been their methods of solution. He wal o go for an example to the Constitution of the United State abounding as it does in the manifold restrictions thought rece sary by its framers for the purpose of securing in a probabil democratic society the self-command without which it could be become or remain a nation. It will be sufficient for our obje

constitutional amendments, contained in the Constitutions of fordual States, which we need not say, can only legislate within limits permitted to them by the Federal Constitution. One the subjects, however, on which the powers of the several tes were till lately exclusive and are still most extensive, is Franchise; and this gives a peculiar value and interest to provisions which we will proceed to extract from the Constitution of the great State of New York.

article 13 of the Constitution of New York, which is still in

er, runs as follows: --

Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be seed to the Senate at d. Assembly; and if the same be agreed to a majority of the members elected to each of the two Houses, a amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals the "yeas" and "mays" taken thereon, and referred to the inlature to be chosen at the next general election, and shall be lashed for three menths previous to the time of making such tee; and if, in the Legislature so next chosen as aforess d, anch posed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by a majority if the members elected to each House, then it shall be the duty be Legislature to submit such proposed amendment or amendments to the people in such manner and at such time as the Legislature I preserve; and if the people shall approve and ratify such adment or amendments by a majority of the electors qualified to for members of the Legislature voting thereon, such amendment membrants shall become part of the Constitution."

Section 2 of the Article provides an alternative mode of

at the general election to be held (in each twee lieth year, and at such time as the Legislature may by law provide, the question half there be a Convention to revise the Constitution and amend same; shall be decided by the electors qualified to vide for abore of the Legislature, and in case a majority of the electors so lined voting at such election shall decide in favour of a Convention such purpose, the Legislature at the next Bosson shall provide law for the election of delegates to such Convention.

These provisions of the Constitution of New York, regulating procedure to be followed in constitutional amendments, and retore in measures extending or altering the electoral achiese, are substantially repeated in the Constitutions of ariy al. the American States. Where there are variations, y are generally in the direction of greater stringency. The attitution of Ohio, for example, requires that there shall be the least a three-fifths majority in each branch of the Legislature

Legislature proposing an amendment, and a two-thirds majestris necessary if it is sought to summon a Convention. When a amendment is proposed in Massachusetts, a two-thirds majority is demanded in the Lower House, and the same majority was be obtained in both Houses before the Constitution of Lousing can be amended. The Constitution of New Jersev gives greate precision to the provision of the New York Constitution for the ultimate intification of the proposed amendment by the constituencies, by inserting, after the words 'the people shall rank and approve,' the words 'at a special election to be held for the purpose only. The same Constitution declares that 'a amendment shall be submitted to the people more than case is five years;' and, like the Constitutions of several other Same

it gives no power to summon a revising Convention.

No doubt therefore is possible as to the mode in which the American State Constitutions settle the formidable question which the discussion of the last few months has shown to \$ unsettled in this country. First of all, it is to be noted that electoral body recognized by all the Constitutions without exception, as having an exclusive jurisdiction over amendments of the Constitution, is the existing electoral body, and not any electors body of the future. Next, the most ample notice is given to a that an amendment of the Constitution will be brought beken the next Legislature which it is called upon to choose; be branches of the outgoing Legislature must record a resolute with the numbers of the division upon it, and this resolute. must be published three months before a general election. It is quite clear, therefore, that the representatives chosen at the election will have what may be called a 'Mandate.' Its amendment must then be agreed to by an absolute unjointed the members of both Houses of the new Legislature; or, u. required in some States, by a two-thirds or three-fifths may of in both Houses, or one of them. But there is a final security The amendant The Mandate must be ratified. must be submitted to the people in any way which the Lette lature may provide; and, as is shown by the Constitution New Jersey, the ratification is usually placed in the Lands of special legislature specially elected for the purpose of giving refusing it.

Such are the securities against surprise or hatte, in conduct the most important part of legislation, which may very subsuggest to the English politician some acrious reflections. What has been most remarkable in the recent discussion, he been, far less the violent and inflammatory language in who it has been carried on, than the extreme vagueness of the

consideration

considerations upon which it has turned. All of us know, or metance, that the House of Lords has been threatened with extinction or mutilation for a certain offence. Yet when the offence is examined, it appears to consist in the violation of some rule or understanding, never expressed in writing. at rarrance with the strict law, and not perhaps construed a precisely the same way by any two thinking men in the country. Political history shows that men have at all times querelled more hercely about phrases and formulas, than even bout material interests; and it would seem that the discussion of British Constitutional legislation is distinguished from the ducussion of all other legislation by having no fixed points turn upon, and therefore by its irrational violence. Is it Derefore idle to hope that at some calmer moment—when the iscutable creation of two million more voters has been ecomplished -we may borrow a few of the American securities exicst surprise and irreflection in constitutional legislation, at express them with something like the American precision? It appears to have occurred to some that this would entail the conversion of the unwritten Constitution of Great Britain into a watten Constitution. Nothing of the kind would be needed. A great part of our Constitution is already written. Many of the powers of the Crono -many of the powers of the House of Leris, including the whole of its judicial powers—much of the constitution of the House of Commons and its entire relation to the electoral body—have long since been defined by Act of Faranment. There does not seem to be any insuperable bection, first of all, to making a statutory distinction between sedinary legislation and leg slation which in any other country reald be enlied Constitutional; and next, to requiring for the hat a special legislative procedure, intended to secure caution and deaberation, and as near an approach to impartiality as a sistem of party government will admit of. The alternative is b leave unsettled all the questions which the recent controversy has brought to light, and to give free play to a number of redences already actively at work. It is quite plain whither they are conducting us. We are drifting towards a type of government associated with terrible events—a single Assembly, weed with full powers over the Constitution, which it may exercise at pleasure. It will be a theoretically ad-powerful Convention, governed by a practically all-powerful secret Comwittee of Public Safety, but kept from complete submission to is authority by Obstruction, for which its rulers are always recking to find a remedy in some kind of moral guillotine,

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3. The Wasps of Aristophanes. Revised, with a Transfer n into Corresponding Metres and Original Notes. By Beaution Bickley Rogers, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn. Barrister-st. Lav. sometime Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1878

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THE goodly list of works recently published, which we are able to place at the head of this article, testifies at once? the great interest taken by Englishmen in Asistophanes. And surely whether we regard his merits as a comedian, his gram as a writer, the exemplary purity of his Greek, or the exem ordinary light his plays throw on one of the most exclusi periods of Grecian history, Aristophanes deserves to commun as large a share of attention as any ancient author. To appre ciate his position in literature aright, a brief review of the circumstances of the age in which he lived is necessary

The great struggle with Persia had ended at Pastra, a generation before the birth of Aristophanes. The consequences of winning that struggle for liberty were to Athens must be same as the results of victory in the great war with Napolest bave been to England. What Trafalgar and Waterloo seem to Marathon and Salamia seemed to Aristophanes and his conterporaries. After Salamis, Athens spring with a sudden topics to a height of which she had scarcely presumed to dream. To centre of political freedom, which had migrated to the longs colonies, at once changed back to the mother city. The onfederacy of Delos was formed, and the isles gathered there selve under the Athenian protection. The idea of a united Helms was dwelt upon with pride. An exuberant patriotism but through the Grecian world, and the heart of that world was Athens. The commerce of Greece flowed into her harbours: the willingly paid contributions of the grateful islanders added to her wealth: the magnificent structures designed by the gratest architects of the time seemed the natural expression of

the lofty sentiments that prevailed.

full well had Athens earned her reward. Her patriotism and devotion had saved Greece. The Ionian Greeks, whose ches had been far bigger and more powerful than Athens, had three succumbed to the Asiatic barburians. When it was amounced that the troops of Datis had taken and razed beeting in Eubera, and were in full sail for the const of Marsthon, there must have been small hope of success in the heart of Miltiades, as he led forth his eleven thousand men, to emounter just ten times the number of Persia's best troops, When, ten years afterwards, Aristides, on the eve of the battle of Salamia, slipped through the Persian fleet, and brought to Demistocles the news he wished to hear, that the Greek feet was shut in, and that battle was certain on the morrow, it test have been the recollection of Marathon alone that could have inspired the rival patriots with the hope of success. The ample and sublime words of Aristides to the fee who had realed him to share his country's peril live in the page of the interian, searcely to be read without emotion even at this distance of time- Our rivalry both now and at all other times abould be as to which of us shall the his country greater services.'

Such was the golden age of Athens which Aristophanes was sever tired of looking back upon, and such the heroes whose ua, a very different scene met his eye. He no longer saw He enes united against the barbarians, but joined in the deathbuggle of the Peloponnesian war. He saw Hellenes not only thying their brothers on the battle-field, but committing arocious massacres on helpless prisoners in cold blood. The worst of these, he saw, were perpetrated by the deliberate vote his own countrymen. The massacres of the inhabitants of Scione, of the Mityleneans, when the murder of over a thousand ma passed as an act of mercy, of the whole adult population of the island of Melos, rise up in judgment against the demooncy of Athens and condemn it. Aristophones saw, or thought aw, education corrupted by sophistical teachers, who taught joung men the dangerous art of eloquence, and sapped the bundations of morality by casuistic reasoning. He saw the

lofty and manly poetry of Alschylus, as he thought, in larger of being supplinted in popular favour by that of Euripides, whom he regarded as a mean, supplistical poet, dangerous a morals. He saw the people governed by low-born and assidemagogues, and flattering themselves that they were active the part of industrious men and good citizens by earling a palitry daily wage as jurymen in the law-courts. He around him a people whose intellect had been trained to the highest point, and whose moral faculty had been degraded to the lowest: the saddest instance which history affinis of the adage, that the corruption of the best is the worst. Aristophase, while still a youth of little more than twenty years, come as at genus, and loving his land with love far-brought from out the storied past, conceived the high design of attempting to make the comic stage to reform his degenerate countrymen after the

model of their forefathers.

Of the eleven extant plays of Aristophanes, it is difficult to decide which is the best. On the ground that they have t well-constructed plot conducted to the end, we should pice the 'Clouds,' 'Frogs,' and 'Thesmophoriazusas'-and we take we have Mr. Rogers's concurrence in this verdict—above to the other prays. Too often the whole plot is finished lefer the play is two-thirds complete, and the sequel is a string of fare real incidents which occur while the hero is feasing of sacrificing: in fact, a superior kind of harlequinade. But he mere freshness and unrestrained humour none of the plays su-passes the earliest extant, "THE ACHARNIANS" or "The Private Peace." The play was brought out in 425," the seventh years the Peloponnesian war. It is the first cry for pence which has come down to us. That cry was doubtless often heard at Athens. Year after year the Athenians had seen their fertie fields devastated up to the walls of Athens. Summer after summer their olives and vines were backed and hewed, and it after the retiring of the Spartans, they replanted their isrus, their growing hopes were cut down again in the next canpaign. The farmers with their families were gathered in Athens, and bivouncked in dirt and misery in the city, in the Pirmus, and beside the long walls. Even empty casks will welcomed as a shelter from the blazing sun. In the second year, the plague attacked the crowded population, that antivisitation which has been accurately described for the benefit of humanity by Thucydides, to whose vivid and forcible account Lucretius has added the graces of his exquisite poetry. These

[.] We follow Chuton's dates generally throughout this art ale.

the Athenians, and it is the best proof we know that they made of enduring stuff, that they did not soon flinch their disasters. Two causes doubtless contributed to bout: the unytelding mind of Pericles, and their unaged supremacy at sea. Pericles exercised the same kind buence over the assembly which some great preacher, a you Whitfield, holds over a vast congregation. They to him for counsel and comfort, they accepted his remaind followed his advice. When he saw them desponding, souraged them in one of his finest speeches. We are not at any one ventured to take the opposite side: Pericles

oken, and that was enough.

command of the sea, and the ensiness of access to it, have been the greatest consolation to the Athenians. to the produce of Attica was lost to them, they could have the least fear of famine, with the long walls reaching o Piraus, and Piraus as open as ever to receive all the e of the Ægean. The orchards and pastures of Eubora asated for the loss of their native fields, and though the ets Glaucetes and Moryehus might miss the wild-lowl of and that supreme dainty the Copaic ecl, the fish market well supplied as ever; and if fresh fish were wanting, the red tunnies and mackerel from the Pontus were always ned by the general. When Pericles, however, had sickened and of a lingering form of the plague, it is easy to suppose ie cries of the peace party grew louder and more frequent, ch a cry we have in the 'Acharnians, the 'Peace,' and the trata.' In the 'Acharnians,' or 'The Private Peace,' polis, an honest farmer, concludes a peace for thirty years a bimself and family on the one side and the Spartans or allies on the other. The happy man now helds open with the sworn enemies of Athens, and a Megarian sells a two daughters disguised as pigs, one for a bunch of the other for a pint of salt. The Berotian brings in the other for a pint of salt. commodities, among them the Copaic cel, and receives ange, not money nor olives nor figs, but that peculiarly product, a sycophant or informer, who is bound hand and I carried off by the rejoicing Theban, who expects to do trade exhibiting him as one would a tricksy monkey. lay concludes by showing Dicaopolis enjoying himself midst of his good cheer, while Lamachus, the representathe war party, is depicted in mortal pain, having broken id, dislocated his ankle, and staked himself with a pole, le lesping over a trench. We

We pass on to the 'KNIGHTS,' produced at the La festival 424 B.C., the most bitter and violent of all the of Aristophanes, written to attack Cleon the tanner, the t demagogue who now ruled the Ecclesia. He it was who or three years before, had proposed and carried the deep the massacre of the inhabitants of Mitylene; who, the after this, proposed and carried the decree for the mass the inhabitants of bei me: and who, a year later, met wil fate which his craelty and cowardice deserved, while reaway from the field at Amphipolis. He seems to have his power over the assembly, not only by his loud voice truculent eloquence, but by the success with which he ad a hubit familiar to low-born demagogues, ancient and m that of posing as an incorruptible patriot, while attrib dishonesty and corruption to all those who occupied social positions than his own.* Aristophanes was alread gaged on the composition of the 'knights,' when the 'anians' was exhibited, for he threatens in that play the will presently cut Cleon up into shoe-leather for his Ko This play is considered by Grote to be the best; and no if we regard it merely as a political satire, it is easi the first place, with its cutting allegory and its furior unbridled invective; but, viewed as a drama, it is deowing to the remissions with which the allegory is La and the tediousness with which the contest between the demagogues is spun out. The play is so well known, the the following outline of it is probably superfluous. It the Athenian John Bull, is a foolish old man, who has mitted the whole management of his household to a be and wicked Paphlagonian slave, that is, Cleon. Two fellow-slaves of the Paphlagonian, who represent Nick Demosthenes, conspire against his tyranny. Of these, I thenes, has a special gradge against the Paphlagonian, w stelen a Laconian cake Demosthenes had cooked . this or Clean's supersession of Demosthenes in the command, capture of the Spartans at Sphacteria, just as they were all fall into the hands of the former. Demosthenes and Nick

^{*} Orete's whitewashing of Cheen is one of the worst blots on his little comparison of Cheen to Cuto the Consor to not more absent that the possess of a passage in the 'Frege' Aristoniance represents a latter stating her insent or of appealing to the chade of Chen to work the cut anymosel Heretales, who has exten her leaves without passage tire is to describ the who begins of the cyclopeo of Aristophanes and To apared Cheen, wreets this passage into a testimony in last factor aristic phase that Chen was in the case 1 of direct extensive appearing the can poor

contain oracles which the Paphlagonian is known to keep by him, and find that they contain predictions representing the future leaders of the people. There was first to be a hemp-seller Enemies), next a cather-seller (Callina or Lyaicles), next a leather-seller (Cleon). But there is a depth lower still: there is to arise a mange-seller, before whom the tanner is to fall. By good luck a mange-seller, Agoracritus by name, at this moment approaches.

'benosthenes proceeds to tell him of a prophecy found amongst the stolen scrolls, in which, after the enigmatical fashion of such literature, it is foreteld that the great tanner-eagle shall be overcome by the coming serpont that drinks blood. The tanner-eagle is none other than this Paphlagonian hide-seller; and, as to his antagenist that can be planner? It is the resemblance of Macedon to Monsmoth "A serpont is long and so is a black-pudding; and both druk blood." —(Ms. Collins, p. 23.)

Agoracritus consents to attempt to oust the Paphlagonian from his position, and the play proceeds with rival acts of densgogy and sycopaancy between the two rogues, in which conflict of shamelessness the tanner is always worsted by the masage-seller. The mind of the Paphlagonian at last misgives has as he gazes on the features of an antagonist more truculent than he is himself, and then, to use once more the words of Mr. Collins, from the perusal of whose excellent little volume we have derived much profit,

a scene curves which reads like an antedated parody on the last neeting of Macboth and Macdoff. Cleon holds an oracle which forewards him of the only man who can everthrow his power. Where we has antagenist educated, and how? "By the ouffs and blows of the scullions in the kitchen" What did his next master teach lim? "To steal, and then swear he did not." Cleon's mind mission. What is his trade, and where did he practise it? And when he learns that his rival sells black-puddings at the city gates, he knows that all is over—Birnam Wood is come to Dunsinane. He willy tears his hair, and takes his farewell in the most approved tan of tragody."

Demus hands over himself and his concerns to the keeping of Agoneritus. The play was a brilliant success, and was awarded the first prize, beating the 'Satyri' of Cratinus and the 'Hylophori' of Aristomenes.

The play of the 'Knights' seems written for our admonition, who have fallen on these revolutionary times. If any man were continue the parallel between our own day and the time of wistophanes's youth, we cannot deny that our own Radical Prime Minister presents some striking points of resemblance to Pericles.

Pericles. Pericles was a member of the noblest family at Atlent, and one of the best educated of the citizens he had listened to the lectures of Anaxagoras and Zeno. Mr. Gladstone, although his lineage is not illustrious, is of highly respectable parenage, gained the coveted distinction of a double-first at Oxford, and has won considerable reputation as a classical scholar. Perelo was the first speaker of his time, perhaps of all time, if Thierdides has not exaggerated his eloquence. His opponent Eupolia the comedian, thus confesses his unapproached excellence as a orator.

> * This was the greatest speaker among men. When he came forward, as a runner swift He evertook the erators, and passed them. Yes, swift he was in speech, and what is more, Persuasion somehow sat upon his lips. He charm'd as 'twere his hearers; he alone Of speakers in the listener left his sting."

We do not indeed mean to amuse those who have read the funeral oration in the second book of Thucydides by conparing Mr. Gladstone's oratory with that of Pericles, but there can be no question that Mr. Gladstone owes the greater part of his extraordinary influence to his fatal gift of eloqueux. Indeed, beyond the success common to both speakers, the oratory has little in common, and rather supplies an occasion for a contrast than a common. for a contrast than a comparison. Pericles was classed by Creero as one of those orators whose speeches were tail of matter—' sententiis magis quam verbia abandantes.' † If Le two nouns substantive in this sentence were transposed, this sentence would suit Mr. Gladstone's oratory. The test-mony of antiquity is unanimous as to the definiteness of the speeches of Pericles. Mr. Gladstone's oratory is generally open to the charge brought against him long ago by Lord Macaulay: 'His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darson and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. . . . He wa a vast command of language, grave and majestic, but of varand uncertain import.': Many happy metaphors from the

А мротитте обтиг бучнет агербитан харын

Α. προσιότης ουντικ όγουστ αντρώτων λεγμών δπότε περίκδοι Β΄ Μόπερ άγαθοί δρικής δε δεκα ποδών ήρει λεγων τους βήτ πρως Β. ταχύν λέγε τ. μεν. πρός δέ γ΄ αλτού τω τάχει τους τι δεεκαθίζει έπι τους χιίλετικ, ούτωι δεήλει, και μόνοι των βητορων τὸ κεντρος δγκατέλειπε τοι δεροωμένως. — Επροίλε, Ιπ.

^{† &#}x27; De Oras,' ii. 22. Macaulay's Essay on ' Gladetone on Church and State."

speeches of Pericles were handed down by tradition: some re preserved by Aristotle. His beautiful and simple saying in his funeral speech over the youth who had fallen in buile, that spring had been lost from the year; his comprison of the Borotians, harassed by intestine war, to onkwes which wear themselves out against each other; and of he Samians to little children that cry as they take their food. Like Pericles, Mr. Gladstone, though a man of birth and alucation, became a thorough-going Radical. Like Pericles, the was welcomed by the Radicals as their leader with the munth they always display when a man of such antecedents passes over to their ranks. Like Pericles, he became a tyrant to a few State, with this difference, that Pericles swayed the passes while Mr. Cledstone when a restrict the content of the content o stole population, while Mr. Gladstone rules the governing part alone. The Athenians placed their necks under the foot of encles, who had the acuteness to see that it was better to have be power than the name of a tyrant, τύραννα δράν μάλλου ή averyos civas, and saw that the real way to achieve this object us to give the democracy everything they could ask. The overnment of Athens in his time was, we are assured by flucydides," nominally a democracy, but in reality a governent in the hands of the first man. In this extraordinary bervience of the public opinion of a free people to the will some man we recognize something like the phenomenon which exhibited, when the whole Radical party, in and out of office, has Lord Granville to Mr. Bright, accepts as sound doctrine very sudden pronouncement of Mr. Gladstone. Pericles diswhed the balance of the constitution by abrogating the powers of the court of Areopagus; Mr Gladstone, by his attacks in the House of Lords, is shaking to its foundations the best which the world has ever seen. To conclude, Pericles, the Mr. Gladstone, had a nickname, used seriously by his dimirers, sarcastically by his enemies; if our Prime Minister the grand old man, Pericles was to the Athenians Jupiter tunnelf,†

We cannot here enter on the enquiry, whether the corruption of the democracy was altogether the work of Pericles. Probably it was not; the constitution, if that can be called a constitution, where the upper chamber was chosen by lot and be lower chamber was open to every Athenian citizen without

exception,

^{*} Thus. it. 10: Αγέγνετό το λόγφ μεν δημοκρατία, έργφ δέ ύπό τοῦ πρώτου Δυδράς

He is three times so called by Orstmus; and be is styled the Ulympian backs of Arist phones.

exception, was so essentially had that it is no wonder the people degenerated. The Ecclesia was the real point of danger; it was all important to keep it in its proper place. The restrains imposed upon it by tradition, by respect for the ancient court of Areopagus, were, perhaps, little more than moral restmins, be they were not weak. It was all important that they should be preserved and strengthened. Pericles swept them away. He imposed new checks, it is true, but they never had, never conhave, the same influence as those handed down from the time cracy. Pericles, by his payment of the large hodies of jains, and by his theoric largesses, helped to swell the city meb s idlers, that dangerous element which proved so fatal to may ancient states. The growing wealth of the city tended to the same end, and the ecclesia grew into that unstable, fluctuating assembly, so often described by Attie orators in tones of abolute despair. Pericles could govern it, and he governed s wisely and well; but he made good government impossite for those that came after him. After the death of the altured Alemzonid, a succession of turbulent low-born demagages stepped on to the bema whence that majestic presence be There were doubtless at Athens after the death at reigned. Pericles respectable men able and willing to save the State, # the State was not willing to be saved by them. They had not the qualities to catch the car of the assembly. Demosthers tells the Sausage-seller what those qualities were:-

> ' You've every virtue for a people's leader, A blatant tongue, low burth, a front of brass: You've every requisite for statesmanship.' *

And again :--

The people's leadership no longer falls
To the accomplished or the honest man,
But to the unlearned and the filthy knave.

It was with these men Aristophanes carried on a tructes war, and it would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to imagine the licence that was permitted the comic poot, did we not posses the 'Knights.' We are far from wishing our parallel to be

 Υε. 227: τὰ δ' άλλα σοι πρόσεστι δημαγωγικα:
 φωνή μιαρά, γέγονας κακῶς ἀγόραιος εξτ έχεις απαντα πρὸς πολιτείου δ δει.

 Vu. 191. ή δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ Δτ΄ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς οὐδε χρηστοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, Δλλ' εἰς ἀμαθή καὶ βἔελυρέν.

pushed

bed further, and from suggesting that any one among Mr. dstone's followers is a Paphlagonian, much less a Sausager, but at the rate at which we are moving it would be rash redict that these men will not arise in a score of years. ed, the famous simile of the cel-fishermen, who must hie their water before they catch anything, was not more ficable to Cleon, than it is to Mr. Gladstone himself and his her coming sques. Demus himself is made the mark for the rest ridicule. In his dotage he stupidly turns his regards to h agontan and Sansage-seller alternately. Athens is the city apenians i Keyneasor. At home Demus is sensible enough, when he takes his sent in the Phyx he gapes like a man aging figs. Does John Bull wince at this? Are his sers unwring? Praxagora in the 'Ecclesiazusa' remarks the Atheni in people never could rest, supposing they posd any excellent institution, until they had spoiled it by new invention." So we Englishmen, possessing a Constion which has been our own boast and the world's pattern, are rying ast to mar it by mending. We miss Lord Saerbrooke's which we neard exclaiming in one of those impassioned ches of 1836 which created his fame as an orator, as he ecated what then seemed to him the doom of the Consti-100 to 4

'To no row! Oh that's anddon! Spare it! It ought not so to die!'

caght not in truth to die so. But if it does, we can only that the proverb Aristophanes more than once quotes a complete the parallel we have drawn between old England old Athens: for he tells us that it was a common saying though the measures of the Athenians were foolish, they prevented from attaining their natural evil consequences the direct interposition of the gods.†

Ar stophanes had now attained the highest reputation as a die poet; his plays had defeated those of both Eupolis and binus. Encouraged by his successes, he determined to capt a novel and more difficult subject, and wrote the forms to ridicule Socrates. In forming an opinion of this

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[†] Andre 1867 page of the page of the state o

play, we should try and remove from our view the idealization inner Socrates of the Platonic dialogues and the Memor-bilia' of Xenophon. We must place before our eyes an usuit, rude, talkative person, as ugly as a Satyr, who intruded buned into everybody's business at all times, and proved, to the same faction of a delighted ring of listeners, that the person intelviewed was ignorant of subjects he professed to know perfects That was the ungainly personality that was so well known a Athens in B.C. 423. No wonder he was unpopular. 'I hate us prating beggar, Socrates, says Eupolis. Anatophanes need relents towards him : in the ' Birds' he is the unwashed Socraze In the 'Frogs' the chorus descants on the delight of not sitted chattering beside him. The absurd distinction that we The absard distinction that we former, y drawn, between Socrates as a champion of vartue, and the sophists as poisoners of youth, was long since most jurg exposed by Grote. No such distinction was known to the Athenians. If subtle dexterity of argument and paradoxed demonstrations were characteristic of the sophists, Socrates as the greatest sophist of them all, in the modern sense. Was Aristophanes and the whole comic press disliked more than inthing in the sophistical teachers, was the training they gave your men in speaking and arguing glibly. They certainly dia nt all distinguish in this respect between Socrates, and Goral or Thraxymachus. If one effect of the Socratic dialogues # recorded by Plato is not admiration for the dexterity of the dislectic by which seemingly incontrovertible propositions of shown to rest on a basis of sand," we know not what is. This agnosticism could not have been favourable to morality. On 25 other hand, there was much sound moral teaching by the so-cs' d sophists: Socrates probably never, certainly not before 12%, cotribated anything more serviceable to the lest interests of education than the 'Choice of Hercules' by Producus. It came to commonly said, that Socrates could make the worse appear better reason. Aristophanes in the play supposes this to late reached the ear of Strepsiades, and as the old fellow is deeply if debt owing to his son's extravagance, he tries to persuade the List to go to Secretes's thinking-school, to learn the worse mason, if order to conquer the better, which his creditors unfortunately hold. The young man bluntly refuses, and Strepsiades god himself, but is soon turned out owing to his forgettulness at stupidity. Phidippides, the son, then consents to go, and lears

[&]quot;On busy or ungested minds among the indiscriminate partie who had him, it the inguistry and indirect method of bornets belt of the permit of any hand, and ended in a new feeling of sammation for inguistry, or parties distance of paradex."—Groc, "Hist, of Greece," chap have.

the voice reason with a vengeance. He is imband with the new ideas so thoroughly that, at a feast given him by his father on his return Louie, he sings an immoral speech from Euripides, tests his father, and satisfactorsly proves that he has a right to At this the old man quite breaks down. his mother too. His debts are still pressing, and his only son has been ruined by pocrates. There only remains revenge, and Strepsiades burns down the thinking-school with its inmates.

such are the main incidents of this famous play, which, for simplicity and perfection of plot, and morality of tone, is un equalled in ancient comedy. In repartee it is scarcely excelled by any play of Moliere, while in places it displays humour as such as Shakspeare at his best. We are not surprised to learn lum the author that he had bestowed immense pains on it. To his confusion it only gained the third prize, being beaten, for first place, by the 'Wine-flask' of poor old toping Cratinus, and for the second by the 'Connus' of Amipsias; but so confident was he of its merits, that he again applied for a chorus. In the second edition, which is the one which has come down to us, he unde several important alterations, adding the dialogue between the Just and the Unjust Argument, the burning of the thinkingsthool, and a new parabasis wherein he lectures the judges on thur bad taste in giving him only the third prize. On this occawas however, he apparently got no prize at all, for the notice prefixed to the play tells us he failed worse than before. The case of this failure may have been the absence of coarseness from the play. Had it succeeded, it would have been of good onen for Athenian comedy, for Aristophanes would have been excouraged to go on further with his attempt to exalt and purify it; but his double failure seems to have warned him that such attempts to correct Athenian taste were uscless, and in the "Wasps' there is a distinct relapse." Aristophanes has been charged with causing the condemnation of Socrates by his aisrepresentations in the play: and Socrates himself in his Defence ranks Aristophanes as one of those accusers whose *Casation he has most reason to fear. We think it possible tat the 'Clouds' may have aided in creating the narrow majority by which Socrates was condemned: that, although his condemfation did not take place for four-and-twenty years after the

[&]quot;The victory of the "Wine-Plagon" over the "Clouds" was something more The victory of the "Wine-Flagon" over the "Clouds was something more than the victory of Cratinus over Arial planos. It was the victory of the large tafformer, the popose of the over brains over the higher, purer and in the central lement, with which the proper poet was ordervouring to replant it—Mr Hagen's Frence to the 'Wineja, p. xi.

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2 A play

play was acted, some among the dieasts may, as they drew the long line with their thumb-nail down the middle of their assesment tablets, have confirmed their consciences by muttering in stern anathema with which the play concludes:

> δίωπε βάλλε παίς παλλών ούνεκα μάλιστα δ'είδως τοίς θεούς ώς ηδίκουν.

But Aristophanes is in no sense to blame for the murder of Socrates. Socrates was a very fair mark for the satirist: i. 3 one thing to laugh at a man, another to take his life. The slay of of the philosopher belongs to the cruel Athenian democraciwhich had violated its own laws seven years before in order to put to death the victors of Arginuse. Aristophunes must have judged Socrates differently, had he studied Place dialogues: but he had only the annoying talker to listen to, w the delightful author to read. We are told that Socrates too up on his seat during the acting of the 'Clouds,' that " audience might judge for themselves of the likeness of the miss. an anecdote which speaks well for the good temper of the phile-sopher. We are reminded by way of contrast of the store Dr. Johnson, who, when he heard that Foote was going to mimic him on the stage, armed himself with a stout cudgel, at sent word to the actor he intended to use it on him, should & persist in his design.

We cannot better introduce the 'WASPS,' than by given Mr. Rogers's admirable rendering of that part of the parallal wherein the poet sums up his previous performances, especial the 'Knights' and 'Clouds.'

When first he began to exhibit plays no paltry MRN for his mark!
 ohose,

He came in the mood of a Heracles forth to grapple at once with a mightiest foes.

In the very front of his hold cureer with the jug-toothed Monstein closed in fight,

Though out of its fierce eyes flushed and flumed the glare of Cystatestable light,

And a hundred horrible sycophants' tongues were twining at

flickering over its head, And a voice it had like the roar of a stream which has just breek

forth destruction and dread.

And a Lamia's groun, and a camel's loin, and foul of the small d'a

seal it smelt.

But He, when the monstrous form he saw, no bribe Le took are at

fear he felt,
For you he fought and for you he fights: and then has you are

adventurous hand
He grappled besides with the Spectral Shapes, the ugues and feet

that plagued our land;

wed in the darksome hours of night to throttle fathers, and indisine choke,

id them down on their restless bods, and against your quiet

relding together proofs and write and eath against oath, till my a man

up, distracted with wild affright, and off in haste to the

hough such a champion as this ye had found, to purge your of from sorrow and shame,

ord him false, when to reap, last year, the fruit of his novel

failing to see in their own true light, ye caused to fade and

t with many a deep libation, invoking Bacchus, he awears

ver a man, since the world began, has witnessed a eleverer acity.

the skame that ye lacked the w.t its infinite merit at first to

he the less with the wise and skilled the bard his accustomed lise will get;
when he had distanced all his focs, his noble play was at upost."

Wasps,' from which this version is taken, is the part of the 'Clouds,' and was brought out ten months at the Lenges of 422 n.c. In the 'Clouds' a father 3, or rather perverts, his son, with disastrous consects in the 'Wasps' a son reforms his father, but the mention effected is not a happy one. If the vice of some men was extravagance and a love of the turk, the weak many of the citizens, especially the older men, was a acting as jurymen. 'The Athenians chirp all their in the courts,' says Euclpides in the 'Birds,' In the in Strepsiades is shown Athens on the map, but refuses live his instructor, because he does not see the dicasts. Lucian represents Menippus as looking down from on and surveying the various pursuits of men. The marbarians are fighting, the Egyptians ploughing, the

Lucian represents Menippus as looking down from on and surveying the various pursuits of men. The in barbarians are fighting, the Egyptians ploughing, the mass trafficking, the Spartans undergoing corporal distribe Athenians are sitting in the jury-box. An English-puld, we imagine, have been seen reading a newspaper thousand jurymen, about one-fourth of the whole number tens, were drawn by lot every year to form the panel thich ten juries, numbering about five hundred each, anually struck to try suits, criminal and civil, at Athens.

2 A 2

These jurymen received the pay of three obols, about sixpute; per day, a sum not sufficient to tempt a busy man from a shop or farm, but an object to an old and needy man who was past his work, and to whom a penny was still a penny. Its attendance was evidently voluntary. The spectacle then visitally presented at Athens, of large bodies of the older an needler citizens, each furnished with his dicastic badge and staff, trooping down to the law courts. These bage juries were judges of law as well as of fact, and it does not need Mr. Rogest eliquent reasoning to convince us, that 'it would be different to devise a judicial system less adapted for the due administration of justice.' Nor, we may add, did Swift in his 'Travels of Gulliver' ever invent a more caustic satire on human legislator, than is to be found in this institution of the Athenian circusries, whereby nearly five hundred men or more, chines & random, without previous legal training, without a judge u guide them as to the law, pronounced their verdict on mater of life and death. In the 'Waspa' young Buelycleon tries to cure his father, old Philocleon, of his mania for sitting in we court. It had become a disease with him, as, indeed, with the whole State (va. 651: νόσον άρχαιαν έν τη πόλει έντετοπίσ). The old man wants always to be first in the court, such the cock has been bribed to wake him too late; for fear to should not have a pebble to vote with in the court-house, keep n 'whole shore' at his house; has his thumb-nail cloggest mit wax, owing to his so often drawing the long line of condense tion on his voting tablet; and his notion of happiness is the possession of a private Court-house, just as a youth might logfor a private bilitard-table. It is by catching at the last ite that Belelycleon effects his father's cure; for, after trying varies means to bring him to a rational frame of mind, he shats he up at home, and by-and-by persuades him to try Labes (Seart) the dog, at home, for having caten a piece of Sicilian choose, a a consolation for not being allowed to go down to the cours & try Luches on Cleon's accusation for peculation in Sicily experiment is perfectly successful; the old man unwittings acquits the cur, and faints with grief at having for the Low time in his life given a vote for mercy; but the devil as earscised, and the old man consents to give up going to the Helica

[&]quot;The pay was introduced by Perioles, and, according to brote the desired themselves of this Mr Bogers observes that 'Grote's interpretate and Armonically the standard of the Mr Bogers observes that 'Grote's interpretate and the standard of the Armonical Control of the Armonical Control of the Armonical Control of Julymon dates from the commencement of the pay.

a misoked-for result appears; for, at a banquet given by his malooked-for result appears; for, at a banquet given by his m to his changed father, the latter behaves with more than be heence of youth, becomes drunk, grossly insults the other wests, carries off the flute-girl from the dining-room, challenges the world to dance; and the play ends in utter widness, as a tripsy old fool actually does compete in a jig with the sons the tragedian Carcinus.

We have in this play, as in the 'Clouds' and 'Peace,' the cert advantage of the companionship of Mr. Rogers, whose dames must be welcomed alike by the scholar, the antiquary, of the English reader. His translation is a wonderful cess, and catches the Aristophanic tone exactly; in fact, we link that neither Mitchell, Walsh, nor Frere, comes near him,

ag accuracy and spirit both into account.

Mr. Rogers has made a good point in noticing the incon-

are willing to accept the cause he assigns for it.

The play is, indeed, a corrons mixture. It contains some of anoblest and most serious writing in Aristophanes; it is attained by the grossest scurrility. Mr Rogers has very mubly attributed this discrepancy to the failure of the poet's empt to purify comedy in the 'Clouds.' That play was educally ten months before the 'Wasps.' It is natural to spose that the 'Wasps' was, at the moment Aristophanes extend the shock of unlooked-for defeat, far advanced today completion. Aristophanes saw, with bitter vexation, at he was easting his pearls before swine, and that, if he sed to win the voices of the Athenian people again, he must have to the broad farce of the 'Achardians.' Accordingly, introduced into the nearly-completed 'Wasps' as much of algar element as he could, thereby creating the incongruity. Rogers has noticed, and, in fact, leaving us to wonder at is the initial to be drawn from the catastrophe, and indusing certain discrepancies, which Mr. Rogers has likewise in the first to point out.

As Mr. Rogers considers the Epirrhema the 'noblest and at glowing enlogy that ever flowed from the lips of a nolian,' we will conclude by giving it in his own version, rely premising that, while we fully concur in his opinion this is one of the best of the plays of Aristophanes, his ise of this particular passage seems to us somewhat hyperical: the simultude of the wasp falling below the dignity

the men of Marathon.

* Do you wonder, O speciators, thus to see me spliced and bracel, Like a wasp in form and figure, tapering inwards at the wast? Why I am so, what's the meaning of this sharp and pointed stag. Easily I now will teach you, though you "know not anything" We on whom this storm-appendage, this portentous tail, is found Are the genuine old Autorhthons, native children of the ground, We the only true-born Attien, of the staunch horose breed, Many a time have fought for Athens, guarding her in hours of need When with smoke and fire and rapine forth the fierce Barbarian came, Eager to destroy our wasps'-nests, smothering all the town in fisher, Out at once we rushed to meet him: on with shield and spear we went, Fought the memorable battle, primed with fiery hardiment; Man to man we stood, and, grimly, gnawed for rage our under lips. Hal. I their arrows hail so densely, all the san is in eclipse! Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the full of eventude As we closed, an owl flow o'er us, and the Gone were in our add Stung in jaw, and cheek, and eyebrow, fearfully they took to Luk, We behind them, we harpooning at their slops with all our migh, So that in barbarian countries, even now the people call Attie wasps the best and bravest, yea, the manifest trabe of all

When the simile of the insect is dropped, we have, we next perhaps the four finest verses in Aristophanes; they are ful a

inspirution from Herodotus.*

We must regretfully pass by THE PRACE, 421 B.C., which may be called a leading article in favour of the Peace of Nicis with its hearty humour, its beautiful rural descriptions, and me genuine Pan-Hellenic feeling. Mr. Rogers's delightful education with its particularly able preface, was published too long at (1866) to require any laudation from us now, and we merely quote a singularly felicitous question of M. Familiated by Mr. Rogers: 'Je demande s'il y a rien de plus gricom que les scènes ravissantes de la Paix, d'ou s'exhale je neurique parfum d'idylle antique;' and we give the capette answer, 'No.' And we will cite Mr. Hogers's rendering of the poet's yearning after liellous concord, a passage which always struck us as of solemn me pathetic earnestoess: the poet is addressing Peace herself:

'And solder and glue
The Hellenes anew,
With the old-fashioned true

Var. 1083-1086. στὰς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἐκδρ' ἐκό' ἀργῆς τὴν χελύνην ἀκδιώ.
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἢν ἔδεῦν τὸν οἰρωνε.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀποωσάμεσος ἐυν θεοῦς πρὸς ἐσπερικ γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχοσθα, κὸν στράτω διέπτωλ μικό

Elixir of love, and attemper our mind With thoughts of each other more genial and kind."

There is a gap of seven years between the appearance of the "Peace" and the next extant comedy, the 'Birds' (414). This purseems to us the most over-rated of the plays of Aristophanes. equiled as a drama, the plot is frivolous; looked on as a sure, its aim is vague and intangible, and scarcely two critics er agreed as to its purpose. We are not surprised to read ut it failed in gaining the first prize, being beaten by the Receilers' of Amipaias. Still, it must have had great pains but wed upon it; as much perhaps as even the 'Cloude' or frogs. Considered as a spectacle, it was probably the most regions of all the plays, but we can scarcely regard it as more than a brilliant pantomime. It is true it has very exquisite them odes; and the invocation of the nightingale has been judy celebrated; but poetical beauty is not the criterion of excellence in a comic poet. The play was composed at a time superalleled excitement, when Athens was in the fever heat of preparation for the Sicilian expedition, when the name of Mediades its chief author was in every mouth, when groups from men might be seen sketching maps of Sicily in the and of the palæstra, and castles in the air were being built by be public respecting the conquest of Sicily, the conquest of Carthage, the blockade of Peloponnesus, and supreme dominion over the whole Hellenic race. In the midst of this excitement refel the chilling shock of the mutilation of the Hermer in May iii: then followed the accusation of Alcibiades, and the postprement of his trial until he should return from Sicily. The expolition actually sailed in July 415, and the 'Birds' was produced ight months afterwards, at the great Dionysia, in March 414. the interval between the sailing of the fleet and the prothe has often been compared to that caused in England by be to-called Popish Plot. Citizens of the highest character war arrested and thrown into prison on the evidence of bireling miscreants. Slaves were put to the torture, and no man seemed sale. Rumours of the revival of the tyranny of Pisistratide were rife. Alcihiades himself was summoned ack to stand his trial, and the Salaminia would probably have Petumed, announcing his escape, just about the time the ' Birds' was represented. It is important to remember these facts and

* Va. 336, augy.

mitor d' have role "Kadrone ream de apais qualau aray, and engrowing red apparaps advance rol coils. dates, for the whole cast of the play was conditioned by them, in our opinion. For, without agreeing with Suvern in all the minuter details of his well-known theory, we hold the Alcabiades was undoubtedly in the mind of Aristophanes when he drew the character of Pastheterus, and that the foundates of the bird-city was the Sicilian expedition. And we now be quite sure there were some among the intelligent of the authorse for whom the allegory had a voice. We see from the Pear, that the nudience was ready to suspect an allegory, and a attempt to solve its meaning; an Ionian spectator there says vs. 48: ~

δοκίω μέν ες Κλέωνα τοῦτ' υλνίττεται ώς κείνος άνοιδέως τὴν σπατέλην ἐπύ εν.

We can well Imagine a spectator saying, as he left the theatre, 'Our poet has been hinting at the Sicilian expedicat to-day: we are clearly the birds, and Pistheterus is Alcibiates. but the bald-head has been careful to keep his opinion as to the wisdom of the great venture to himself.' For we do ba believe, with Silvern, that the Birds' was written to disturb or discourage the Athenians in the matter of the Sicilian of pedition. Aristophanes would not have uttered words of deomen at the setting out of the most splendid ormament ever seri forth by Athens. On the other hand, he did not advocate the policy of Alcibiades, of whom he did not know what to their This position of uncertainty, we think, explains much of the obscurity in which the 'Birds' is wrapped. In the 'Frees' the State yearns for, yet abhors, Alcihiades: ποθεί μεν έχθο Μ δε βουλεται δ' έχειν. And though Alcibiades had not yet been driven into treason, there was much distrust of him abroad Aristophanes Limself had assailed him as a dissolute throgs eloquent youth, in more than one of his early plays. But he iss since done the State some service; bls bravery at Delium 2nd been conspicuous, and he had driven Athens wild with de att by his chariot victories at the Olympic festival soon after the peace of Nicias. It might well seem to Aristophanes that Accibindes might after all be the man destined to superside be low-born demagogues, and bring back the days of Peri, is a not of Themistocles. But he had not altogether laid asset 15 mistrust of the man, and in this attitude of doubt he west the 'Birds' We can scarcely conceive any clever Ataram not imagining that Pisthetierus might be Alcibiades, the min whose name was on every one's lips at that moment. Ha ver name would indicate Alcibindes, for, whether we read Poststerus, Peitheturus, or Peintarus, of course the name means be persuader of his friends; and the Sicilian expedition was the respli

mult of the carnest persuasion of Alcibiades. Nicias, on the other hand, was strongly averse to the expedition. His dilatory and contious policy is consured by Euclpides (ovôè μελλονικιάν, t. 60). P sthetærus is also a man of high-handed insolence 18, 1046, 1259); the youth of Alcibiades was notorious for its assence. To throw the audience off the scent by describing Is between so pointedly as an old man, was easy, and shows how carril Aristophanes was that his ruddle should not be too easily we. We are told by Plutarch that smid the universal acclaim with which the Sicilian adventure was hailed, there were two re-*** Aable dissenters: Meton, the astronomer, and Socrates. In he play Meton receives a thrashing from Pietheturns. True, Act in the play is not an opponent of the foundation of the had city: but this, like the old age of Pistheterus, may be a hand. Socrates is ridiculed by the Chorus, and so is another moment of Alcibiades, the cowardly Pisander. Alcibiades u a man of notorious selfishness, ever ποριμός αύτω τη πόλει inexauce, and the aggrandment of the author of the a nan expedition, as the probable result of it, seems pointed by the conclusion of the play, when Basilia, sovereignty, is added to Pisthetierus. indeed, when the line (vs. 1708) is Meter -

δέχεσθε τον τύραννον άλβιας δόμοις-

the poet is treading on dangerous ground, and many excited before must have thought of the 'lion's whelp.' There was oming in the Sicilian expedition originally, to render it an aproper subject for a comic poet to treat in the most open amor. Aristophanes, we imagine, had chosen it, and had haded an allegory on it, when the Athenians were in high pints and good humour concerning it, but, after the mutilepints and good humour concerning it, but, after the mutilepints and good humour concerning it, but, after the mutilepints and steel Hermo, the subject became at once one of those mous matters which comic poets always avoided, and Arisphanes felt compelled by the state of tension, suspense, and him of public feeling, to shroud and alter his original design, and, however, still peeps through the disguise in which he is wrapped it.

It is east lieuned, who takes a different view of the scope of the play, to it that A was intended as an anti-set to the religious furtherm provident litters at the time nations that under the general flushing of the motion with a security. That out probability is the peak of rank from rendering to the first of the and cross that, and to whose for an armount and the and the time of the analysis of the analysis of the analysis of the analysis with the first that the first three transported provides a crue Alexander, would have remarked the magnetism of one and the analysis of the anal

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The Birds in one particular resembles the 'Clouds;' it very free from coarseness. In fact Dr. Holden is obliged omit fower lines than in any other play; even in his edition play numbers 1683 lines. Those who hold the Birds to the best of the plays—we do not—will doubtless find in absence of scurrility the chief cause of its failure to win first prize, and no doubt it may have again contributed to defeat of our poet. Aristophanes would seem to have tal the lesson to heart again; and in the 'LYSISTRATA,' which con next in order of time, he allowed the Athenians to wallow mire. The 'Lysistrata,' or 'The Strike of the Wives,' ac three years after the 'Birds,' was the third play written to The Athenian and Spartan women determin vocate peace. under the leadership of Lysistrata, to attempt to put an endthe war by denying their lords their rights until they coused make peace, and they succeed. The play must have outdone conrect of Cratinus: but the moral, if any will care to gat a moral from such a swamp, is not unwholesome. As Collins truly says: the longing for that domestic happen which has been interrupted by twenty years of incessant was a far more wholesome sentiment in its nature and effects, t very much of modern sentiment which passes under a names. We hear the old expressions of despair of the unsa ochlocracy. Who ever can persuade the fickle mob of Ath not to play the fool?' asks Lampito. 'They had got the so street ballad, so what hope of peace was there? Aristopha was, perhaps, no great politician; his positive schemes vague and rudimentary. But in this play he gives us a sag tion, a very sketchy one, it is true, of confederation between Athens and her colonies, an idea which never seems to be been worked out by Greek statesmen as it deserved. Lyant compares the outlying colonies to the separate pieces of (катиуната) which lie around a spinster as she spins. The are all to be collected into one ball with the main wool, out of the whole a mantle for the demns is to be we Colonial conglomeration—we use the word advisedly, for contains Lysistrata's metaphor will soon be the question the day with ourselves; in fact, it is even now the all-import question for Imperial Englishmen.

We must harry past the 'Thesmophoriazes.e' (B.c. 4) which is by far the most diverting of all the plays of Aristophas it is one of the best constructed. The play reads as it is

Lys. 178. Οδχ, δε τόδας κ' έχωνες ταὶ τρόφεις Καὶ τῶργόρων τό Μοτονν
 τῷ σιψ.

will written currente calanto from beginning to end, and the intrest of the resider never flags for a minute. The burlesques of Agathon and Euripides are supremely ridiculous, and Muesilocoms tells lies before the women with all the effrontery of Factoff: in fact, the play is fully equal to the best parts of Henry the Fourth. Who has not laughed over the soft poet Assibon, the 'nesthete' of the day, who dressed himself like a man when he wished to write tender poetry; over Mnesi-binas's speech before the assembled ladies in behalf of Euripides, ther libeller, whose cause he damages by pleading justification,

The 'FROSS' is of all the plays the one which the student of accent literature could least spare; and we should not greatly carrel with the judgment which gave it the first place, although recurselves should certainly crown the 'Clouds.' In the 'Fregs,' damylus and Euripides, the old and the modern, the grand and the homely, are brought face to face in Hodes. The idea the play seems to have been plugiarized from the Demi of In that play Myronides goes down to Hades in arch of a good statesman; in the 'Frogs,' Bacchus himself escends to bring up Euripides. In Hades a mock trial of the espective merits of the poetry of Alsehylus and Europides is bed, Bacchus acting as judge. Alschylus is declared successful and taken to the Upper World by Bacchus, who replies the passionate adjurations of Euripides with a parody of his wn unfortunate verse from the 'Hippolytus': 'my tongue hath worm, but-I choose Æschylus."

It must strike the reader of the 'Frogs' as strange, that sophocles was not made a competitor for the throne with Aispreks and Enripides. The question is in fact twice asked in or play. Bacchus accounts for it by saying that Sophocles was casy-tempered to think of escaping from Hades; later on, Pacus explains the matter by saying that Sophocles admitted escperior claims of Æschvlus to the tragic throne; neither of less is, we think, the true answer. The real reason is, we should pess, that Sophocies was still alive when Aristophanes began write the 'Frogs'; probably he was alive when the play was abstantially completed. We cannot suppose that so elaborate a by as the 'Frogs' took less than six or eight months in comsition, perhaps more. We have seen that Aristophanes states the 'Acharmans' that he had at least planned the 'Knights,' hich play did not appear until twelve months afterwards; ande have recognized the good reason Mr. Rogers has for suppong the 'Wasps' to have been on the stocks, when the 'Clouds'

was defeated ten months before. We therefore conclude, the Aristophanes began to write the 'Frogs' immediately after the death of Laripides, and that Sophocles died when the play so so far completed that it was too late to give any important part in it to that poet, and that the references to Sophical as dead, which we find in the play, were inserted only but time to teach the actors. If Euripides died, as Clinton my in the latter half of 406; if Sophocles died in the beginning of 405; if the 'Frogs' was acted at the Lenwa, in I chimit 405; this theory seems absolutely necessary, and it can easily b reconciled to the references made in the play itself to Sophar's What are the references 9 They are only three in number . Wa don't you bring up SOPHOCLES instead?' asks Hercules of Bacchus. 'How came it that SOPHOCLES did not clum to throne?' asks Xanthias. 'Give my seat to SOPHOCLES to keep says Alschylus, as he takes his leave. All these passages mat have been easily inserted to rectify the omission, which as otherwise have appeared glaring, of any part being assigned the author of 'Œdipus.' Had Sophocles been dead *** Aristophanes first conceived the idea of the play, a much lage share would have been assigned to him in it. As it is, a lost

τι δ; ούν Ίσφιον ζή ΑΝΟ τουτο ησο τοι από μεσορ δτ' εστί λυτούν άγουών ε και τουτ' δια ου γάρ σαφ οίδ' ούδ αυτι τοῦδ' δπαι έχαι. 617 ου Σοφοκλεο, προτεριο δετ' Κός πόδου μελλει ἀκάγεω. επερ γ' δετίθε δεί π έχεις: ΔΙΟ οξι τρίν γ' δε Γιφων' Απολοβων αυτί ε μοκον άνει Σοφοκλέσως δτι τουν καδωνίσω

The latter four large with the three which follow them, for an est a continuous series. And as the orige of draw fater that set of of the distance is the question was to not to phodes with alive the particle was to make to much sould have the theory of the property of t

impressi

[•] The verses 72 70 seem against this view at first a got, but are each street in its favour, when examined. Burehar complains of me poets, that were tad, closes done. To which Here the region;

resion is apt to be created by the 'Frogs,' namely, that occss tild not fill so large a space in the minds of the mians as Alsehylus or Euripides. But, although we should liked to have learned the judgment of Bacchus on Soles, and to have been told what were considered by the mians his volnorable points, it is difficult to imagine what that exquisite poet, the effect of whose poetry is more felt than described, could have taken in a triangular. The antagonism between Alsehylus and Euripides is bet and definite; the one lofty, grand, mysterious; the smooth, unaffected, homely: the one like a mountain, summit is wrapped in mist; the other like a varied paign landscape, over which sun and shadow flit by turns, blus endeavoured to raise his diction to the height on which and and heroes moved; Euripidea's style appeared to ophanes to degrade these majestic conceptions to the of every-day life. This was in truth one of the greatest of Euripidea. In bringing tragedy, as Mr. Browning

Down to the level of our common life,
Down to the heating of our common heart,

de tragedy the heritage of the world. It was the crowning ke of Aristophanes, to suppose that tragedy could be ained at the Æschylean level. There never has been econd Æschylus in literature, never can be; the weird indings of horror with which he has invested crime never been matched. 'Macbeth,' perhaps, recals the memon' more than does any other creation of man. On ther hand, no one would use the word 'inimitable' in ag Euripides: perhaps Menander, 'though a comic, resembled him in his moral passages more than any poet. The revolution Euripides created in tragedy may pa find its nearest parallel in the change effected in lyric by Wordsworth. If any one will compare the parody of awarth's homely style in the 'Rejected Addresset' with apremely ridiculous burlesque of Euripides's choral odes to Frogs,' perhaps the very most amusing thing in all phanes, he will see what we mean. As to the comvergeratness of Æschylus and Euripides, there ought, we to be no question: the creator of Prometheus and

a a currous circumstance, that critics are at variance respecting a long tool is fragment of lamber trimeters, theorems a few years are by I among the E-pythan pappin, as to whether it should be attributed bides of Metander.

Cassandra is above the delineator of Medea and Hippeletus That Aristophanes was unjust to Euripides, and wiltelly pre ferred to judge him by his weakest points, rather than by the genuine tragic power and sweet domestic pathos, is true. Be Alsohylus too was a master of the pathetic: the sacrifice of liphigenia, the lament of Cassandra, the prayers of the children of Agamemnon, are as touching as anything it Euripides; while, in drawing the awful and sublime, Asdalus moves in a region of his own. Like Bacchus, we delight in Alschylus; but that does not prevent our recognize the great beauties of Euripides, who has always had an in mense following. Porson preferred him to Sophocles. Matter says he is inferior to Shaksneare alone in those touches all says he is inferior to Shakspeare alone in those touches while go at once to the heart. Just now he is in great farou Mr. Browning, who is qualified by circumstances to apprecial the excellence of Euripides as well as, or better than, any mit before him, has done much to correct the low estimate a Euripides entertained a generation ago in England. In he Apology of Aristophanes' he gives us some very fine port where he describes the effect produced on Aristophanes by the announcement of the death of this poet by the aged Sophode who has entered the room where Aristophanes and his action are being entertained on the night of the representation of the *Thesmophoriazuse, wherein Euripides had been so laughate 4 monkeyed.' Sophocles directs that in consequence his or chorns, at the representation of his next tragedy, shall appearing are and dressed in black. Then for the first to Aristophanes became, he says, sensible of the merits of the control of th tragedian whom he had been traducing all his life.

Death's ray it line had closed a life's account,
And out off, left unalterably clear
The summed-up value of Etripides.
Wall, it might be the Thasian! Certainly
There many suggestive music in my cars:
And through—what sophists style—the wall of sense
My eyes pierced, death seemed life and life seemed death,
Envisaged that way, now, which I, before
Conceived was just a moon-strack mood.* Quite plain
There re-insisted,—ay, each prim, stiff phrase
Of each old play, my still-new laughing-stock,
Had meaning, well worth poet's pains to state.
Should him prove half true life's term—death the rest.*

[&]quot;Referring to the line of Europides vie 8 offer a vi fig. are fer arrived which tristop inner indies Ricolan absorbly continue with the wiell of the first of the wiell of the first of the with Europides; it is no puraded to Christians.

This

This certainly is excellent writing, and one of the heat passages in the poem; but the effect of the fine lines in which the call of Sophocles is described is not inferior:—

'Then the grey brow sank low, and Sophocles Resuntled him, sweeping decreard; mutely passed 'Twirt rows as mute, to mingle possibly With certain gods who convoy age to port, And night resumed him.'

finlaustion often takes Aristophanes to task for his grossness. and there is no gain saying her arguments, or deprecating the codemnation she pronounces. In mitigation it might be urged, hat those censures should be rather directed towards the abenian democracy, than towards the poet who had tried to reprove the public taste in the 'Clouds' and 'Birds,' with that result we have seen. For the people no excuse can be Verecunded is an essential quality of civilized man; so usage justifies, no rule of art permits, impurity of writing, wough all the realists that ever existed, from Diogenes to Wet Whitman, proclaim the contrary. No matter under what ragious clock indecency shelters itself, the conscience of a diffixed community ought to tell it that it is not to be perented, and we believe that the Athenians were behind the wild in the public countenance they extended to courseness on the stage. The respectable Romans were ashamed to be ten at the Mimes. Among the most licentious of the Roman pets were Catulius, Ovid, Martial; they all apologize for their centious writing, showing that they knew it needed apology, But the atter of amelessness of the Athenians generally, testifies the thoroughly injected manners of the democracy. Still, Then we remember what much of our poetry is like, what much of our fiction is like, what nort of reading our daily Press often supplies our families with; when we reflect that the eligion of the Athenians permitted, while every letter of ours bibids, licentious writing, we cannot dore to throw a stone Aristophanes. It is sometimes noticed as strange that Aristophanes, while so unspeakably gross, should venture to ceture Euripides on the improper tendencies of his plays. The fragedy represented the pulpit of Athens. Tragedy was the brognized teacher of morality. It seemed to Aristophanes to reacher was an immoral myth. What harm do my Phadras hd Sthenobens do?' asks Euripides. 'Were not the stories bout these women true?' Aschylas replies with eurnestness, bd lays down a maxim which the disciples of realism would

do well to get by heart. 'The stories were true, certainly But the business of the poet is to keep evil out of sight, not opublish it or represent it.' Realism is not art, much less it course realism high art.

We should have something more to say of Mr. Brownings poem, but that we fancy the difference between us would be merely one of words, an i, gladly noting the fact that Balauston holds Aristophanes to be 'three parts divine,' we pass on

Thirteen years after the Peloponnesian war, we find Austophanes returning to the subject he had found so successal a gaining the plaudits of the Athenians. The * Ecclesiaze** or 'Laules in Parliament,' which appeared about 392 B.c., was produced after the democracy had been restored in its work leatures. The demagogue Agyrrhius had outdoor his preccessors, and the people were paid for attendance in the forsess, not only for sitting in the Helica. The women, in despar the condition of public affairs, disguise themselves as wa, succeed in occupying the Pnyx, and carry a resolution that to management of the city is to be committed to the fair ex-With bitter satire on the Radicals it is added that the resummen was carried, because it was the only thing which had not been tried at Athens. A community of property is ordered, and m only of property, but of wives and sweethearta The diverting consequences of this latter decree occupy a large portion ? the conclusion of the play, in which the interests of the of and ugly are provided for. The play shows no falling of a humour, although it is one of the coarsest of the eleven. We may notice that the chief argument, by which Praisest persuades her husband to submit to the new regime, is the women are naturally conservative, and not likely to allow up dangerous revolutionary ideas to make head. Far from least varium of mutabile semper, they are represented as almost standing on the old paths:

They keep the Thesmophoris as of old:
They cook their paneative as they cooked of old.
They work their husbands' ruin as of old:
They carry on firstations as of old.
They treat the instance to aweotimeats as of old:
They like a glass of strong wine, as of old.

This promised conservation is in startling contrast with the programme actually adopted by the ladies when in possession of supreme power. There can be no doubt that the wall communism of Pluto's Republic, then on the eve of publicable and probably before this the subject of common talk, is rid and it these arrangements, and it has even been suggested that

Plass

imself is satirized under the name of Aristyllus.* The remarkable for its witty repartee, and, we think, recals

an any other the manner of Moliere.

PLUTUS' is unique among the plays of Aristophanes, ot a political or literary satire, but a satire on humanity. sect is the unjust distribution of wealth. The cause of order in the world is the blindness of the wealth-god, and in the play he is represented as recovering his Then matters are righted: the god no longer bestows ours at random, but gives riches to those only who them. Many evil trades are thus rulned: the gain of ormer ceases: Lady Bellaston's gold is powerless. Exthe play is a sad one: the scanty chorus reflects the fortunes of the State; and the play belongs to the old the poet, that is, the second edition does, which is the possess, brought out 388 n.c. The two pieces, the and the 'Æolosicon,' which he wrote subsequently, of brought out by himself, but by his son Araros. We rely be mistaken in supposing a reference to his own strength, and to that son, in the pathetic lines in which remylus introduces the action of the play :-

· Seeing my sad life's quiver nearly shot, I went to put a question to the god About my only son . I asked the oracle If it were well for him to change his nature, Turn rogue, dishonest, everything that's bad; For such, said I, such prosper in the world."

plus had the hitterness of the Psalmist in his heart. pacle bids him stop the first man he meets, and bring one with him. The first man he meets is a blind a fact Plutus, and Chremylus and his slave Carlo with ifficulty persuade him to accompany them to their home. ylus, being in possession of Plutus himself, of course s suddenly wealthy, and Blepsidemus, a neighbour, the cing-both-ways of the play, as he is well styled by dlins, comes to enquire the reason. He can only imagine se for Chremylus's sudden riches. *Look here, friend, r. Pickwick, 'd'ye think we stole this norse?' 'I'm did, said the rustic: and with similar charity Blepsiattributes his friend's prosperity to embezzlement. He bously indignant, but offers to 'square' the matter for a

^{640.} It would be a terrible thing, mys Pranagom to Blepyrus, forces Aparrathon galance of of many class. Plato was the son of and a sold to have been originally called Arastocles before recurring the which has stuck to him.

trifle. This is a capital scene. On learning that his friend a actually in possession of the god of riches, he assents to the suggestion of Chremylus that it is advisable to try and restore him to sight, and with that object Plutus is made to pass night in the temple of Æsculapius. A most comic accounts given by Cario of the night spent in the temple of the healing god, where many patients were gathered waiting to be careful their ailments; it is very like Lucian in its sarcastic profable. An acolyte orders all lights to be extinguished, but Carodiscerns the priest enter and appropriate all the offering to the god. 'Convey, the wise it call,' but Cario had a bear phrase. The priest 'consecrated' (Triffer) the good things atto a wallet he carried. Cario himself had his eye on a distribution take it. Chremylus's wife, to whom Cario is narrating to adventure, exclaims: 'Misemble man, were you not alrud to take it. Creek, I was, lest he should seize the parast before me,' says Cario. The old lady to whom the putting belongs hears the noise, and puts out her hand to save a Cario utters a load hiss, and lays hold of her hand with he teeth, and she, thinking he is the secred serpent, burner by head under a coverlet in terror.

Although the 'Plutus,' with its reduced chorus, must have appeared a sorry specticle to the Athenians compared with a glittering 'Birds,' and many other plays, its quiet satire has always made it a favourite with English renders. It is interesting to know that Pielding translated it into English permatthough he did not do it well. Next to the passages we have mentioned, the clever and logical defence which Poverty make for herself is far the best. Without poverty there would as her tradesmen, no slaves: consequently there would be neitherned luxuries nor the necessaries of life. She boasts truly this so produces better men than riches do. There is much fine with here: and we do not know that the bitterness of povertr has ever been more sharply stated than in the words of Chremish, when, after speaking of the poor man's starving children is says, the very guats and mosquitors, as they wake him here sleep by buzzing round his head, say to him, 'you will be hungry, but—get up.' † There is a good deal in the play that

† Va. 533. Intro poura, cal opasouras reinfores and incoloru.

^{*} Somebow this scene it calls to our minds the behaviour of the effect Mr. W. S. at the Shepherd's two-meeting. The Shepherd having given the latins the last of prace, the Weller began to think whether he had not better began, sometimes there was a profity woman next him. How well this agrees with total rays sould at workful before you applyed sould at workful before you applyed to the aximp o set by the round gentleman is the same in both cases.

hinds one of 'Timen of Athens.' 'What a post are friends,' Chremylus, 'that start up, when one has a stroke of luck! g crawd around, nudging one, and rubbing one's shins." becas man, who evidently had been educated on the teachof some Athenian Miss Edgeworth, relates how he had it his means helping his friends in distress, thinking it was kest pelicy, but when his own hour of need came, they ed aside and had no eyes to see him.

I hough no complete edition of Aristophanes has ever produced by an Englishman,-Dr. Holden's expurgated on coming nearest to one,-no ancient author has been a her favourate with English scholars, and many of our most ses critics have worked hard at the restoration of his text. jerto Cambridge has been far ahead of Oxford in her services ne poet, for against the great names of Bentley, Dawes, on, Dobree, the older University could set only those of white and Elmsley. The labours of Mr. Rogers, and more h. Mr. Blaydes, have done much to equalize the ac plays have appeared except the 'Platus,' which we hope sleome in the course of a year or less; when completed, the on will emphatically be a great critical work, well worthy of author and editor. The work is not uniform; it has grown big city, and is great without regularity. The Acharwas produced to long ago as 1845, and soon after that Mr. Blaydes was drawn away to labour on Sophocles, and as edited the whole of that author, with what results to the recent editors confess. But Aristophines has been the ar of Mr. Blaydes's life; and we heartily congratulate him oproaching the completion of his great task.

injectural emendation is the sport of the middle-aged bar It is not without a quiet excitement of its own, and are no game-laws, no close season. The delight with h Mr Blaydes makes a convincing emendation, must be like of the sportsman who brings down an outlying pheasant e out partridge-shooting early in October. There are, alas! of corners now in emendation. The ground has been gone tras often by good men. Even Bentley complained that tolerably easy emendations had mostly been autic pared. on the other hand, if the easy emendations have been made, of the larger and more difficult remain to be achieved; to solve one riddle, which has puzzled Bentley and Porson, orth making five hundred easy corrections. The game may parce, but the birds are bigger. Indeed the emendations of 2 B 2 the

the older critics were important rather from their number that their quality. Mr. Blavdes's emendations, when successia, at they often are, are of the highest class. What has been due for the text of Aristophanes by the older scholars, may be readily seen by glancing at the index to the edition of W. Dindorl, where Bentley is credited with 210 restoration; Dawes with 32; Porson with 62; Dobree with 53; is as whitt with 10; and Elmsley with 113; of foreigners, 141 said in Brunck's name, 52 in Hermann's, and 261 in Dindocf's over but of the last, this great scholar, whose death last summer ve deplore, was not the most impartial judge. Bentley's excepttions were contained partly in his letters to Kuster, partly petal down on his edition, that by Froben, now in the British Muset :. whence they were published in the 'Classical Journal' and ib Museum Criticum,' We are told that Porson shed transf delight, when it was found, on the discovery of these latter asjectures, that his own emendations had in many instances beanticipated by Bentley; and it is satisfactory to know " many of them were confirmed by the discovery, or rather red; covery, of the Ravenna MS. in 1794 by Invernizius. The famous MS., supposed to have been used by Autonio France in the preparation of the third Juntine edition of 1525,7 is by a the best of Aristophanic MSS., and its re-discovery caused got interest in the classical world, which is not surprising, for the third Richard then reigned supreme. Person had reviews Branck's 'Aristophanes' in 'Maty's Review' in 1783 k pleasant to read Brunck's quaint apology for the deficiences. his work, that they were caused owing to the interruption his little son playing about his study, 'quo animum meum to magia advertit oblectatque, an excuse which makes as sympathwith the genial though somewhat cranky old scholar. Pour himself contemplated an edition of Aristophanes, but des-cut short his brilliant career at the age of forty-eight, in E.msley's 'Acharmans' (1809) did great service to Arms phasic criticism; something, too, was done by Barges 🖴 much by Dobree, who published Person's collations are too and edited the 'Plutus,' partly from Porson's MS, notes. Dieter

* Dawes, in his after to Trylor, says he had made 1500 enoughts trictor hands a circ. Many of these, as well as of those by Porces and Lympure found to have been anticipated by Bentley.

the Clark, in bonding the Revenue, observed faint pened and fest across the text of the "Theorem and arranged and "Lymptonia" the war into correspond with the pagender of the second James edition of the war into a limit from atternative detect, but derived that the Resemble was tarner of the pagender of the text of the pagender of the pagender of the text of the pagender of the p

however, himself died at the early age of forty-three in 1825. sad with his decease Aristophanic criticism came to a standstill a England: for Mitchell attempted very little towards restoring hetert. There was a long pause until 1845, when Mr. Blaydes politished the Acharnians: and in 1848 Dr. Holden carned be thanks of many readers by his expurgated recension, greatly begroved in subsequent editions. Among foreigners who have they worked at the text, the first place is of course due to Good; then come Bergk, Meineke, Fritzsche, Hirschig, Richter, lock, Von Velsen, and others too numerous to mention here,

We tegret that we are prevented by the length to which our ticle has grown from drawing attention to any of Mr. Blaydes's mirable cinemilations; but we desire to try and solve one or to textual enigmas where he does not seem quite satisfied with sown success: or, to continue our metaphor, we will occasion-Is take a shot at a bird Mr. Blaydes has missed, although contess we do not expect to 'wipe his eye' very often. sice that in vs. 1185 of the Acharnians, the disabled machus is represented as saying λειπω φασς γε τουμόν σύκετ e eye, a manifestly corrupt line. Neither γν nor τοιμόν was provided here by Aristophanes; γς indeed is omitted by Ravennas. We propose with some confidence helmo pilos OTPANION office sin' eya, coupling it to se in the pre-pas verse: the diction is tragic, though the metre is not: painton dois accurs, Soph. Antig 944.

Our only contribution to the criticism of the 'Knights' is to gest that in vs. 808, eld' ifee our opique, dypoixes, kata our ψηφοι έχετεύων, where Mr. Blaydes has pointed out that the ticle is not wanted, Tie should be replaced by TE. There is arriking parallel, Av. 225: heer yop the Spipile aprophes, μιος γρωμην, καινών έργων τ' έγχειρητής. Here a noun is upled to two preceding adjectives by 78: we wish to couple participle to two preceding adjectives by re: the verb is no in both cases; and, as if to clinch the parallel, one of the

vetives is do, wis in both cases.

With respect to the 'Wasps,' we fancy that in vs. 23,

The totologous inverses of the MSS, should be corrected εδόντε τοῦτο τοενύπιμον, not τοιόνο, with Elmsley. Verse 2 is defective: (ταί) την βύραν ιώθει πίεζε νῦν σφάδρα Εὐ Εδοικώς: here the best MSS, omit παί, and put nothing its place: they, however, give ΣΩ, for Swins, as the eaker at the beginning of the verse. Hence we may derive remedy, and a theory to account for the corruption. elycleon, whose father has just been trying to get out of the use by the chimney, now Lears him making a noise at the door inside, and excluims: â την θύραν ώθει—'11a' pust-to the door,' and this â came to be mistaken for the letter denoting Soslas, who is οίκετης A. Similarly, Thesm. 277, where Lar pides exclaims: 'Εκσπευδε ταχέως, ώς το τῆς ἐκκλησιας λημών το Θεσμοφερειφ φαίνεται: Ιατε ἔκσπευδε must be wras. Euripides suddenly sees the signal of the meeting displaye, and exclaims. â σπιώδε ταχέως. 'Ha! quick, quick!'

We are unable to anderstand 1409 seqq as they stand:

με Δε άλλ' έκουσον ήν τί σοι δοξω λόγεν * Λασις ποτ' Δυτεδιδοσκε και Σημοκέρς * έπειθ' ὁ Λάσος είνεν - έλέγος μοι μελει.

What fan is there in this? A line has, in our opinion, he can between the third and fourth verces, and that line was something of this sort: vinar b' expirar or recent Liponious, we then, when he was defeated, Lasus, like Hipportides in Hodotus, said 'I don't care': the line fell out, owing to be similarity of its termination to that of the preceding line. Ho common is the omission of whole lines in MSS, from this can is known to the youngest novice in the art of criticism. It will only notice one instance in point. Exchylus, Supp. 15 seqq, is written thus:

ΒΑ. τίς εδο δ Δίος πορτις εύχεται βούς ; ΑΟ. Επαφος άληθώς βυσαον Ιπώννμος. ΒΑ.

ΧΟ. Λιβόη, μεγίστης δευμα γης καρπουμάνης

Here not only the sense, but the broken stichomythis, fore the editor to mark a lacuna of one line, and as certainly is us lost line begun with Εποφος, or some case of Επαφος, a certainly did the lost line here end with some case of Στρος > In vs. 1023, we suggest σίχι προφήσαι φησίο for the, to is

In vs. 1023, we suggest uivi προφήσαί φησαι for the transmittelligible οὐκ ἐκτελεσαι φησαι: and in vs. 1340 to ur reading is, we think, οὐκ ἄπει αὐ καί αυ, εξ. Plut. ? Av. 435.

In the 16th verse of the Birds, for the absard ex role in the we fancy the true tending is ex του Τηρέως. The line are corrupted partly owing to τον Τηρέω en ling the previous and partly owing to σέκ του δραίου ending the 15th verse. In the 31st verse, seeqq, the MSS, give us:

rooms room, or the destrict Dang to be seen, there you are the destrict to be seen, there's to be seen, there's be seen by the room parked to the park to the parked to th

Cobet is naturally enough dissatisfied with the order of the words in the second of these lines, and writes old in the factor.

wher, and hold that oùe dorde is a mistake for ENaKthe foreigner, an interloper. Soo Eurip. Ion. 290: οὐε ἀστος Αλ΄ ἐτακτὸ, ἐξ ἄλλις χθονίς. In the passage before as οὖε τὰς may have been a gloss explaining ἐπακτος. In the fits rerse of the same play, alpe πλήκτρον, εἰ μάχει, the readility the MSS, μάχει, is quite right, though altered to μαχεί Reisig and Cobet, a conjecture approved even by Mr. Blaydes. Thus a nicety of Attic diction is lost: for the present is more formatic after ἀ: 'if you are for fighting.' So Ran. 197, the ἔτ, πλεί, σπευθέτω: and similarly the Latin idiom is ρ si quid agis,' not 'ages.'

At the 961st verse we recommend a transposition, reading

e at the end of 961, depay at the end of 962.

To the critic the 'Thesmophoriazusse' offers better sport than ay of the other plays. The Ravennas is more than usually rupt, and besides R. we have only two very inferior MSS, to us. In vs. 24 the MSS, give:

ΕΥ. Παλλ' δε μαθοις τοιαθτα παρ' όμεδ.
MN. Πὸς ὅν τῶν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῖτοιστε ἐξειροις ὅπως ἔτι προσμάθοιμε χαλὰς εἶναι τὰ σκελη.

resilochus, fatigued by the weary walk he is forced by ripides to bear bim company on, asks this question. It bears to us that show should certainly be corrected to ideas: estlochus does not ask now he may learn to become lame, the scholiast would have as suppose, in order that he may have to walk with Euripides. Any man knows how he become lame. Muesilochus hints that he is already sed by the long walk, and wants Euripides to teach him how may walk, move, iteat, with both his legs lame.

A little firther on, vs. 257:—

Κεκρυφωλία δεί και μέτρας.
 ΑΓ.
 κεφωλή περίθετας, ην έγω νύετωρ φορώ.

ipides is dressing Mussilochus as a woman, borrowing tous articles from the wardtobe of the soft poet Agathon. In there is no example of πεφαλή being used for a head of hair. There seems, however, to be authority for περιθετος to (se. κόμη) in this sense; see Frag. 221 of our poet. alm should most certainly be simply KAAH, which was red to πεφαλή through the influence of the syllable φαλ in hoperator immediately above it. We now obtain better sense: and me a turban, says Euripides to Agathon. 'Nay,' says athon, 'here's a handsome set of curls that I wear myself at night'—

night' καλός is thus regularly used in replies. Compare Eccl. 70 where, when Pranagora asks the women whether the have got the heards she had ordered them to procure, one lutreplies: Nή την Εκάτην καλόν γ' έγωγε τουτονί. Cf. Av. 1431 In vs. 294: δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, λόγων

In vs. 294: δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, λογω should, we fancy, be corrected to λιτῶν. The slave is forbissen to hear the prayers which follow. And, in 332, μοιχοτροπικ should surely be μοιχοτρόφους. Cf. Eccl. 225: μοιχους έχευς ἔνδον ὅσπερ καὶ πρό τοῦ.

In the 'Frogs' we notice an omission in the Ravenna MS. on which sufficient stress does not seem to have been laid. Europhe

is speaking, vs. 939:-

άλλ' ώς παρέληβοι την τέχνην παρά σοῦ [τὸ πρώτον] εθθες οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμοτων κοὶ ρημίτων επαχθών ἰσχνανα μέν πρώτιστον αὐτίρ καὶ τὸ βάρος άφείλον ἐπαλλίοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ τευτλίωσε λευκοῖς.

We enclose τὸ πρώτον in brackets, for it is omitted in R. though found in V, and all other MSS. In our opinion to the TOP was not in the archetype, but something else. For u we carefully translate the lines, we find ourselves embarrassed in the number of expressions meaning nearly the same thing." πρώτον: εύθύς: πρωτιστον. And we venture to guess that to word which was omitted by R., and wrongly supplied by other MSS., was barouroe. The moment I succeeded, on your cest. to your art, says Euripides. Æsenylus is said to have died a 456, and Euripides is said to have exhibited his first plant 455. Could anything be more autable here than bowers For it was by Æschylus's death, and by nothing else, that tur-pides received the tragic art from Æschylus. Not surely tree voluntary concession, as the vulgate raph ood without Carora would imply. No: furoreog is actually necessary to the sense is justified by the omission in R.; it is agreeable to chronole; and it is defended by the regular use of mapakaptharm. 6 Herod, ii. 1; τελευτήσαντος δε Κύρου παρέλαβε την Βασιλή Καμβύσης: id. ii. 120; ἀποθανόντος παραλείμψεσθαι.

A dissyllable has fallen out of the 546th verse, as it is preserved by the Ravennas, which we would supply differently be the vulgate. Instead of supplying airoc before maroupyer, or would supply "Apyon after it: 'this follow like a villanous Argus, with eyes at the back of his head.' Some such results is evidently required; for a reason is expressly given, with Xanthias is able to see Dionysus. There is no such results given or implied in the vulgate. Cf. Menand. (?) First 226 (Incert. I. vs. 16) \(\lambda{i}\theta \text{of air "Apyon range vulcooptibilities sopas. The 'Panopta' (Argi) had been produced by Crimus.

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pears before, so that the simile would readily occur to Aristo-

In vs. 957 many critics have suspected corruption. Euripides anys he has taught his countrymen Noείν, όρὰν, ξυνιέναι, στρέφειν, ἐρᾶν, τεχνάζειν, Κάχ' ὑποτοπεῖσθαι, περινοείν ἄπαντα. The word ἐρᾶν is out of place here; it does not suit the other terbs, and Euripides surely was not the first to teach men how to make love. Mr. Blaydes approves of Fritzsche's suggestion to read στρεφείν ερᾶν, omitting the comma. We think this is tentely possible, and beg leave to hint that Aristophanes wrote προφας στρεφείν, τεχναζείν. For the expression στροφας στρεφείν, πεννάζειν. For the expression στροφας στρεφείν, make the line its proper length.

Aristophanes is full of interpolations, but no pluy has suffered to much from them as the 'Frogs.' Here is one at vs. 830:-

ΕΥΡ. ούκ ἀν μαθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, μὴ νουθέτει *
κρείττων γὰρ εἶναί φημι τούτου τὴν τέχνην.
[ΔΙΟ. Αἰσχύλε, τί σεγῆς; αἰσθάνει γὰρ τοῦ λογου.
ΕΥΡ. ἀποσεμνυνεῖτοι πρῶτον, ἀπερ ἐκαστοτε ἐν ταῖε τραγωδίαισω ἐτερατεύετο.]
ΔΙΟ. ὧ δαιμόνι ἀνδρῶν μὴ μεγάλα λίων λέγε.

The admonition of Bacchus, Oh, Sir, do not talk too big, bould obviously follow the boast of Euripides. The interpolator missed the force of $\mu e \gamma i \lambda a$, and put in three verses with words hig in the literal sense, air syllables hig.

with words big in the literal sense, six syllables big.

As to the textual condition of the Ecclesiasuse, we may be mark that the 48th verse is interpolated, if ever a line was

aterpolated in a MS. :-

την Σμικυθίωνος δ' ούχ οράς Μελιστίχην σπεύδουσαι εν τοςς εμβάσιι. ΠΡΑ. κάμοι δοκεί [κατά σχυλήν παρά τάνδρος εξελθείν μύνη].

The phrase κάμοι δοκεί is not followed by a supplementary infinitive, but it is simply a formula of agreement, 'I think an 200, as may be seen by 'Birds,' 1614: νη τον Ποσειδώ, ταυτώ η τος καλώς λέγεις. HPA. κάμοι δοκεί by 'Frogs,' 320: Κονσι γούν τον Ίακχον ὅνπερ Διαγόρας. ΔΙΟ. κάμοι δοκούσιν. Τας added line is here simply nonsensical, for Praxagora, ther professing assent, uses the expression κατὰ σχολην, which contradicts σπεύδουσαν.

There is a corruption in vs. 455:-

ΒΔ. τί δήτ' έδυξεν: ΧΡ. Επιτρέπειν γε τήν συλα

Now this is a passage where Cobet most rightly points out that

that ye has absolutely no piace (* Nov. Loct.* p. 61). He, however, gives the passage up. The Ravennas gives σε for ye, but σε is quite impossible. Mr. Blaydes suggests to insert ε.; as part of Chreinylus's answer before επετρέπειν. We, however, have little doubt that Aristophanes wrote simply επιτρέτεν την πόλων 'ΟΛΙΙΝ: όλην, from its resemblance to the erd st πόλων, was omitted, and σε and γε are equally unsuccessful attempts to fill up the verse. The phrase η πολος όλη και a common one.

Verse SUL:-

άλλ' επείχου άπασα και μασει σάκον πρός τοῦν γιάθοιν έχουσα» χαύται γὺρ ήκουσιν παλαι τὸ σχημα τοιτ' έχουσαμ

We suspect that there is grave corruption here. The werk are those of the leader of the chorus, who bids the monen, swe returning from the Phyx, to lay aside their beards and nure disguise. Not to mention that pieces with the participle, a construction very more in Greek, is unknown in Aristophia es additional that it is menningless here, and should be corrected to mustathe next line contains a hitherto unsuspected interpolation advirage does not, we think, refer to any women at all. It refer to the grados, to the tender cheeks of the delicate ladies, which are tired of wearing the rough beards so long. If so, provide must be corrupt. The line might run:—

χαθται γόρ 'ΑΛΓοβσω πάλαι τὸ σχήμα τοῦτ' έχοιπαι.

We are aware that this is not the usual construction of light but the quallot may be, as it were, personified.

There is a difficulty in vs. 794.

ΑΝΑ. γαμίτντα γούν πάθοιμ' δο, εί μή 'χημ ένα ταίτα καταθτίηκ. ΑΝ Β. μη γορ οί λομένες όπος

Of this passage Mr. Blaydes says the emendation is raide to one We conceive we have discovered the true reading and explose

tion beyond all controversy,

Citizen A, is hasting to comply with the decree of the word that all property must be collected in a common store, and removing all his houseledly goods to deposit them in the speciated place. Citizen B, is a mocker, and tells him there no harry, that the men are likely to repent of having commutative city to the women. A says in the passage before us, it be in a nice fix if I couldn't find a place to deposit my good in, thinking every one will be in such a hurry to obey decree, that all available space in the agoin will be taken at To which citizen B, the mocker replies, if our view of the state of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the state of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the such a hurry to obey the citizen B. the mocker replies, if our view of the citizen B.

parage be right, 'It would be more reasonable to fear you half not find room to throw them—

μη γάρ οὐ Βάλοις ὅπος. Θάρρει καταθήσεις κῶν ἔνης ἐλθης.

or will find you will have space to put them down the day he to-morrow, never fear! At present it would be more sonable to fear there will not be room enough in the agora to now them about.' In vs. 750 we would write DEP intowith a full-stop at the end of the previous verse, to get of the solecistic uply funuthment: of Eur. H. F. 529; and we Il warn editors to think whether R, does not uniquely preserve true reading in vs. 24, where it gives the extraordinary Rad. Jouwas, which may be sold B' (Jouwas, i.e. taking our to along the tiers.' for and may have this meaning, and he is no doubt that ifour may take the plain accusative. We purposely refrain from making any critical observations the Plutus —we have not many to make—for Mr. Blaydes not yet published his edition of this play, and we will not the 'Plutus ch upon his moor. And we wish Mr. Blaydes safe through great task, which he is doing so well. There are lew men whom the good fortune has befallen, of being able to comte the thorough editing of two such authors as Sophoeles

Aristophanes; and, let us add, few men who have better erved such fortune, for nothing can be more meritorious

in the tone of Mr. blaydes's works, so singularly free are they

That Aristophanes well deserves to be edited in the most feet manner possible, need not be said. Though Cratinus I Expolis are mentioned together with him both by Horace I Persius, there never could have been any comparison ween Aristophanes and any of the other poets of the Old acdy. Plato in a well-known epigram says that the soul Aristophanes was a fit habitation for the Graces. The ne philosopher sent a copy of the 'Clouds' to the tyrant thysius, who had asked where he could find the best account there at Athens. With Persius, Aristophanes was the promadus sener. Chrysostom, as is well known, was extremely dof him, and kept a copy of his plays under his pillow, I drew illustrations for his sermons from them; Luther's lection for Plautus is curiously similar. Plautus, however, ough his humour is of the same class, is only the faintest of Aristophanes; while the polished wit of Terence and aridan belongs to quite a different order of genius. The lader humour of Moliere, like most of that of Shakspeare, furnishes

furnishes a far nearer parallel to the humour of Aristophant A great modern philosopher, Kant, has defined laughter is a emotion arising from the sudden transformation of a structure expectation into nothing. This definition covers many of the Aristophanic jokes, as well as of Shakspeare's; it almost include the jokes παρά προσδοκίαν so common in Aristophanes, ου comparatively rare in Shakspeare. A bragging raccal slave says Falstaff, 'the rogue fled from me like quicksilver.' 'tes is the reply, ' and thou followedst him like-a church.' Oe of the very best specimens of this sort of wit is to be found in the 'Lysistrata.' The women are complaining of the absence of their husbands during the war. One lady exclaims My good man has been three whole months in Time watching-Eucrates. The listener naturally expects the nine of some fort to follow φυλαττων: instead of this, there is us expectedly given the name of the Athenian general, who have be watched by his own troops, lest be should commit some at of treason. Pathos and humour are generally found together. Herodotus is the most pathetic of Greek writers; he is one the quaintest humonrists. Sterne, Dickens, Hood, could make their renders laugh or weep; so could Shakspeare, even in his merriest comedies. But the Old Comedy seems to bate of cluded the pathetic, just as rigilly as Greek tragedy exclain the humorous. Still enough appears, to show that Ariscoplant possessed this facuity, and that, had he not been probabled " the rules of his art from giving it play, he would have my the greatest masters of pathos. There is pathos in the carea appeal of Bilelycleon to Apollo, to change his father's best ! stone and give him a heart of flesh;

δι δέσποτ' πας γείτον άγεις τυθμού προθέρου προπελαις. δεξαι τελετήν και τήν, ώνας, ήν τῷ πατρέ «αιτοτομούμει».

There is unmistakeable solemnity here, and much affector sweetness in the lines that follow. We have called atternote the touching words of old Chremylus at the beginning of the touching words of old Chremylus at the beginning of the Platus.' There is pathos in the woman's complaint in the Lysistrata,' that a woman's time is short, that her bloom an passes, and that if she does not marry then she must sit to the of life singing heigh-ho for a husband. There are such passages in the 'Clouds' between Strepsiades and his son, the might be made moving by good acting. But beyond there instances we do not remember anything in Aristophanes the can be called pathetic. Oftener than we should expect is comic poet, Aristophanes exhibits a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, with the greatest felicity in expression

calling at once the idyllic grace of Theocritus and the rural scriptions of Shakespeare. Such lines as that in the 'Clouds' here he describes a youth of the old school as Delighting in s time of spring, when plane to elm keeps whispering; or a quite inimitable line in the 'Birds' † describing the sound the nightingale, 'What a flood Of honey did it stream o'er I the wood; these lines alone show what Aristophanes might reachieved had his conception of comedy been the same as a of the author of 'A Midsammer-Night's Dream, instead of parling it as his vocation to write dramatized political satire Aristophanes has sometimes been compared with Swift; d, no doubt, such a parallel is justified by the violence of the sonal attacks both writers indulged in, and by the allerizing tendency common to the genius of both, but the com-rison must not be pushed too far. There was little of the a indignatio which lacerated the heart of Swift in the nature Aristophanes. He was, in truth, evidently a man of the adhest disposition. We could quote a score of passages to w that gentleness was perhaps the most striking feature in character. He was indeed a good hater: he never resents sards his bêtes mires, Cleon, Socrates, Laripides; much less eards the foul blots on the name of humanity which shocked in Athenian society. He hated the new, not because it was s, but because it was evil; because all through his life hens kept a steady downward course from bad to worse. a he did not, like Swift, despair of humanity; he cherished long as he could the dream of seeing Hellas united, and bens freed from the demagogues, the sycophants, and the h boy-orators; of seeing simplicity restored to her education, in manliness to her poetry; to these ends he consecrated his mins; and although his dreams were unfulfilled, although labours were utterly vain and fruitless, we cannot but piess they were wonderfully high aims for a comic poet to before him, and that they were sought after with extrad nary consistency by one of the most honest men, as he was e of the greatest poets, that have ever lived.

Clouds: 1008. Ipo de Son Kaipur, defeas exérasor mesta hiduplip.
Bela, 224. cleo anteneditada est Anxione Shop. The vermin above in these Konnedy's.

ART. III. 1. Hichelieu et la Monarchie absolue. Pu le Vicomte d'Avenel. 2 vols. Paris, 1884.

2. Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sou la premiers Capétiens. Par Achille Luchuire. 2 vols. Pau. 1883.

3. La Royauté et le droit royal France, durant la premier pinte de l'eristence du Royaums (486-614). Par P. E. Famber. Lund, 1883.

4. Zur Kritik Karolingischer Annalen. Von leave Berug. Strassburg, 1883.

5. Geschichte des dreissigjahrigen Krieges. Von Anton Ginhli-Prag, 1869 4880.

THE temptation to take a great historical statesman, we make him responsible, not only for contemporary Lat me sequent evils, supposed to result from the policy he pursuit it the innovations he introduced, is doubtless very strong in seductive, but it is one against which it behaves historica a be on their guard. The convenience of having a sexpect always at hand, to which as to an evil principle may be taxed the calamities and misfortunes of a nation, is very great, but w to lead to injustice and insufficient care in mastering the where facts of the case. It lends itself so easily as a key, prompt to unlock problems otherwise ardaous or ansoluble, that it is not liable to abuse. In the last century, for instance, it was see tomary with historians to be virtuously severe on Julius Cauf for overthrowing the Republic and establishing the Explora-Rome, and it was considered sagacious to ascribe to his culture ambition many of the misfortunes which at a later date over tolthe Imperial Government. A deeper knowledge has now musit clear that the Empire with all its faults was superior to ta anarchy of the later Republic, and that Carsar's assassins, our so belauded, were very selfish and unpatriotic men. Lven to virtues of a great king, who has been regarded—rightly wrongly as one of the founders of an objectionable form polity, have been pronounced 'baleful.' 'Under his rightest rule there could be no ground for revolt or disaffection, fore he smoothed the way for the introduction of tyrans, from which the inference should be that righteous kirgs nap be an objectionable class of men. The magnificent Lorence has not escaped censure on similar grounds. Few person venture to question that the despotic reigns of Charles V.

^{*} Professor Freeman, "Growth of the English Constitution," p. 78. The reference is to Saint Louis.

and Philip II. were the direct cause of the rain of Spain. The present generation of Frenchmen have no doubt that it was owing to Napoleon's criminal lust of power that the literties won by the first Revolution were so speedily lost. In al, these instances—which could easily be multiplied—the fact is reriooked, that the soldier, statesman, or potentate incrimiaxed, could not have exerted the evil influence supposed, unless the forces of society had worked with him to a very large He may have used those forces for his own purposes, but he did not create them. In every such case it will be found, that the able man who gives his name to an epoch as morking a new departure in national evolution, is little more than the representative or exponent of a movement already present in the existing social conditions, and that without such ex-operation from the great tidal forces of the age, be his ahl ties and ambition what they might, he would have been

The recent work by M. le Viconte d'Avenel, of which the title appears at the head of this article, is not of a character to make the above obvious reflections out of place. The object of the author is indeed in one respect highly commendable He has been justly irritated by that school of liberal writers, who have nothing but praise and admiration for the worst syramy of the old French Monarchy, precisely because this syramy led inevitably to the Great Revolution. They are happy to see our langa, he remarks, deprive us of our liberties during two centuries, because by that means they brought about the Revolution which restored those liberties to us." It is a sign of a healthy growth of historical criticism in France that the 'Degende Revolutionnaire' is being attacked on its merits, no wals by those parties, the ciergy and nobility, whose hostility tray be only too adequately explained by personal motives, but by students offended by its unhistoric character. In this regard M. Taine, by his great work, is rendering a service comparable to that of the regretted M. Laniroy. As the latter destroyed Un Napoleonic legend, so the former is exploding the revolutimary legend. In either case, the merit consists in replacing be hard historical fact the funcies and myths born of an over-bested party spirit. The revolutionary myth is that the era of 89 onwards to the 18th Brumaire was an era of liberty, whereas it was one of the most bitter tyrannies which the world has known. It implies a distinct advance in political wisdom and historical knowledge in France, that M. d'Avenel should be able to say: "All despotisms are brothers of the same family. The Jacobin and the despot are not so remote as is one thought. "Lèse-majesté," as Richetieu understood it, as "incivisme," as Robespierre conceived it, come to the same

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But one of the many evils of the Revolution has been that & has had a sinister retrospective influence on French historical study, and that we have been invited, nay, in a mana-commanded, to read all the previous annals of France by a false and lurid light. The Revolution is a sort of chronological Mecca for the average Frenchman, who believes in the put ciples of '89, to which he turns as to a Holy Place for spiritual solace and edification. It was the greatest birth of time, which all things had previously tended, and from which subsequent things must spring and flow, 1789 mas (predestined date, at which it was bound to happen. It cost not have come before or after. Therefore all things that being it, however painful and terribie at the time, were enand admirable; all that might have delayed it would us been odious. Louis XI., Richelieu, Co.bert, by their or potism made it inevitable, they therefore deserve all bonce M. d'Avenel is amply justified in branding this view as miserable aberration. It springs from that fanatical elements in the Revolution which so puzzled Tocqueville-that spirk of an infernal religion, which so alarmed Burke. Most revolutionists are precluded by their princ ples from believing in supernatural, otherwise the Revolution would long ago in been pronounced miraculous, and indeed this is often implicieven if not formally stated,

On the other hand there is an opposite extreme to this viewhich, if not so offensive and trust mal, is still open to grace exception. It consists, as we have said, in making a scapege of some eminent person, and holding him responsible for the evil turn which affairs took in France, and which ultimately to the Revolution. Richelien is that eminent person, account to our author. Others select Mazarin, Colbert, or Louis All M. d'Avenel considers that up to the Ministry of Richeliez of French nation enjoyed the benefits of a genuine and effective though unwritten Constitution. After him, and up to the or

of the Monarchy, they had nothing of the kind: --

This Constitution, he says, was none the less real for not be written. We find nowhere, it is true, any charter or positive is true any charter or positive is but we meet everywhere with proofs of a facit contract exact between the King and the nation. The Royal Government receiverywhere on urage, a basis as serious and solid as many others.

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fixey shows that the King's power had to be exercised according octain rules and with certain restrictions. That is what I call be charter of trudition.' Vol. ii. p. 78.

This, we confess, is a most surprising statement, and the businder of the chapter in which it appears is not less so. In writer less grave and serious than M. d'Avenel, one might be trased for taking it as ironical. It is impossible to suppose im unacquainted with the most notorious facts of French istory, and equally impossible to understand how he can reconlect them with his opinions. One would like to see what idence he could produce "of the tacit contract concluded tween the King and the nation "during the reign of Philip IV., idespot beside whom our Henry VIII, almost appears as a mild ad gentle ruler. M. Chéruel, whose authority and learning a second to none on the history of French institutions, says stinctly that it was Philip's system of government which taggerated and ultimately compromised the Monarchy, and he was of it as "an inflexible despotism". It would be intesting to know the "rules and restrictions" which hampered bin, who declared "qu'il ne voulait nul maître en France as que ini. The reign of Louis XI., again, has generally opeared to historians as that of an able and unscrupalous cant, in which it would be difficult to find any guarantees, witch or tacit, of national freedom:—

The law, says M. Chéruel, which punished with death those try to the crime of live-majeste, the commissions which withdrew costs persons from trial by their natural judges, and finally the creats even, addressed by Louis XI. to the Parliament, show that in uyes the administration of justice was merely an instrument of its time, but of a despetium which weighed equally on all. Ibal., p. 17.

And what does M. d'Avenel say of Francis I., who boasted at he Lad put the French kings hors de pages—that is to say, at he had treed them from all control by any other power in a State? 'Il réussit en effet à vaincre tous les obstacles et fonder le despotisme.' So much for M. d'Avenel's theory of a ditional monarchy before Richelieu.

The new system, he says, 'was precisely the contrary of the old. In place of unity there came contralization; ind vidual liberty at self-government were replaced by the God-State in Dieu-Etai) at political socialism; a tempered anistocracy was followed by Carrains, democracy, the existing constitution by the absence of all stations. —Val i. p. 226.

Admin stration Monarchique, vol. i p. 43.

A series of statements more defiant of the best-known historical facts it would not be easy to conceive. If M. d'Avenel a. contented himself with saying that Richelieu completes to edifice of despotism, at the construction of which present kings and ministers had laboured for centuries, no one conhave contradicted him. But to resintain that up to his time the French enjoyed individual liberty and self-government, at that ever after him they lay prostrate under absolute pourt, is a thesis almost senseless in its extravagance. Richelieu was w doubt a supremely able man, but this is to attribute to him alm " superhuman power. A nation's life and institutions are not a be taken up like a frail wand and broken in twain by any a m or king, however at le. If the great Cardinal did put the fainting touch to desputie rule in France, as he unquestionably did it was because all the previous evolution of France had prepried the way for his action. If France, as M. d'Avenel says, and a institutions after Richelieu, he may rest assured that see bel

not many before him.

For the rest, we cannot think that in other respects the plan of M d'Averel's book is a very happy one. He has restress his survey of Richelieu's administration entirely to home affe " and has nothing to say of the diplomatic or military history a the time. There is no objection to an historian's choosing single aspect of his subject, and narrowing the field of his investigations for the sake of greater fulness and precisor a the details he studies. But this can only be done with salety, a if the writer is careful to hear in mind that he is occupied well only one part of a large whole; and of this precaution if d'Avenel has hardly been sufficiently rigilion. In his seren In his sever indictment of Richelieu's high-handed treatment of opponent his prompt and vindictive suppression of enemies to his pace -than which indeed nothing could be conceived more bom? if I'rance had ever had any pretensions to be considered a tw State—he systematically overlooks two facts, both of what largely extenuate, if they do not exculpate, the Cardinal's pour The first is, that high-handed acts of power had never best wanting in France, whenever State policy had been supposed!" need them. Richelieu never did anything worse in that diretion than Francis I, did to the Admiral Chahot de Butte. the brothers Poucher, and the Chancellor Poyet; while 2 edious execution of the venerable Semblancai, who had been be Minister of three Sovereigns, by Louise de Savoie (France 11 mother), surpassed in cruelty and injustice any act of the The latter had abundant precedents for all be did Cardinal's. and if we admit that he was not more humane than his proje-

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he was certainly not harsher or less scrupulous. fact is that Richelieu was emphatically a war minister, often in desperate straits the enemies of his country if he would not be struck down himself, he careful to strike first, and every one admits that he was pered by scruples. But it makes a great difference in asto of a man's character, whether we consider his violent themselves, or in connection with the provocations he the dangers he ran, and the dire distress and jeopardy he and his country were exposed (in this case, in the rible of European wars. Inter arms silent leges, counterbalancing considerations are absent from M. and the result is an impression of one-sidedness, of themence in a particular direction, which does not appeal mader's sense of equity: one feels that very important we been left unsaid.

he larger part of these volumes is occupied with less subjects than royal prerogative and the presence or of constitutional guarantees of popular rights. The If of the first volume, and the whole of the second, are to topics of much more general, if less lofty, interest. bility and its Decay is the title of a full and even investigation into the condition of the French apper the seventeenth century, and it is with pleasure that testimony both to its sterling value and the animated which it is treated. M. d Avenel considers the French from almost every possible point of view—their political ad daties; their marriages and social manners; their rents, and various revenues; their expenditure on horses, and carriages; their dinner-tables and protheir house accommodation, clothes, and jewels; their ants and gambling. M. d'Avenel's wide and minute go of the light and serious literature of the time has him to give a most entertaining account of all these hich never fails to interest us. Good stories, piquant short but well-turned sketches of the habits and of the age, will ensure for this portion of M. d'Avenel's the appreciation and gratitude of the general reader. less interesting is his careful disquisition on the which has the merit of contributing new and valuable on on that singular department in the Government of len Régime. M. d'Avenel does not content himself rences to Forbonnais, le Trosne, and other old writers, nancial system of France, but explores for himself the 3 C 3

maze of the edicts, declarations, and orders in council, which were constantly being issued on the subject. The result is only to darken still more the conception we must form of the conciling of the plebeing tax-payer, sombre as that condition is long known to have been. It almost indeed surpasses belief, and would be quite incredible were it not proved by overwhelms: evidence. Nowhere out of Turkey can a system be found of exaction and oppression, at once so cruel and so stupid; and it may be doubted whether the capticious and primitive metacut of Oriental tax-collecting ever inflicted the grinding and incressant misery, which resulted from the scientific fiscality of France. The extraordinary thing about it was, not so much its callous indifference to human suffering, as its amazing bhatness to its own interests. It systematically destroyed weath

in its very source.

Except under two or three reigns (Louis XI., Louis XII. and Henry IV.) the French Monarchy, from beginning to ex, was in a state of chronic and abject need of ways and mess. It always lived on expedients from hand to mouth, anticaptor often by several years the revenues of the future. Its necessities were so urgent, that it could not afford to wait for a moneyand was forced to make ruinous bargains with the great mostlenders (the farmers of the revenue), and to seize whatevercould lay its hand on No experience was sufficient to warms of the profound impolicy of its procedure. So dreadful were to exactions in Normandy, that after the suppression of a my (1639), called that of the Nu-pieds, parishes which had yielder 10,000 livres to the taille were not able to contribute 100 M. d'Avenel would doubtless have cited an even stronger insisar of impoverishment, if it had not occurred later in the centur that of the town of Fécamp, which had once employed fits ships in the Newfoundland cod-fishery, but which towards to end of Louis XIV.'s reign was reduced to three ships. To insulting and outrageous inquisitorial powers of the fiss agents were not the least odious part of the system. No use house or person was safe from humiliating and even indeed examination and searching. The officers of excise (aides), ware one even of Colbert's correspondents calls ' ferocious animals, '11) the right of entering private houses and controlling the quants of wine consumed. If it passed a certain limit, it was inferred that it had been sold, and a tax was levied, called the 'h the bu'-the 'over-drunk.' The collectors of the gabelle-the aut tax would go into a market-place and search the persons int clothes of all present, without sparing age, sex, or condition Such tyranny naturally at times produced resistance, and a prominera eminent official informs Colbert of how a taxpayer was not by maltreated in his own person, but had one daughter killed fore his eyes, and his wife, another daughter, and servant,

conded with swords and staves.

The gabelle was the most odious of the taxes. M. d'Avenel ints out that it was its monstrous exorbitance that caused it be so detested. When it was first levied by Philippe le Long, excited no complaint; but it was progressively raised tall, the States of Normandy said, salt cost the people more than the rest of their sustenance. Under Louis XIII., a pound salt cost the equivalent of three francs in actual currency. he same weight of a pound is now sold in France for ten stimes, although subject to a duty of a hundred per cent. be price of the article was therefore raised by the gabelle to incredible extent of six thousand per cent, on the original "L. It is no wonder that every effort was made to procure it by illicit means. But the purchase of a certain quantity r annum was compulsory (seven pounds a head, children sluded, we believe, though M. d'Avenel does not mention the a). 'If people did not come to fetch it at the Government eres, it was taken to them, and they were forced to pay, either they wanted it or not, under pain of impresonment." at nothing could prevent the faux saninogs, as it was called contraband traffic in salt. About 12,000 persons, half of un children, were imprisoned annually for this offence alone.

remember having read an amusing account of one of most successful modes of smuggling in this connection, the districts on the sea const the Government despaired levying the tax in its full rigour. The salt was too accessle, and was relatively cheap. But the inland provinces re famished for want of the article, and ready to resort to means of cheating the revenue. For this purpose a strong d hardy breed of powerful dogs was trained, with the sole erciless thrashings, administered by a man dressed in the iform of a gabelou (salt-tax collector), to whom, it is needless reality. They were taught to make their journey by night, I lie hidden in woods during the day. When fit for their siness, they were saddled with a small pack of salt, averaging sen pounds, and started in directions which they knew well, their amuggling expeditions,

If the gabelle was odious and oppressive, the taille was cruel

I fatal to national wealth.

M. d'Avenel's chapters on the taille are very interesting a contain facts which we imagine will be new to most reads. He points out how erroneous is the notion that only a privileged orders, the nobles and clergy, were exempt from thatle.

'The two first orders were exempt on masse and of right but third (the Tiers Elot) was nearly entirely exempt by a sense individual dispussations' [this statement, we may remark by way, appears to me far too strong). The officials, from the figures down to the Parliament of Paris down to the constables of Royal Courts, from the Chambres des Comptes and the Court Aides down to the lowest meters of the local tribunals—all, in who had any near or remote connection with the State, who purchase had acquired an office, whatever it was, employed privileges of exemption.' Vol. ii. p. 221.

M. d'Avenel goes into further details, for which we can find space, and comes to the conclusion that upwards of it millions of persons were exempted in a population of sevense millions. But the four millions who were exempt were process the richest portion of the population, and the most able to be the tax; and the eleven millions who paid it were simply! poorest and the least able to do so. . The great net which the threw over the country was made and spread in such a min that the large fish regularly escaped it; those of a mississize always found a mesh wide enough to let them three only the small fry were taken without any hope of deuts Then commenced those scenes with which Vauban Boisguillebert have made us familiar -of the collectors go about their duties in groups, for mutual protection again violence, met everswhere with oaths and curses. On one of of a street the collectors would be engaged in gathering tax of the current year, while on the other side similar bat were collecting the unpaid taxes of the last or previous yearned further on, the agents of the galelle and of other important were employed in the same way. When everything inside house had been seized, the house itself was taken for the united to the same way. payment of taxes.

"It is common emergh" says Vaulan, "to push the execution so us to take down the doors of the houses after all that was raile been sold; and it even happens that the house is pulsed dead the aake of the beams, rafters, and planks, which are sold for a or sixth part of their value, in deduction of the amount due to taills."

^{* &#}x27;La Dixme Royale,' p. 29, ed, 1707

It has been generally assumed that these cruel exactions were ant practised till after the country had been impoverished by the terrible wars of Louis AIV., especially that of the Spanish Seconsion. Vauban's famous book, 'La Dixme Royale,' was published till 1707, that is, in the height of the disasters inducted by Marlborough and Eugene M. d'Avenel's resurbes show that this assumption is not justified; on the contrary, matters were at least as bad seventy years before. Re erring to the year 1634, he says: -

The farmers have hardly a piece of furnitare left in their posses-ier, such is then fear of its being seized, in fact, they are often that to pays tenth part of what is deman led of them. Wee bet do be in that case, the officers will energy off their cattle and farm ap ements, their bed, and the bread found in the bin. If that is not which they will carry off the doors, the windows, and even the roof of the bonne, which they have exposed to the weather. In Normandy is tolles reached such a figure, that people were stripped literally Liber shirts, and in many places out of sheer modesty the women

ure prevented from attending at church. Vil. ii. p. 265.
The receivers scent the country with their officers, constables, of hell fir. The taille can only be get in by main force and the op of armed agents called Junibers. One might suppose that they or foreign triops ravaging the district, and that France was a squered country. One hundred soldiers are let lesso in the organical country results' of Alengan to collect the faille; a company of fifty men is of by the receiver of Liseux into the Viscounty of Orbec. These a break open the doors of nouses, demolish the barns, thresh the ora, which they sell at a low price, as well as the straw half threshed, on the waggers and the plands and, as the States of Normandy ally remark, short of rassesero, nothing more horrible could be deme Aol. n. p. 237. g a foreign enomy."

Such improvidence seems hardly consistent with sanity; but was daly punished by the inevitable result. The Government was forced to admit that work had rensed in various parts, the kingdom. Many parishes had become deserts, and ough the exuntry was on the whole spared the cause of war a its own soil, 'yet it was,' says M. d'Avenel, 'as devastated this time as it was after the troubles of the League, or the legish invasions.' This is another instance of that tendency overstatement in which our author is apt to indulge; bad as acters were in 1635, it is simply heedless to compare them ith the awful ruin which accompanied and followed the lundred Years' War. Such exaggirations lessen one's condence in a writer's judgment. He does better when he cals and partially quotes a most significant passage from the Memoirs of Montglat, showing the dreadful impression made

on neighbouring nations by the tyranny under which France grouned. Speaking of the invasion of Flanders in 1835 Montglat says that nothing could induce the Flemings submit to the French, even after the most serious reverses.

Those populations which fell to our lot were so apprehized of the tyranny of the Government, to which they saw the people of France were abandoned through the payment of the falle and alsorts of other excessive imports, which were augmented accord by the caprice and fancy of those who governed without him to measure, that they resolved to run every kind of danger rather the yield to so harsh a servitude."

The Spanish rule in the Netherlands has never been cosidered exceptionally mild. Yet in comparison with France treatment of her own subjects, it appeared to contemporate

and neighbours vastly preferable.

It may seem to some readers that we, following our authr. have wandered a good way from Richelieu, of whom this work is supposed to treat. Inasmuch as the Cardinal openly peclaimed his ignorance of and indifference to finance, in meddled with it as little as he could, and so no one has cort charged him with inventing or establishing the oppresses nature, however interesting in themselves, are somewhat out of place in this connection, or at least constitute a bold and we digression. We venture to think differently. M. d'Avenel, s these investigations into the condition of old France, is occupied, as all serious French historians constantly are, with the great and perplexing problems of French history, which seem to hand them like a bad dream. Why did France fall into that prostor condition of helpless impotence under the royal power? What is to blame for the evil turn which affairs took, especially tree Richelieu onwards? Why was the French nobbase unable 12 render any valuable service to the State, except that of gettief itself recklessly killed on the field of battle? Why, with the growth of knowledge and wealth, with the development of xx of the most brilliant of European literatures, could no means > found of procuring a government worthy of such a country. Why was France, when her language, her philosophy, and be ideas were permeating Europe, destined to pass through the des humiliation of such a reign as that of Louis XV., with its 'Par' aux cerfs,' its Pacts of famine, and all but universal militare disaster from the Ganges to the St. Lawrence? These are the questions which justly pre-occupy reflective French writers, and their search for answers is stimulated into impatience by the ever-obtrusive contrast presented by England. Why could

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ch noblem, they ask, display some of the pradence, and ability, of the British aristocracy? This last is of questions, and often gives occasion to a strain out, mingled with a not ungenerous envy, flattering ar national self-esteem if we wholly deserved the But it is to misunderstand the task of the scientific study the past solely or chiefly with a view to utilior to deductions of practical rules for the making ad beneficent Constitutions. That is, within certain sainess of the statesman, the artist who applies the d by science to particular cases and emergencies. in is concerned, not with the therapeutics, but with gy of history; and if it be objected that this is to bology, the answer is that pathology is only the phy-The problem before us is how to account for Bease. pry, whether the results were good or bad. Why arn out thus? What were the steps through which Monarchy gradually became at once so bulky and a diseased organ inefficient itself, and at the same ing the function of other organs? To give a full one questions, the whole history of the patient's life to be reviewed. Heaty assumptions that his malady on this or that indiscretion—as, for instance, M. opinion that it was owing to Richelieu's ministry ing went wrong—are out of place. Strong nations, pen, survive many indiscretions, but an original vice on may show its sinister influence throughout life. last consideration will be the greatest stumbling-way of scientific history. Nations, like individuals, esent as a reflection on themselves the suggestion herited constitutions are not everything that could be trens obviously neither praise nor blame can attach frely beyond their own control. If France was born, under circumstances which made her evolution in the a stable popular government impossible, the fault y none of hers. If England had a very different merit was none of hers, wounding as the statement sational vanity. Nothing is more important than that the great social forces which make history are and the control of man's will, design, and direction of the Gulf Stream or the precession of the equiis not to cast a slur on the doctrine of human merely to recognize the fact that societies can only velop under the given conditions. al vice of the French Monarchy dated from that wild

time which followed the break-up of the Carolingian Empire Foudalism was already at least a century old, and firmly seate in its local sovereignties, when the mild and noiseless revolution occurred, which placed the crown on the head of Hagl, (spt. He found himself surrounded by Feudal magnates, as strong a wealthy, and as noble, as himself. They had come by their dactao and counties through a severe process of natural selective, which only the strongest men could acquire and maintain poset. The terrible anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Norman invasions which nearly extirpated all that was left of wealth and civilization, made feuda ism-that is local somreignty -a necessity of the times. The defenceless population were only too thankful to rally round any strong chief wo built a castle and afforded some protection against the femous onslaughts of the heathen pirates. The Castle is the type and symbol of Feudalism. The Frankish kings, whether Metonic gian or Carolingian, had not needed nor built castles, neater had the great landed proprietors. The Norman invasion, a the decrepitude of the Carolingian Empire, forced the ereconof castles as a role means of national defence. But the aver of a strong eastle soon found that he could resist others bende the barbarous Norsemen; he could resist the feeble Kirg, ad he did so whenever it served his interests. The whole aut of of the French Monarchy, from Hugh Capet to Richelies, comsists in the gradual extension of the royal power on the achand, and the gradual reduction of the feudal power on us other. By force, by fraud, by marriage, fiel after fiel annexed to the Crown, but it was rather a juxtaposition fragments than a union. No homogeneous body politic vil the result. The provinces remained isolated, entranged, and unsympathetic with each other, and at once unable and arwilling to co-operate in a movement needing common effect and sacrifices. And here was the opportunity of the K to who successfully worked upon local jealousies, and thus releated any combined opposition to their power. Reprodutempts were made to resist the Sovereign Under Local le Hutin, Normandy, Burgundy, Languedoc, and other privinces, demanded and obtained charters of liberties for heaterpective districts. The 'noble men' of Burgundy, acceptably stated, 'acted not only in their own name, but in the of the clergy and non nobles of the country, and were distinct working on lines similar to those which led in England to of Great Charter. But France lacked the unity and homograph which England owed to the thrice-blessed Norman Conques The King was soon able to withdraw, one by one, the chartes extorie

exterted by temporary pressure. No sense of common brotherhood and common danger existed to bring about a common renstance. The Norman did not concern himself with what happened to the Burguadian, nor did the man of Poitou regard the inte of the man of Provence; so they were all defeated in detail by the King. In the States-General of 1484 one who was present as a deputy says; . The question of money (to be voted for the totalle) disunited us and made us enemies of one another, each man struggling for his own province, and striving to obtain for it the lowest taxation.' This inveterate spirit of jeslousy and locality the Kings stimulated to the utmost, and very naturally from the royal point of view, as before the slightest aprit of combination their powers would have vanished. The case of men has yet to be found, who will willingly relinquish authority and dominion when within their grasp. That is the utmost we can expect here and there of an individual of saintly duratesestedness. The Kings were hardly to be blamed for making the most of their opportunities. The circumstances were at fault, which made the erection of adequate checks to regal This fact was never shown with more despotism impossible comess than on the last occasion when an effort was made by the fown to consult the nation with regard to public affairs-in the States-General of 1614, of which Richelien was a member. I non the first, a spirit of jenlousy and distrust separated the three orders into hostile camps, much more disposed to quarrel with each other than to offer a combined resistance to the Court. One of the speakers of the Third Estate made the sunocent remark, that the three orders were all sons of one mother, France-the clergy the elder, the nob lity the second, and the commons the youngest that the nob es should not despise them, but regard them as brothers; and that it often imprezed in private families, that the younger sons uphold the croint of a house when the elder had brought it low. The nobles were fired with indignation by this insulting comparison, a they thought it, and days were wasted, and the intervent.on of the clergy became necessary, to appeare their wrath. There was no brotherhood, they said, between them and the commons—they would not have sons of shoemskers and cobblers call them brothers—and there was as much difference between them as between a master and his valet. On one occasion, a member of the commons omitted to salute a noble as they were both leaving the Assembly. The noble broke his stick over the other's head, telling him he would teach him manners. The most amusing outburst of aristocratic arrogance was that of the Duc d'Epernon, who, because one of his soldiers had been.

been imprisoned for killing a comrade in a duel, went to the House of Parliament, attended by an escort of gentlemen, and a the councillors came out, he and his suite jeered and insulation, treading on their gowns, and teating them with the spurs. The Parliament was the highest judicial body in France, yet this outrageous conduct remained entirely un

punished.

M. d'Avenel-prodently for his view that France before Richelleu en oved a constitution and institutions, which be de stroved—has refrained from alluding to this period - the regere of Marie de Médicis, and, indeed, the whole interval of fourted years between the death of Henry IV, and the final accession (the Cardinal to power, 1610-1624. If France had instituted then we should like to know where they were. In a moment after the assassination of the great King, the country scene literally to fal. into fragments, and civil order largely cease to exist. The incompetence and fully of the Queen-Regel cannot possibly be exaggerated; but the presence of the ma rudimentary political organization in France would have save the country from the anarchy, at once horrible and grotesque which followed Henry's death. The one object of the Que seemed to be, to get rid of the treasure which Heury be amassed by the most careful economy in his all too brief reign It disappeared as by enchantment in the pockets of the gra nobles and princes of the blood, who were in a position frighten the weak and silly queen. When they had obtains fabulous sums, they revolted, and obtained more as the price their submission. The remarkable thing is, not their want policy or ability, but even of self-seeking ambition. As I Henri Martin says, 'This aristocracy had no aristocratic spin their dream was to dismember not to govern France; their it was a return to Feudalism.' Indeed it was something in meaner-to plunder the State in order to find the means unlimited private extravagance. If M. d'Avenel is preparel tell us what better alternative there was in such a state of affect than the strong and often arbitrary government of such Minister as Richelieu, it is to be regretted that he has held it To all appearance Frant peace on such an important matter. To all appearance from fortune brought to her councils the remarkable man who was more her master and sovereign than any one of her titular ker M. d'Avenel admits, that as a Foreign Minister the Cardinal beyond praise. But he has failed to see how closely his bee and foreign policy were necessarily connected, and that if approves of the one it is not very consistent to blame the other A judgmit

ligadgment as to the real value and merit of that foreign by depends, as usual, very much upon the point of view which it is regarded. The French are unanimous in ng it enthusiastic praise, and very naturally so in regard to sent opinion. We have no intention of entering upon a assion of one of the most confused, complicated, and disted periods in the whole range of European history. The ty Years' War was one long maze of cross-purposes, of wheels in wheels, and double meanings. Everybody were a mask, of the actors were several, and no fancy hall ever showed ater variety of borrowed costumes and travestied characters. ons and parties which act together, and seem to be sworn ds, turn out to be secret and deadly enemies. Ostensible sies are found to be rendering each other the friendliest as underhand. The Catholic Emperor is thwarted, not only be other Catholic Powers, but by the Pope and by the Its. The Protestant hero, Gustavus Adolphus, meets with mess and treachery from the co-religionists he has come to and with no slight support from the Catholic enemies he bout to crush. No portion of history is more bewildering, cult, and unsatisfactory; and when to this is added the unexled cruelty, devastation, and ruin, which marked every phase this most terrible of all wars, the measure of its rethe nation of scholars and historians on whose soil it was By fought, and who suffered most from it, has not produced tis day a full and critical history of the greatest, if also the disastrous struggle, which has occurred during its historical

while on the one hand the French are somewhat amusingly ma and pompous in their admiration for his genius, his produced prudence in carrying out the policy of Henry IV, and in tang down the House of Austria—the Germans, on the r, are a little too tragic in their tone of denouncing his a in the spolistion of the Fatherland. The historians of our are too prone to forget how different is the keen, sensitive, they patriotism, with which they are acquainted and inspired, the lethargic indifference on that subject in former ages.

This is the clearly expressed opinion of the writer who has done most to a the above repronch, Professor Ar ton Gindely, who says, "die Behauptung is an begrundet, dass as an oner Paretellung dessiblen (the 10-ray hears" field, in der das hangroffen der verschiedenen europanischen bisaten in den trang der Ereignusse in t Sachkenninks geschildert wird." (Profess.)

The

The sentiment had bazely emerged in the seventeenth century and where it existed it was apt to be more than neutralized by the fervour of religious convictions. It is highly to M d'Avenel's credit that he has noticed this fact. It was not to be expected that such a man as Richelieu, animated by a Casmin ambition, would not make haste to profit by the condition into which Germany was thrown by the Bohemian Revolution. By the political ethics of the time he was amply justified in taking what he could get, and in being in no wise scrupulous as to the means. The only difference was, that he was far more size, prudent, and wary, than his rivals, and he was hardly more dehonest. The Germans poid the heavy penalty of their avainternal divisions—for which they were not to blame, but the

whole previous history of their national life.

Richelieu's superiority to the miserable horde of self-seden who surrounded the feeble and vicious Marie de Médicis, con not admit of a moment's doubt. But they were so small that that is not saying much, nor indeed nearly enough, for his home He bolongs to the true breed of great rulers; vigilant, of infantresource, bold to the verge of audacity, yet prudent with. was only the basest detraction which questioned his persons courage), and unsurpassed in his power of reading men, and judging of their fitness for his purpose. He never seems > have been once deceived or betrayed by a confidential agent. He had, moreover, that imaginative insight into the real chance of events, even at a distance, which enabled him to anticipiz his couriers and forecast the future. When Toiras, the our mander in the Isle de Re, sent urgent demands for succour after Buckingham's landing, and mentioned the kind of help # needed in troops and ships, his messenger found that in Cardinal had foreseen it all, and that the requested reinform ments were already despatched.

We have to ask, then, what was his contribution to the Thirtyears' War which may be considered worthy of his genius. It is not easy to deny that he did contribute precisely the substilliant episode and satisfactory series of events in the while period, indirectly, no doubt, but in this case, if ever the maxim holds good—'qui facit per alium facit per se.' Without Richelieu, the dazzling star of Gustavus Adolphus would never have shot across the murky sky of German politics and dissersions. The Swedish hero had long desired to help the Po-

^{*} Personne parmi les meilleurs citerens de ce temps ne comprena, le partitione avec l'excessive nélimiteme de nes jours. Le natione de l'exeit pas serve ce caractère de susceptibilité extrême et d'exelus visme rigoureux qu'elles pe dans le suite. — Vol. 1 p. 329.

at cause in Germany, then apparently crushed under the of Tilly and Walienstein. The Protestant princes, with selfishness, had refused his aid, and preferred Christian of bark as a leader, who soon succumbed. Richelieu inspired gents with a portion of his own perspicacity. One of Charpace by name, who had been ordered to wander Germany and the North and keep his eyes open, had Gustavus and recognized the manner of man he was. He straight to Riche, ieu and told him of his discovery. The mal divined through another's report the quality of the lish king, whose deeds, great as they were, confined to id and the Baltic provinces, were little known in Western For the moment the information was useless, as clicu's hands were more than full with his war against the senots and the siege of Rochelle. But as soon as he was se turned to Gustavus, and made the famous pact with the which revolutionized the whole aspect of affairs. Gustavus master of a warlike people, full of zeal to be led against nemics of their faith, and of his own mecomparable mintary s. But he had little money, and he could not venture campaign in Germany without French help. Richeliou I himself to contribute 400,000 crowns per annum to Swedish war-chest for a period of six years. It was an ense subsidy, and little short of ten per cent, of the whole ch revenue. But the monetary sacrifice is insignificant, pared with the damng self-reliance and insight into chawhich boldly ran the risk. There can be no doubt it was in this direction that Richelicu's chief power lay continuity penetration of men. In his first conversation Mazarin, then in the service of the Pope, he at once ed his quality and depth, and declared be had never met one who had such a fine genine for affairs, and that he aded to attach him to the service of the King of France, th he soon did, and with what results we know. such a gift of seeing through others, might well win on thess-board of politics and diplemacy. He could see his in the dark, as it were, when his rivals were not always of theirs in the sunlight. His tenseity and long-sighted ness of purpose never forsook him, and he persevered with plans through years, in spite of failures and reverses, till he ng success from adverse fortune. His famous siege of belle was only an episode in his career, interposed as esary to his further schemes, but it was a most arduous dangerous undertaking, in which disaster was only too tible, and would have been fatal. But Richelieu felt he

must at all hazards make his rear safe at home while le was grappling with enemies abroad; that such revolts as that & Southise must not be permitted to occur again, and therefore the the independent political power of the Protestanta must be crushed. He was his own engineer and commander-in-che, and devoted himself to the construction of his famous melt ad other siege operations, as if Spain and Austria had not existed. He showed, after the capitulation, how superior he was to the common race of conquerors and despots, by shortly after appearing the Mayor of Rochelle, Guiton, who had been the life and soul of the stubborn resistance, to the command of a man occur. That was his way—he, a prince of the Church—of treating the Thirty Years' War had been raging for ten years!

As regards his physical courage, we may recal the error which happened in Paris in the year 1636, and let them specifor themselves. Owing to various causes, into which it is mecessary to enter, the French defence of their north-easter frontier had been broken through by John de Ween in Piccolomini, the commanders of the Imperial and Barans forces. The fortresses of La Capelle and Le Câtelet same dered after a feeble defence. The enemy pushed on, and force the passage of the Somme between Brai and Corbie; the Croatian and Hungarian cavalry scoured the country, and it waste with fire and sword. The line of the Oise was to only obstacle between them and Paris. And, what was word all, the Commander of the French forces, the Comit of Soissons, though a Prince of the blood royal, was gravely say pected of doubtful loyalty. The situation was critical for the

country, but perilous in the extreme to Richelieu.

He was detested nearly by every one, and by all classes except a few personal friends, and the King, who rather telerals him as indispensable than liked him. The fearful taxable which has been referred to, crushing the people who could be see its use or need, exasperated them against a Minister without the work told, only made was for his own personal and sefficiends. While success followed his standards, at any rate whither miseries of war were kept at a distance in foreign late their patience might endure. But when now, after two years of office, all his fine schemes were seen to end in invasion of the country by the enemy's troops, the excitent and indignation were tremendous. If nothing success, it may be said that nothing fails like failure, especial in France. Paris lost its head with anger and alarm. Justice Weert was expected shortly to appear on the heights.

Coaches, carts, and horses, covered the roads to Clarities and Orleans, laden or ridden by fugitives from the threatened city. On such an occasion a man's enemies come ista. Richelieu's enemies thought their hour had come, and that the long wished for day of vengeance had arrived. Paris sensed on the point of rising in insurrection, Even the King's wisd faith in his Minister seemed shaken.

The Cardinal's presence was needed at the Hôtel de Ville to wastlt with the citizens on immediate measures for the defence of the capital and the raising of troops to resist the enemy. All whose fortunes were bound up with his implored him not to go, thinking he would never return alive, so great was the contement of the people. He went; and he went, not attended, as usual, with a large and aplendid escort, but in his couch amost alone (quari tout scul), with only three or four friends inside, and as many on horseback behind; and then, says an pre-witness,

*You might see the effect of a great virtue (courage) and how it is second even by the basest; for the streets being so full of people but it was difficult to move along, and all so exerted that they talked of astling but killing him, as soon as they saw him approach, they either belt their peace or prayed God would give him good speed of his carney, and that remedies might be found for the evils they feared."

Memours of Fontenay-Maroull."

But all along the heroic side of Richelieu's career there runs fringe of grotesque tragi-comedy, which sometimes even escreaches on the principal part, and, ceasing to be an appendage, spreads and covers over the main action of his life's duma. While he was one of the chief figures in European pointes, and humbling the pride of Spain, the Empire, and precarious in the extreme; the ground on which he walked was boseycombed with mines and plots against his life, and his frequent escapes from what appeared certain assassination were so wonderful, that his enemies could only account he them by the hypothesis that he bore a charmed existence. The moving spirits in the endiess conspiracies against him here the nearest relatives of his royal master, the Queen-Mother Marie de Médicis, and Gaston d'Orleans, the King's brother. All history could scarcely offer two more base and worthless characters than this couple. Their voracity for power was only equalled by their utter incapacity to use it; their neptitude had no parallel save their cowardice and meanness. Not a single redeeming trait is recorded of either, not a generous tentiment can even be imagined to excuse their ceaseless plot-Vol. 158.-No. 316. 2 D tings,

tings, by which they kept the country in a state of circularization, and brought time after time their deluded accumplices to death on the scaffold. The cynicism, with which the abandoned and denounced their partners and dupes the monestheir plans miscorried, was so shameless, that it is strange the were not panished for their unscrupulous selfishness by universit desertion. Their quarrel with Richelieu rested on the lower personal egotism and envy; they wanted him removed in order that they might devour the revenue without let or hindrage. To suspect them of ambition would be a misuse of language. They remained throughout life victous and incorrigible chedren, capable of any inhumanity and folly for the sake at

gratifying the passion of the moment.

Marie had shown her capacity as a ruler during her Regence in which she had managed in a few months to reduce Prace from a foremost to a subordinate place among European nation. The quality of her heart appeared very plainly after the municipal the Maréenal d'Ancre. A great deal of her unpopulous and misgovernment had been due to the offensive invocation which she had lavished on the Marshal and his wife, who, is a time, occupied at the French Court a position which somewar recals that of the Chutchills in the Court of Queen Anne. The likeness, it need hardly be said, does not extend beyond the position. It would be worse than unbecoming to compare the brilliant and superb Marlhorough with such a pupper to Concint, and even Queen Anne was a great and magnanimous princess beside Marie de Medicis. But the latter, like the English Queen, seemed fascinated by a weak and ford seemed. tachment for her favourites, which made their constant presence indispensable to her. When the Marshal was attacks by Luynes and his fellow-conspirators, and backed to pieces the door of the Louvre, the Queen, who was promptly informs of the murder, had not a thought for any one but herself, and cardained: Poveretta di me! I have reigned seven years, tos I only look for a crown in heaven.' She soon showed be fitness for celestial reward when some remarked they did as know how to break the sad news to the widow, the Mareet is d'Ancre. "I have plenty of other things to think about," say Marie, "If you will not tell her the news, sing it to her. Dot talk to me any more of those people, and she was heartless enough to refuse even to see her unfortunate friend. And it was the wholly base and detestable woman who for more than twest? years was able to play a first part in the politics of I rance, it consequence of the total want of all constitutional law and stable usage regulating the exercise of supreme authority in that country-

orthy of notice, that no nation in Europe has suffered more more severely from feminine government than that which the balic law. Whether as native mistresses or as imqueeas, women have borne rule in France far more tly than in countries which admitted their right to to the Crown. Without going back to the Middle to the Crown. though doing so would enlarge the lists, let us take the enturies before the Revolution. In the sixteenth century the Duchesse d'É ampes, Diane de Poitiers, and Cathe-Medicis. In the seventeenth century we have Marie dicis, Madame de Montespan, and Madame de Main-In the eighteenth century we have Madame de Pom-Madame du Barry, and Marie Antoinette. In each at least three women (not to mention minor cotillous, Madame de Parabere and la Duchesse de Châteauroux) lighest heavily in the government of the country, and, it ardly be said, not to its advantage.

on, Duke of Anjou, afterwards of Orleans, was a worthy such a mother as Marie de Medicis. His readmess to e against his brother the King, and the King's Minister, y surpassed by his haste to denounce his accomplices the the plot thickened. Then he would rush to the King, in the dust before the Cardinal, and swear on the Gospels at solemn oaths of future fidelity; which were so many sted perjuries, as he was careful not to be off with one ncy until he was well on with another. Nothing can be ad more grotesque them these ceaseless plottings of ur, which are always alike without a touch of novelty or on, and always end in the same way—a full pardon for the alprit, and the imprisonment or execution of his miserable At one time Gaston and his triends feign reconciliation c Cardinal, and beg him to give them a dinner at his house of Fleuri. The design was only to massacre to while engaged in the duties of hospitality. The plot rayed, and Richelieu escaped; but it was again renewed, in revealed, the Duke of Orleans being the chief witness his accomplices, Chalais and Ornano. The former was sted, the latter died in prison in time to avoid the The Cardinal's elaborate system of spice often stood good stead, and repeatedly saved his life. But at times sled him, and only accident or the want of nerve on s of Greston prevented his assassination; as for instance conspiracy of Amicos, in which were joined Monaicur, in the Comte de Soissons (a prince of the blood, of the branch of the Condes), and a very few others. plan

plan was all but carried out, and, as an intimate friend of the parties and a fellow-conspirator tells us, never did the Cardinal have so narrow an escape. The King had held a council in the house where Richelieu was lodged, and, as he descended to staircase to regain his conch, he was surrounded by his lords, and especially attended by the Cardinal, who saw him to the doz. The intention of the conspirators was, as soon as the King was gone, to fall upon the Cardinal with their daggers and despatch him on the spot. On each side of him were his fort waiting for the signal from Gaston, to strike home. To thus amazement the Duke turned, and fled up the steps "with a spet which cannot be imagined," and took refuge in the countroom which they had all just left. Nothing could be got from him but contused words, and that he had not the intention of

the force to command or make the onset.

These abortive conspiracies are often very imperfectly known. and it is probable that only a small number of them have been recorded at all. It was no one's interest, not even the Cardina to divulge them more than was absolutely necessary. But z happened sometimes that as many as three in one year were do covered and frustrated. The most famous of all, and that wakt came nearest to success, was the plot which preceded the one brated Journée des Dupes. This was the master-piece of the male and female intriguers who filled the French Court. Asset Richelieu's many gifts was not that of pleasing the fair wa On the contrary, all the women whom he strove to conciliate.* far from being won by him, became his bitterest enemies 113 bearing towards men was eminently noble and high bred; ke with ladies his manner is said to have been pedantic, stitch and we may suppose unattractive; which excited at once ridust and repulsion. There must have been some capital defect, # 22 never seems to have had a woman friend, except his own a "4 Madame de Combalet, whom he made Duchesse d'Aignion but she, though a charming and beautiful person, was a mer dependent. Al. the rest of the Court ladies, from the Quee downwards, were his determined foes, and great and serious was the trouble which they often gave him. He used to say that the hitle salon of Mdile, de la Fayette—one of the objects of the King's Platonic attachments—often cost him more analety tim all the rest of Europe,

In 1630 the king, returning from a campaign in Sar acceptance of a dangerous illness at Lyons. He became so ill that his life was despaired of, and he received the last sacrements. His mother and his Queen, Anne of Austria, were by his bedside. These two former enemies were now united in the

sliance against the Cardinal. Marie de Médicis had been the fust to lay the foundation of Richelieu's fortune; he had been in her service before he entered that of the King, who in the first muance had shown no disposition to welcome his mother's proof. When the Cardinal rapidly rose to his natural position of authority and power, and from a servant became a master, Marie soon joined the other malcontents in their schemes sganast the Minister. She never wearred of complaining of the mentitude, the treachery, the perfidy, with which her former patronage had been requited. Richelieu, as a matter of fact, sever seems to have been wanting in any form of dutifulness have his benefactress. Their estrangement no doubt arose from the natural antipathy of a mean and cunning mind for a superior intellect utterly beyond its comprehension, an antipathy carpened by jealousy and the last of power. And now the king's approaching death-as it appeared-was about to give in opportunity for slaking the accumulated vengennee of years. I he died, Gaston would be king, as Anne of Austria had no ch liken, and the only question was, what should be done with hickelieu? By the sick-bed of Louis the two Queens, and their most trusted courtiers, discussed the alternatives of assassination, imprisonment, or caile. The prospect of revenge was so sweet, that the mother and the wife could hardly conceal their joy over the imminent death of the husband and the son. The Cardinal it said to have overleard part of this interesting conversation, or, what is more probable, was duly informed of it by some faithful py. He made a note of the persons, and the counsels they gave.

But the King did not die; his malady took a sudden turn for the better, and he slowly recovered. During his convalencence Marie and Anne were unremitting in their attentions, and catracted from the invalid a conditional promise that Richelieu should be dismissed as soon as the state of public affairs would show. When the Court returned to Paris, Marie de Médicis went and established herself in her recently built palace of the Luxembourg. Louis, in order to be near her, took up his residence in the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires, Rue de Tournon.* As the distance between the houses was hardly more than a furlong, the King went to and fro on foot. For some unknown reason, the Queen now feigued a rendmess to be reconciled with the Cardinal and his nicce, Madame de Combalet, who had been one of her ladies in waiting, but

whom

The hotel had been the preparty of the Marieral d'Ancre-it at ll crista, No. 12 in the street mentioned. The worthy and exceedent M. Amedea Thierry, the interest, at one time occupied on spartment on the first floor.

whom she had recently expelled from her household. Prohaps Louis, with recovered health, had regained a portion of his firmness, or his mother may have judged that carsimulation might serve her turn better than violence So it was arranged that on the 9th of November, 16.4, to Queen should receive the Minister and his niece, and a formreconciliation take place. The interview, it was decided should be of the most private kind; only the King, the Queto, and Saint-Simon (father of the author of the Memoirs), were present. Madame de Combalet was ushered in, and, kneeling at the feet of her royal mistress, made the most humble and respectful professions of devotion and attachment. Saint-S.m.s. observed that she put into her words all her talent and chara of diction, and she had much of both. At first the Queen was distant and cold, then tart and cutting-anger followed-s loss of all self-control, and finally a torrent of maults, 'sach # are only heard in the fish market.' The coarse-natured and violent Marie 'unpacked her heart with curses' in spite of all the King could no to recat her to a sense of self-respect and regard for his presence. At last, impatient with anger, in advanced to Madame de Combalet who still remained on let knees, and raising her up, said, that she had heard more that enough and had better retire. Leaving the room in tears, the met her uncle who was about to enter.

In unswer to the King's reproaches, Marie said that he agreement had only extended to a reconciliation with the Cardinal on grounds of State. However, it soon appeared that she was no more mistress of her temper towards him that towards his niece. A similar indecent exhibition of another awaited him, and after calling him a rascal and a truitor, the ordered him out of her presence, and never to come into the again. The King returned to his hotel half stifled with task and, thinging himself on a bed, tore open his doublet with soon

violence that all the buttons flew off on the ground.

There was another scene on the following day. Louis a last feigued to yield, and went to Versaitles, then only a small hunting box. Richelieu retired evidently downcast to in house, and the Queen and her partisans thought she had we the game. Cour era were sent off to all the friendly Cours with the glad tidings that the detested Cardinal had been finally overthrown. He himself, with all his courage in resource, was inclined to despair, and, it is said, made preparations for securing his retreat. He was closeted with not friends in dejected council, when a messenger came telling his instantly to join the king at Versailles. In a few house the

schemet

ners of Paris learned with consternation the shipwreek of inteigues, and soon expiated on the scaffold, in prison, or i.e, the parts they had played in the 'Day of the Dupes.' has always appeared to us that historians have done but y justice to Louis XIII. He was certainly not a superior and his abilities were neither shining nor solid. He has ed by comparison with the real grandeur of his father and seretricious splendour of his son. But he was a far in see is, uselu., working king, than the catravagant, vain-glorious, elf-wi .ed Saltan, who brought France to the brink of ruin, XIV. The latter was a theatrical so dier, very fond of provided he were spared its dangers and hardships, whose of fortresses about to surrender, and military promenades has flatterers called battles, were the merest make-believes. XIII., though no general, was a sturdy unostentatious aigner, a good colonel of horse, and excellent heutenant of can of genius he had chosen for his Minister. In fact, his consisted in his fidelity to Richelieu, in serving honestly ne servant: and, under the circumstances, this was a very To discern the Cardinal's value, and remain steunch authful to it in that whi Ipool of intrigue, his own Court and y, implies a singular perspicacity and insight in the dull, nering, any, and morose man. The more so, as it is certain he had no personal liking for Richelieu, and was constantly ting ill of him behind his back, which was weak and unfied, and partly explains, if it does not excuse, the repeated piracies against the Minister. But he was ever true and loyal ed, if not in words, to his subject and look. His conduct, s respect, contrasts visibly with Louis XIV,'s treatment of But he had no showy qualities, no brightness of i; and fame, always inclined to bend the knee to power, a a measure, dethroned Louis XIII, in favour of the great and Duplessis, Cardinal Richelieu.

Lawson, London, 1618.

2. British Field Sports, By W. H. Scott, London, 182

3. The Woodlands. By William Cobbett, London, 182

4. My Garden. By Alfred Smee, F.R.S. With 1250 Eagurings. London, 1872.

5. The English Garden. By W. Robinson, London, 1894.

WE are inclined to think that it was never so difficult as no to find an advantageous market for large estates in tr country. This is owing partly to the great and all-pervadur depression in trade; partly to the fact that people who kee money to spare like to put it in a safe place, and land does to look very safe at the present moment. The manufactures, and the trading classes generally, have been taught by 30 founders of their special school of politics to regard the late owner and the agriculturist as their hereditary enemiespersons belonging to a class which must be impoverished in brought low, by natural causes, if they were strong enough w do it; if they were not, by hostile legislation. This wirfin has now been waged, entirely on one side, for about bety years, and at last the manufacturers and tradesmen begin w see that, if the landed interest is to go to rum, it will infal in drag down other interests with it. The losses of landlords on farmers were regarded with great equanimity in Lancasts and the sufferers were told that they had no right to complain that economic laws were in operation, injurious to them 14 beneficial to the rest of the nation. After a time, the whole our trade was seen to be languishing, and then the mitfacturers and traders began to have grave doubts where not turn out that we had pushed them so far as to threaten " bring about a national disaster. They will find these deads greatly strengthened by the events of the next few years, and meanwhile they have been compelled to abandon the ambition \$ become large landowners themselves; for a park, with a xe farms round about it, is a costly luxury, and the owners of cotton-mills or of iron-foundries have not more money just to than they see their way to dispose of. The liberal patrons art, who came from the north and swept off the great pictars of the year, have been absent from the neighbourhood Piccadilly and Bond Street for several seasons past, and the will be looked for in vain for some time to come.

As regards the other class the people who are fortune

event it in something which they will be permitted to call their waster the lapse of a few years, and it is clear that by one severtal party of the day, at present the governing party, land s not looked upon as a commodity of this kind. It is intended but the rights of ownership shall be made an open question. though the direct confincation demanded by so many persons any not at present be attempted, everything will be done to maler the position of the landlord as irksome and disagreeable blim as possible, and to make him feel that like the House of Lords-he exists upon sufferance only. The bargains which te has made with his tenants will be altered for him by Act of Partiament, his leases will be carefully revised against his own iazres's, and the old privileges of his position will be lopped Thus, the political and social conditions one after another. of the time are such as to discourage the predent and far-seeing from incurring the risks and responsibilities incidental to the tare of an estate. Land no longer yields a certain and re-numerative income; it is let with difficulty for purely agriis tural purposes, and at rents which are sometimes little more than nominal. We have heard of a farm which has hitherto sever let for less than 1000% a year, and at that rate enabled the belders to bring up their families in comfort, to settle them hadsomely in business, and to leave themselves an ample promion for their old age. This farm is now being offered in an at 400% a year. The prospects of the farmers, even if bey turn fruit-growers and jam-makers, are anything but them when no more than from 32s, to 35s, a quarter can be obtained for what it costs at least 40s, to grow. The great *statesmen,' *orators,' *tribancs,' and other friends and sampions of the people, who are all for foreign competition al an open market for everybody but the English producer, find the tables turned upon them if they live a few years larger; and if they do not, the next generation will have something to say about a policy which has left three-fourths of the

There can be no doubt that many landlords have been being: that a great many more would do so if they could, and to examine the advertisement pages of the 'Times,' or to monthly lists of estate agencies. In one such list alone, searly two thousand properties were lately offered for sale or live, but among them there were very few which could be confidered as coming within the range of persons with limited aromes. The love of rural life has not diminished among

Englishmen;

Englishmen; on the contrary, as London and other large cities constantly grow larger, the demand for 'little places is the country, with a garden and perhaps a paddock, is becomen more and more difficult to satisfy. The immense increase a the number of suborban 'villas' testifies to the popular craving for a home a little removed from the smoke and noise of a huge city. It is not long ago since the drive to Richmond as partly through the country, such as it was; now it is abree wholly shut in between streets, with perhaps the partial break of coarsely-manured cabbage grounds. It appears not uniker that Croydon and London will one day meet -a result apparents half foreseen by Cobbett, who described the land between the two places as a spoor spewy gravel, with some clay.' Perhaps therefore, the sooner it is covered up the better. Hampstead there is still a wide expanse of open country, be from St. Paul's to the Heath there is not a square varil vacant space, except that which is not at present to be boors or sold. London almost touches Wimbledon, and there is a per of the once rustic village where a population of ten thousand persons have settled down within a period of ten sees. Most of these suburban houses are put upon the ground become it has been drained-sometimes upon a tecking march; there no cellar beneath, and no precaution is taken against ding striking up from the sodden soil into the walls. The way to dry, or with crying children; a wooden fence divides to allotments, but does not serve to keep out the cats, which our run all such regions in vast and mysterious hordes. The grossis sour and harsh, and the proportion of sunshine which had upon it, hemmed in as it is by other houses, is so small and is uncertain, that we might almost imagine it was measured out is sale by the speculative builder. And yet these habitations if find tenants, and, what is more, flowers are sometimes green in the stunted gardens, which would astonish many a man was employs 'skilled labour' and is not quite sare what is gowing

In his own garden at any season of the year.

This, however, though well enough in its way, is not win we mean by country life. The pleasures which are pecular that cannot be understood by the dwellers in the anburks, solthey are not always felt by the man who actually lives in the veritable country, and who is, perhaps, distuished there, or also bis desires and thoughts turning round one narrow circle-field sports, for instance. Sport is an adjunct of country the which is not by any means to be despised, but it is not the whole of that life, although some men make it so. All these

aurroundings

smoundings are to them meaningless, unless they can rise up in the morning, as the Frencaman put it, and 'kill comothing.' has taste is not essential to the true enjoyment of the country, raica is often reserved for persons who have none of the instructs of a sportsman in them -who have absolutely no desire or kill,' and who are utterly unable to understand what can be the gratification derived, for example, from here-hunting, wing is among the least manly of English sports. Foxluating is a very different thing; it is fair sport, it is amusing, and it is useful. As we all know, the great Duke preferred for-bunters for his aides-de-camp, because they knew how to tide straight to a given point.' It is not in these pages, where the pleasures of "The Chace" were celebrated in so memorable strain by 'Nimrod,' that anything in depreciation of foxeven this sport is not declining in many parts of the country, except among the wealthrest class. We should hope that the day is still far distant, when the fox-hunter in England will weet with a reception similar to that which has lately been accorded him in Ire.and-poison for the hounds, and a pitchlok for the hunter. But we scorcely expect to see again the pumy days of Assheton Smith, who would ride two-andbuty miles to cover and back again at night, and who could bast that in his time he had cut off 1500 brashes with ha own pocket-knife. No wonder that a field of upwards of two thousand mounted men, 'one-third in pink,' turned out on one great occasion to welcome him. The present prevation is not so enthusiastic about anything as were these taguty hunters of the past. We doubt even whether there are low many masters of fox-hounds who would give two thousand raneas for a pack of hounds—the price which was paid for Mr Warde's, who, by the way, was a master of hounds for over any-seven years. There are great packs in existence to-day, and numerous followers of the hounds, but too many of the ther have a closer resemblance to the types which the late Mr. Surtoes drew in 'Mr. Soapey Sponge' and 'Mr. Facey Romiord,' than to Warde, Osbaldestone, or Assheton Smith. It hay even be questioned whether there are many huntamen left lice the famous George Carter, who had but one wish that he might be laid by his master, with two hunters, and 'a fine couple if his honour's hounds, all ready to start again together in the heat world '-a sentiment for which the red man of the plains round have bailed him with delight as a friend and a brother.

It will be understood, then, that we have nothing to say gainst fox-hunting. Some writers have allimed, we know not

on what authority, that the cel likes to be skinned. us know for certain, as the old huntsman remarked to be mistress after his master's death, when the pack was to be broken up, "that the foxes don't like to be hunted;" and this of will say, that the fox often shows as much enjoyment in the sport as if he did. A crafty veteran, the sire of a numerous progeny, who thoroughly knows his way about the country, w has learnt that neither hounds nor men are infallable, will tree the hunt as a little relaxation from the monotony of existent and enter into it with quite no much alacrity as could reason ably be expected from him. Even when all his earths a stopped, the chances are that his native cunning will save he from the pursuers-as in the case of the fox which techt himself up comfortably in a drain-pipe lying in a farm-us shed, and calmly continued the slumber which the bounds be interrupted. Moreover, the fox must either be disposed of some way or other, or all the ducks and chickens within a dom miles of his lair will disappear. We make known him empty a poultry yard in a couple of nights, and take a sum duck off her nest, and then come back for the eggs, so that h might not be accused of letting anything be wasted. In be weather, we have seen his tracks right up to the kitchen don't a house; it was only a wonder that he did not get in. One de last summer, in broad daylight, a lox made a raid upon a less yard, in full view of several men who were at work close by A labourer who was on the top of a stack threw a fork at a daring intruder, but the fox went straight up to the fowl was he had marked, and carried it off in triumph. He had depend for refuge upon the standing corn near the house, which cores his operations until he made the final sortie. The quantum feathers and bones round a fox-hole where some young receiving their daily rations, would astonish any one who has not taken the measure of Reynard's inexhaustible stomach. he once works his way into a poultry house, he will clear it « first killing the occupants rapidly to stop their noise, and in returning for them as fast as his legs can carry him; and the with a well-filled larder, he and his family caronse in persafety, in some snug recess not far from the principal estrato the mansion.

The fox, if he had a choice in the matter, would doubte prefer to be set on foot in his native haunts, with a pick hounds behind him, and the whole country before him, relation be taken in a trap or slain by poison. The temptation a supper of ducks' heads and other 'fixings' overpowers suspicion and caution of the wisest fox in existence, and the

a find that the duck was stuffed with arsenic or strychnine istead of with sage and onions must be a and surprise to him. Death is welcome after this destruction of all confidence in the racherous human race. Poison would be the doom of the fox for it is not easy to catch him in a trap—if the passion for unting were to the out. Every good housewife and every notal farmer would rise up in arms against him; and even ow, in many districts where the foxes are too abundant, the alination to invoke the aid of the chemist is very strong. We ave no doubt that when the partridge is almost in danger of attermination by the lox, the fatal dish of têtes de canards is read for him oftener than masters of hounds suppose, the astly proof of the crime being huddled under ground at the red of night. One day last winter, however, we came upon no dead foxes which had not been thus secreted, perhaps resuse they had strayed some distance to die. Such a sight as as would have been almost fatal to Assheton Smith, who really alarmed his family one morning by turning very white, ed dropping the paper with an exclamation of horror. covering aimself, he was just able to explain, in words broken emotion, that a dog fox had been burnt to death in a harn.

Some people object to fox-hunting on the score of eruelty, rate they can see nothing cruel in salmon-fishing, although samon with a hook in his gills can scarcely be said to have fair 'run' for his life. Others object to partridge and pheasant losting, but we never knew them object to enting a partridge a pheasant when shot. We cannot sympathize with either ass, but it is easy to understand the outery which is renewed uder and louder every year against hare-hunting. It is curious hat so much excitement should be found in tearing madly after timid little creature which has scarcely any chance of escape tts eyes protruding in an agony of terror, gasping for breath, read, until at last a pack of thirty or forty hounds overtake ad despatch it, the poor animal acreaming like a child in some inful extremity of pain. It might be supposed that a woman to had once heard that acream would be particularly careful et to place herself in a position where she would be likely to car it again; and yet a good field will probably have half score of horsewomen in it, and twice as many men, all birating for the blood of a hare. 'She run for nearly two purs,' said a man to us once on the spot where a hare had just ecumbed to her implacable fees, and at last she was so worn at that she actually could not move a step further. She topped right down. What a splendid run! It was not precisely

precisely the criticism which we should have been disposed to-

make on such a piece of work.

A moderate taste for sport will do a man no harm when he is living in the country, although, as we have intimated already. and hope to prove, he ought to be able to get on perfectly well without it. No doubt it may often be an advantage to have a strong motive for going out for a long walk, such as is supplied by the prospect of picking up a couple of brace or so of birds in the course of the afternoon. With a dog and a gun, one may wander on for hours without a thought of feeling tired. But if love of the country is in a man, he has only to put on his hat and walk out of doors, and an ample tund of amusement is always spread before him. There is always something by offering itself for notice, even in winter. 'I please myself, an Emerson, 'with observing the graces of the winter scenery, and believe that we are as much touched by it as by the gena-influences of summer. To the attentive eye, each moment of the year has its own beauty. Some of the pleasantest days can recal in the country have been those in winter. It the weather is rough and fierce, so much the better chance is the of meeting a rare bird far off on the hills, or among the secluded hollows, where perhaps there is an old battered tree, or loss couch grass, to afford a little shelter. On a stormy day, indeed there is a wild sense of exultation in going on in the tetts of half a gate of wind, with black clouds driving awiftly overhead and the sea roaring in the distance—for if one lives in a coaster where the sea can be made out from the tops of the hills, #13 a great advantage, since on no two days do hills and sever wear the same aspect. Some new effect of cloud or sunshing always strikes the eye. All this can only be appreciated in the country, for what can we do in had weather in the cityagainst London rain, for instance, which returns spitefully from the pavement mixed with mud? No place is so wretched or " filthy as a great town on a wet day; whereas in the coussy there are the trees and the green grass, all sweet and pure, was the song of a bird or two to enliven the spirits if ther an disposed to flag. And if no other attraction can be found outside, there is always the garden, that great and unfaint source of interest and pleasure to every man or woman water the world has not quite demoralized. A man who lives in the country is sure to be warned by his friends that he will grow rusty, and he may sometimes fear that it is even so; but if him take good heart. There is nothing dropped which cannot very soon be picked up. When he leaves his snug harbourage. and goes out into the great world again, does he find that people

people are so much more contented than he is-are they happier and their gay surroundings, or fresher in mind or body? It at does it all come to, this wonderful London talk, when it a sited out and weighed in the balance? Ideas that are worth buing are not more namerous in the world than they were, and there is no magic in the city which causes them to spring up in the mind unsought for. If the dweller in the country has used his time well, he will find that his faculties have been sharpened by seclasion and reflection, rather than blanted; he has read a good deal, perhaps, and at any rate he has thought. He is cattrely independent of the resources which make up nearly all the pleasures of life in the eyes of the devotee of the town. can live for a few weeks, if necessary, without once entering a dub or going to a dinner party. He knows the nort of soulp that is always running on in slightly different channels, and the desire to hear more of it is not at all keen within him. As for the men in great positions—as for the ruling intellects, the prolound minds, the guted statesmen who that has closely straied their lives and acts, and keeps their past careers well in new, has not often repeated to himself that saying of the great Chancellor Oxenstierna, who, after having been behind the scenes for fifty years, and made himself familiar with all the prings which control the actions of men, summed up his experience in one pregnant sentence: 'Nescis, ini fili, quantula sepecitia regatur mundus.' If we are to worship the Modern Statesman, it is absolutely necessary that we should forget many things that he has said, and most things that he has sone; for when we look back over his whole life, and judge of him by the foresight and general wisdom he has shown, he will mank into an amazingly small compass. We are then driven n Carlyle's conclusion, that the great English nation is 'all soing off into wind and tongue,' and that 'future generations "I look back on us with pity and theredulous astonishment," The habblement of this or that metropolis is not likely to be of much service in any emergency. It is far away from its din that most of the truly great discoveries have been made or the tan designs pondered; we need only remember Newton in his torden, or Napoleon in Corsten, a humble sub-lieutenant, secitating smill the chaos of the Revolution the conquest of a world. The mighty problems of the heavens have been worked out under the silent akies, not amid the turmoil and distractions of a great city.

It is absolutely necessary that the lover of the country should have some resources of his own to fall back upon, for he will find few or none in the people around him, unless he is pecu-

liarly

liarly invogrably situated. In this respect, the advocates of the town have the best of the argument. When we want exceed-London bears off the palm; there is no place in the wide work equal to it. Be entirely in the country, or in the heart of the metropolis at once, for all the land of villadom is barren, and an ordinary country town is divided up into foolish look cliques, devoured with small jeslousies, and agitated over que tions of so supremely insignificant a character, that a strateg cannot at first help learing that there is something in the sire the provinces which stiffes the sense of humour. Even village life is not always free from strife. There is frequently a lost tyrant, probably of the female sex, who rules over the rest, either by virtue of owning a few acres of land, or by sheer force of sefassertion. She may always be depended upon to find out some thing wrong in most of the people within a few miles of tet Perhaps they drink; perhaps they are in debt; or they do not kee up a proper establishment; or the wife is suspiciously good looking. There is nothing to be talked about but such scool as can be raked together, by hook or by crook, and an actus-minded social leader will never permit herself to be found its loss for the angredients of a highly spaced dish. Sometimes 4 is the landlord who is singled out as the victim-a grasping extortionate, avaricious land.ord, as we are taught to bear the whole class is now; or, perchance, a new-comer; or less than all, the clergyman. It is hard to say what quarreless people in the country would do without the parson. If he a not the same way inclined himself—as he occasionally human nature being but weak-it is always possible to for cause of offence in him. Some people do not like long serves some people do not like them short, a great many do not like them at all-especially the ordinary village sermon, what eludes comprehension and defies analysis. But the sermon " not the clergyman's only vulnerable point—the cut and says of his garments have to be narrowly scanned, for his H d Church tendencies may be shown as unmistakeably by what at old lady called the curate's 'petticoats' as by any number if candles or genuflexions. Where the elergyman is not unwast to go balf-way to meet the impending quarrel, the tows village is sure of matter for conversation all the year round He is perhaps new to the place, and his first and chief desire to change everything. The choir must be put into surplies -especially if it consists merely of a handful of untrained children, in some village remote from everywhere. of the services must be altered, the old hymn-books discarded the harmonium player got rid of, the schoolmistress dismissed

and the people generally shaken out of their accustomed ruts. Beneen a vicar of this kind, and the local termagant, wars and smoors of wars never cease. Then there are the dinner-parties, busy and mournful, and the dreadful concerts where the militia uptain sings sentimental songs, and the occasional panorama which ought to have been exported to the Sandwich Islands neaty years ago. The only safety for the man who would pus his life in peace, and who has not the advantage of living mong really congenial neighbours, consists in causing it to be inderstood that he never goes anywhere, as Steele long ago jointed out in the 'Spectator.' 'My uneasiness in the country, te remarked, 'arises rather from the society than the solitude of it. To be obliged to receive and return visits from and to rircle of neighbours who, through diversity of age or inclinana, can neither be entertaining nor serviceable to us, is a vile oss of time, and a slavery from which a man should deliver timself, it possible. He can so deliver timself by finding his society chiefly in Lis family circle, and his home amusements

in his garden and his books.

The garden ranks first, for it will naturally occupy the greater past of his spare time. Gardening is the most fascinating pursuit in the world, when once a man has given his heart to t; if it were not so, we never should be able to fight against be disappointments which too often attend it. We hope for and fortune this year and next, and then we go on hoping e it again, putting in our weeds and plants, and looking award with undiminished confidence to the perfect season that arrer comes, in that respect, as in many others, the garden perents a true emblem of life. Horace Walpole appears to Lave had an idea that the only way to keep a garden in proper order was to put it all under glass, and shut the owner n with it. 'The way to ensure summer in England,' he wrote, a 1776, 'is to have it framed and glazed.' We have no right, be contended, to set up a claim to any such season as summer, be conception of it in the English mind resting on nothing note solid than a few concests of the poets. But Horace note solid than a few concerts of the poets. But Horace halpole was troubled with the rheumatism and gout—two complaints which disturb accuracy of judgment. In ordinary tears, we have a very fair share of good weather, although it is not to be denied that the patience of the lover of gardens is often not to severe tests. There is the year—as in 1879—when verything is ruined by the min, and when nothing comes out of the carth but weeds; or there is a long drought, as in the past summer of 1884 in our home counties, when all vegetation is burnt up. In most country places there is no water to spare, Vol. 158.—No. 316.

and, at the best, artificial watering cannot compensate for the absence of the gentle and refreshing irrigation of the rain. To == last summer, five weeks passed at a stretch without a single good shower-a scorebing sun all day, and scarcely any des a night. The morning tour round the garden, instead of tranquillizing the spirit, and giving one a new sest for the labora of the day, produced a vague sense of despondency, and set all the nerves ajar. For no man who is worthy to have a garden can see his favourite flowers and plants drooping and languistaing for lack of nourishment, and pass on without sympathy of The roses were eaten up with mildew and rost, the flowers dropped before they had half bloomed, the foliage was blackened and stained as if some corrosive acid had been thrown over it. The trees had the sere look of autumn in the carir part of August; young fruit-trees died; the herbaceous borde was a graveyard. People with abundance of water at the command may have fared better, but everybody suffered is a or less, and gardeners generally will mark 1884 with a bles-

Equally hard to bear are the years when everything goes a marvellously well till the end of April or the beginning of Max when a violent storm arises, and sweeps everything before non the 29th of April, 1882. In less than a comple of hom every tree looked as if a fire had been lit beneath it, and the fruit was gone for that year, and most of it for the next rev also, for it took two seasons for the trees to recover from the pitiless blast, destructive as the strocco. There is always = poet's month of May to dread, with its inevitable east wards and very likely more than one heavy frost at night. We set nothing of the innumerable enemies which beset the garden the mice, the birds, the insects, the fees above and bear ground, which fight hard for the best of everything, and speven more than they consume. It is a cruel sight to see a led of roses devoured by the green fly-and during a long provalence of east winds or drought it is impossible to extense this pest, for it comes up in dark clouds in the air, like in locust in the East. When the fruit-season arrives, the blackhed goes round driving the 'cold dagger' of his bill into ever peach or plam, in defiance of nets; and the ant, the carwir st the wood-louse, soon finishes what he has been pleased to last Yet in spite of these and a thousand other deteats and no chances, who that once has had a garden would willingly goit up for ever, or who does not find his interest in his floor's and trees increase year after year, no matter how many far and bestrew his path? Nothing, indeed, keeps the heart so your

is a garden, for there nature is perpetually at work, hiding the just, closing up old scors, renewing itself in its serene and someless way, holding out fresh promise for the future, and ending us on to begin again with unflagging hope. If there is not always a new flower or plant to be seen, there is always something to be done; in the midst of winter we are making real, for the spring, and on the hardest day of the year an dervant man will find something in his girden to divert his

thoughts from the more anxious cares and duties of life.

'It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man," wrote trucis Bacon, and he probably gave this testimony to the conpaper in which it occurs appears only in the later editions of its 'Essays.' There are alterations in it which were certainly set made till the year before his death." The length of this basy ' - it is one of the longest of them all—the careful list which is given of the special products of each month in the year, the a nute attention which is directed to the colours and perfumes of plants-all this serves to show that Baron was a practical gurlener, after the stiff and formal manner of his time. His strections for laying out a garden are devised with the extravarince which was characteristic of the man thirty acres was the kist that could content him, and there were to be fountains, ornaments of images gilt or of marble, and turrets for bods—but he admits that his plan is for a 'princels garden,' Some of his recommendations see in advance of his age to dispense with *knots and fgres, for instance, which reminded him of the cook's ornamental work on tarts; to avoid cutting juniper-trees into shapes, which 'be for children,' and to have a wild garden or heath, set with violets, strawberr es, and prime-roses." synted flowers st.ll adorn every garden roses, wall-flowers, Lineks and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck and One Gilly-flower the last being, no doubt, the true gilly-boser, the clou-de-giroflee, 'Dianthus carrophyllus,' But though as stock is called a gilly-flower in this very essay of Bacon's, and many other plants have been so named, the clove-carnation has the best right to be thus distinguished. An old garleacr, William Lanson, in the work which we have cited at the Irac of this article, speaks of July-flowres, commonly called Gi ty-flowres, or Clove-july-flowres (I call them so because they Bowre in July J. They have the names of Coves of their scent.

Pec Mr. Alum Wright's Notes to the 'Kemya,' pp. 595-6 (1862).

See Dr. Prior et appliet Names of Brotat. Plants,' an interesting little work.

Com n. Ellacombe's 'Plant-lore and Gard in Cinft of Shakespare.'

I may well call them the king of flowres (except the Rose), and the best sort of them are called Queene-July-flowres. I have so them nine or ten several colours, divers of them as bigge as roses. Of all flowres (save the damask rose) they are the most pleasant to sight and smell; they last not past three or four years unremoved. . . Their use is much in ornament, and comforting the spirits by the sense of smelling. We have many more varieties in colour in the present day than Lawson could houst of, but they lack the peculiar glory of the old-fashional clove, its incomparable perfume, which alone would entitle a

to an honoared place in the garden.

Lawson, it will be observed, will not allow the rose to be put second to any flower; and he was right. There are many flowers, and many tastes, but the rose remains queen over al. « if its pre-eminence is ever disputed, it has only to show used in its full beauty to compel the homage which rightfully below to it. It is, however, a wayward and fickle mistress, and the amateur who has seen some fine roses at a flower show, and a thereby moved to become a rose grower, is launching out on a long journey, in the course of which he will meet with ment rebuffs, and have to put up with sore disappointments. His ambition, if his purse and ground are both limited, wil. soon be brought down from its first lofty flights. The first step-deselection of choice specimens from the florists lists presents no difficulty, for these lists are delightful to read, and when the order is made out and sent off, and the plants arrive, great is the amateur's delight, and very confident does he feel that now for the first time good roses will be seen in his part of the country. Before another year has gone, his thoughts on the subject will have undergone great modification; many of hisroses are dead, and those which he has saved have probably not done remarkably well. Then he discovers that it does not answer to take the florist's catalogue, and send for the plants which have the prettiest descriptions attached to them. He must find out the particular kinds which will suit his soil and climate, and rest satisfied, perhaps, with a few of the Larket varieties, for even if he makes up his mind to import new mil into his garden, he cannot as readily change the climate. The frost will kill some of his family, too much rain or too little wil ranquish others, but throughout the struggle hope and expecttion are continually alive, and sometimes when he goes out in the morning a glad welcome awaits him, in the shape of a 'Alfred K. Williams' or a 'Comtesse de Serenye,' a 'Dogoy Jamain' or an 'Egeria,' a 'Senatour Vaisse' or a 'Mille. Boonaire'-the last too lovely and fragile for this rough world

the most extensive rose-growers in England has ceased vate it, so lengthy was his return of 'casualties' every The best advice that can be given to any one who is try his fortune with roses, is to choose as many varieties s room for of the hybrid perpetuals, and find out graduich take the most kindly to his garden. He must not re tending the flowers with his own hand; no one can ses, or any other noble flower, who is not at all times to watch over their welfare, and to minister to them. whenever they are in trouble. He will be ready in times reency, when other help is not at hand, to convey the manure from the tank which he has prudently built to the which are perishing for lack of it, to hunt for the rose and to prepare his decoction of quassia and soft-soap for an fly 'Everything you see, said Archbishop Sancroft and who visited him in his garden, 'is the work of my inds, though I am bordering on eighty years of age." He old woman to wood, and a man to dig, but for the 'nicer said he, 'I trust to no other hand but my own, so long at my health will allow me to enjoy so pleasing an occu-There is no other road to success but this. And it is patting forth every effort to cultivate roses, for when they their perfection, what is there to equal them? Form, perfume - all are there. The violet is sweet, and so is It fragrance of the primrose-no one ever inhaled that being carried back in thought to the spring-times of the ad to many a mmble along the deep country lanes. a no flower so inextricably bound up with all the most g and cherished associations of early life. But when all that can be said for other flowers, the rose remains and therefore the gardener should persevere till he finds can grow it. By the 'gardener' we mean the owner, person who is employed to look after the place, for, in my instances, little help or comfort must be looked for

of the greatest drawbacks, in fact, of country life under counstances which we are imagining—that is, in conwith moderate means—is the difficulty of getting a hly competent and trustworthy gardener—the sort of io is described in William Lawson's forgotten little book. Ited. 'Honestie in a gardner,' says he, 'will grace your and all your house, and helpe to staye unbrideled smen, giving offence to none, not calling your name testion by dishonest acts, nor infecting your family by unsell or example. For there is no plague so infectious

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as Popery and Knavery; hee will not purloine your profit, hinder your pleasures. And sgain be says, the gardiner ha not need be an idle or lazie lubber, for there will ever some thing to doe. Weedes are alwayes growing. The gr mother of all living creatures, the earth, is full of seed in bowels.' In these old days there must have been no dearth accomplished gardeners. Evelyn, in speaking of the group at Cassiobury, says that they are very rare, and cannot otherwise, having so skinful an artist to govern them as Cooke, who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant in mail matics, and pretends to astrology." We are well satisfi nowadays when our gardeners can till the soil properly, wata requiring them to cust nativities. The inconvenience of hard to deal with thoroughly incompetent persons will not, it needless to say, be felt by those who keep five or six or no gardeners, with a gentleman in a black coat to walk round a or twice a day tapping a flower-pot, to secretain whether if watering has been attended to.

Gardening on a small scale has to be carried on under if ferent conditions. Anybody thinks he is fit to manage garden, and that the only qualifications necessary are ability to handle a spade, and the possession of a combinate of ignorance and obstinacy in equal parts. No prelimine training, no adaptability, no peculiar intelligence, no speci taste even for the occupation, seems to be thought necessary And yet all these qualifications are indispensable, for gardets is an art, and it can not be approached in too humble a spec-But the average gardener thinks that he knows all about when he begins; he is not wiking to learn; any suggesti from one better informed than hanself he resents as a penel injury. When he is not a 'laxie lubber,' he very likely politics your profit,' or considerably 'hinders your pleasure The 'subbish' -that is, the old-fashioned plantspulled up, or surreptitiously killed by neg eet and ill-trespost By some hitherto undiscovered law, it seems to be lated the man who is going into a garden of his own for the la time should run the gauntlet of all the worthless members the guild. He will begin by falling into the neucliess de of the gardener who is of opinion that the local greenge has a better right than his employer to the early vegetables the choice fruit. This man has probably had expensed and he detects at a glance that his employer has had no For a year or two the property will practically be too at without the usual disadvantage of ownership attached of being called upon to pay the rent and expenses.

maner is insidious; he seems to have a quick eye for the ambilities of the place, and his operations of conveying the endace from the garden to the local dealer are skilfully This is a difficult man to deal with, for unless toacealed. be is in great haste to set up a greengrocery of his own, his emedations can rarely be tracked. At length, however, he sure to overreach himself, and then he is succeeded by an morlient gardener, with a sound knowledge of his business-a un who can at once take all anxiety from his employer's mind. He has but one defect. Just as the time comes when his evices are most necessary, in the planting season, or when be bedding-out is to be done, he is found rolled up under a each in the tool-shed, steeped in drink, or is seen staggering boat the garden with a fork in his hand, furious at some maginary wrong. Then follows the dirty and muddled man, those walks and flower-beds are always full of weeds and litter, ad who neither sows nor gathers in at the proper time; the san who is behind everybody else for miles around, and whose eds are invariably caten up by the mice. Every one who has a amen could write a long and doleful history of his losses, rought about chiefly by the thoughtlessness or ignorance of his pasener. We would not, of course, he understood to condemn he whole class-tar from it. Many excellent men, in every my to be trusted, follow the vocation, and sometimes may be at very moderate wages. But we doubt very much whether well-ordered garden is ever seen, which does not owe most of a good points to the watchfol eye of the master or mistress. To leave any one to judge for himself what must be the pleasure I a garden, when we say that they compensate a hundred times wer for all the trials at which we have glanced. When Warren flatings, after being stretched on the rack of his long trial, looked ound for some source of consolation, he did not go to London, st to his garden, and the medicine succeeded so well that it ept him alive till he was eighty-four. It was much the same ith Bolingbroke, who wrote to Swift, 'I have caught hold of be earth, to use a gurdener's phrase, and neither my friends nor y enemies will find it an easy matter to transplant me again." at if we attempted to enumerate the famous men who have und encouragement under adversity or in retirement in garsaing, or to record al, they have said and written upon the object, no number of the 'Quarterly Review' would be large augh for our purpose.

Those who crave for a new interest in life may satisfy themselves bundantly by imitating these great examples. No man's time and ever hang heavily on his bands after he has once thoroughly

understood

understood what it is to have and to enjoy a garden. It is the other danger that he has to guard against, for there is so must to attend to, and so many things to be seen, that the half-hor walk round the garden is very likely to expand into an Su; and the hour into two, especially if the claims of work elewhere are not very orgent. The garden is always tugging a him to go out. It is a new world, and all the books that we ever written can teach very little about it. Experience has a he learnt or bought. The best record of a garden that we know of is that by the late Mr. Alfred Smee, who seems to have grow Every plant most things that are beautiful or worth having." flower, or fruit, is carefully figured in his book. It is not one that the amateur gathener will refer to it for a hint without had ing what he seeks. Happy must have been the man world such a garden, and could indulge his favourite tastes by preducing so luxurious a book about it. Both must have cost small sum of money. We do not attempt to establish for ga dening a claim to any virtue which it has not, and therefore have not represented it as a cheap amusement. Experiments i new plants, the desire to get something which we have so elsewhere, or to renovate the borders and the rose beils. entail a certain outlay; but even a small garden can be made supply a family with all the vegetables, fruit, and flowers to need, and these things represent a considerable outlay in the course of the year when they have to be bought. It must farm he stated that no one knows what a good regetable is unless! has caten it freshly picked out of a garden capecially his ca We therefore consider that money thus expende garden. Whates moderately and judiciously, is put to good uses. may be the amount a man is disposed to spend in his give there is nothing else in which the same amount could be le out to yield an equal degree of satisfaction. The only feed which he has on the subject at the end of the year is regret if his means, or the extent of his ground, have not rushled has do more.

Some people delight in planting flowers, and others under tree-planter has the nobler results before him, but he is be endowed with great hopefulness, and his expectations of his should be a little beyond those of the actuaries' tables. Fontaine, in his admirable fable of 'Le Vieillard et les me jeunes Hommes,' combatted with his usua, force and winton the

[&]quot;Mr Robinson a work, "The Puglish Flower Carden, carnot but promise for the analysis. It seems to make the challenge on every and just resolute the medica, and as the arranged in site course forms to a at all times of references."

ides that the old have no right to plant. The reply of the underd when the young men remonstrate with him on his folly is too fine to be forgotten. Every man who plants a tree may say with him that he is preparing a pleasure for others:—

'Cela même est un fruit que je goute aujourd'hui; Jeu puis jouir demain, et quelques jours encore.'

But there is an interest in watching the growth of trees even in the early stage; a tree need not be sixty feet high to be a source of gentle satisfaction to its planter. Some of our English recties pash themselves very slowly upwords, and hence it is that they are not now so generally planted as quickly-growing trees of foreign origin, such as the Wellingtonia gigantea and the Capressus Lawsoniana, which soon make a goodly show. pan may fairly anticipate their becoming stately trees before he is called from the scene. If he plants the yew or the oak, he an scarcely expect that its branches will shield him from the nummer's sun. Still, our old forest trees should be planted somewhere or other in the grounds, even if there is room for but few; and a holly hedge ought to be in every garden where here is space for one, for nothing makes so attractive a show in the dark months of winter. Holly bedges were planted in the gardens of Berkeley House (alterwards burnt down) by Erelyn's advice, but he lived to see them dog up and destroyed, in consequence of the 'mad interference' of the age for 'building about a city by far too disproportionate already to the tabon." What he would think of the disproportion, now that Considerably more than a tenth of the whole population of Great Britain is crowded together in one city, we can easily empecture. Whether to have so many millions of persons emeritated on one spot is beneficial to themselves or consoon to decide; but certain it is that the experiment, like hat of feeding thirty-five millions of people chiefly on foreign wad, has never been attempted in the work, before,

People ought not to be altogether deterred from planting him locest tree by the thought that it is slow in growth. When Brom planted his oak at Newstead Abbey in 1798, he consoled times it with the reflection that, though he could not see it come

maturity, it would last for ages:--

'Oh' yet, if maturity's years may be thine,
Though I shall be low in the cavern of death.
On thy leaves yet the day beam of ages may shine,
Un appred by time, or the rude winter's breath.

^{* &#}x27;Diary,' entry of June 12th, 1684.

This oak is now a fine handsome tree, though it is placed in very undesirable position as regards the lawn and the view for the house. Colonel Wildman resolved at first sight to criticiown, until he heard that Byron had planted it, and nothing but respect for the poet's memory has since saved it from the use. An oak planted by Gilbert White in 1730 had reached a height of fifty-lour feet in 1876, and its girth at three feet from the ground was upwards of eight feet. An ask planted at the sine time had grown to eighty-five feet, a apruce fir, planted in 1751, was eight feet two inches in girth, and ninety-two feet is height. In Arundel Park we lately saw the two oaks planted by the Queen and the Prince Consort in December 1846. They were put too close together originally, but both have done well the Prince's oak is a particularly fine tree, with broad-apren in branches; its height, we should judge, over forty feet. This is a Wellingtonia in the same park, planted by the present Duke of Norfolk in 1858. It is now of the circumference of

an old yew, and its height is over fitty feet.

The beech wil, grow to its full size in the compass of a lie The fine clump known as Chanctenbury Ring, a land mark for thirty miles or more, was set out by Mr Chats Goring, of Wiston, in 1760, and he lived to record in verse the success of his plantation in 1828. Sai ors as well as landsnot have often been indebted to Chanctonbury Ring for the time bearings. We know a garden near London where Wellington and Abies nobilis have grown fifty feet, Decidera forty feet, whi thirty-five feet, and Araucaria imbeleata thirty five feet, a to space of thirty-two years. The common or grey poplar is (native tree, and grows rapidly, as does the ash; but both p forth their leaves very late in the season and lose them carb the latter fault, too, may be ascribed to the lime, which i otherwise so desirable a tree to have in the pleasure grounds In the spring, there is no green so beautiful as that of 🐸 young lime, except, perhaps, that of the beech. A gentleman who is the owner of a beautiful garden in Kent, what is created out of a cow pasture, recently dwelt with regret of the neglect of the plane-tree, with which he, in common wall most other people, felt himself chargeable Anybody who ha passed through Berkeley Square must have admired the bessil and magnificence of the plane-trees there, and so far is " are aware, the finest specimens are still to be found in Loos

^{*}We find these flatters in the late Professor Bell's rate in of kless 'Solvenes' (1877, by for the best obtion to contents, although the translation of thee, soil d by Mr. E. A. Benn it, with below by harrow, the light, and others, ought always to be kept for reference.

by's 'Forest Trees' we are reminded that the Platanus his was introduced into England three hundred years out the author adds, 'it never seems to have been en-ed to the extent it deserves, even as an ornamental dage to the residences of our gentry.' This is the species th the trees in Berkeley Square, and the tree at the corner od Street, Chenpaide, belong. The Phitamis occidentalis, quished by its deeply indented leaves, was at one time planted, and there were fine specimens of the tree at aginning of this century in Richmond Park, at Kew, owe, at Mill Hill School (the grounds planted by Mr son, the friend of Sir Joseph Banks), and elsewhere. he great frost of June, 1809, brought most of them to timely end. The oriental planes survived this frost, and by other occasions they have proved hardter than the a variety. Cobbett made great efforts to induce landto plant the occidental plane and the locust-tree, ally the latter. He sold the seeds at his shop, with 'a complete assortment for five pounds.' The price to have been quite high enough, but if every seed proa tree, as Cobbett promised that it should, the purchasers o right to complain. For a time, there was a complete for the locust, or 'false acacia,' the art of advertising apparently, better understood by Cobbett than by ony of Lis day. Loudon states that falthough quantities of of the Robinia pseud-acocia stood unasked for in the les round Landon and other places, the locast, which every nagined could only be had genuine from Mr. Cobbett, such demand, that he could not grow plants in sufficient ity or fast enough to supply it, and he then had recourse se very narseries, and purchased their plants to a great in order to supply his eastomers until more could be from the tons of seed he imported from America.' In mitted States, the tree is the refuge of a peculiarly disble worm, which has an unfortunate habit of dropping the heads of the passers-by, and is otherwise so offensive, few years ago the Americans rashly invoked the aid of arrow to relieve them of this missance. The worm was sinated, but the sparrow remained, and soon became a nater burden upon the people than the original pest. It out the native birds, and consumed all the young shouts add of tender folinge, precisely as it does here. There to be little boxes in al. the public parks of New York e reception of crumbs, and a placard over them inscribed, a feed the sparrows — but the boxes have been taken away,

away, and now the Americans heartily wish that the species

was not quite so well able to take care of itself."

We have scarcely touched the outskirts of the great we acductive themes of gardening and tree-planting, but it is are necessary to pass to the consideration of the next greater pleasure of life in the country—the enjoyment of the liberalt may be said that this can be just as fully appreciated in the town, but we greatly doubt it. Far be it from us to questing the power of books to throw a charm over any and every part. whether it he a but on a mountain top, or a tent in the misof the desert; but the full solute which they are capable affording can only be received in the country. There must be a certain degree of security from interruption, a sense of reposnot to be broken by the arrival of importunate telegrams letters, or by the feeling that one ought to be somewhere est. in order that the magic of books may exercise all its poor In one of the charming letters of Bishop Thirlwall 'to i friend,' he remarks that the want of time for reading is the great misery of London life, greater on the whole that is banishment from the country. And yet the mere banishmen was a severe penalty; he is continually regretting in Laura that he will not be able to see his trees come into leaf, or the thorns into bloom; that 'the glory of the spring has passed away, and even all my hayfields have been cleared.' In to same way that excellent naturalist, Charles St. John, loved 127 wild scenes of the country for better than anything who the city had to offer. The formalities of London life, we w told by his biographer, 'were irksome to him, and when any he had left London some time I varited him in his Roseshir home, he seemed a far happier man than while writhing our the restraint of London conventionalities.' The distraction of a large town, the necessity of taking part in some of the *amusements' or * festivities 'which are constantly going @these break in upon the time which ought to be sacred to the pleasures of reading. In the country on a winter's events with a well-shaded lamp, a good fire, and favourite books #

The aparrow is the most aggressere, postmacious, and destructor of birds in the garden, for in appring it attacks every green thing that appraising ground the first tilips, the first peas, anything within react and the provided lips, worms, grubs, or insects, unless there is no other feed to be now freed that can be adopted will some it away, nothing frequency. It recent complaints of the farmers about the spurrow are perfectly the lift in his beam proved that 1000 squarows will consume five constant of which weeks. In the county of Norf ilk above, it is not mated that there are space of 300,000 sparrows, and the number increases everywhere in the same tapoutty. See an article in the "Times" on "Sparrows and Corn, Sept. 13.150

nd the mon, there is really nothing left to desire-in the sace, of course, of any special occusion for disquietude. The or three hours which intervene between dinner and hedpass only too quickly away, and one lads good night to the as with a reluctance which would pass into a much deeper ling if we did not hope to see them again the next morning. diaste in books differs as widely as in all other things, and refore the owner of a country house, large or small, will do to have one room devoted to a miscellaneous collection. bought at random, but chosen with knowledge and discernat, and including something which will hit almost every ky. Works of reference of all kinds, the admirable Dicarries' now so generally accessible, and at least one good evelopædia, there should be in abundance, for by their aid so can many a doubt be promptly set at rest. Outside ine of special studies or hubbies, or of particular lines research, the field is immense, and a man who has seen staing of the world, as well as used much among books, I easily be able to store his shelves with volumes which I afford a permanent and unfailing source of entertainat. Perhaps it will be found that new books do not form most attractive or valuable part of such a collection, bough the pleasure to be derived from the arrival of a red of new books in the country is by no means to be under-The little library for guests will consist of works which owner has himself put to the proof, and found applicable all moods and seasons—books to be dipped into, as well as se which are to be read through. Of such books, 'Spence's ecdotes, ' Northcote's Conversations,' Coloridge's and Hogers's lable Talk, are fair examples. Country books-that is to , books written with set purpose upon the country-are not be very highly prized. The actual scenes are before you, all descriptions of them will seem tame and barren; the scroscopic observers, the word painters, make but a sorry by the side of nature herself. Such books are better fitted London than the country, and it is always to be noticed that y receive their chief praise from the dwellers in cities. We not refer to works which have a distinctly practical value, h as those of Yarred or Bewick, nor to the classics of the ntry, such as Walton's 'Angler' and White's 'Selborne.' rell is pleasant to read, as well as valuable to consuit; but cick is only good for the illustrations, which will doubtless serve his fame for ages to come. We have long had a suson that White's 'Selborne' is more frequently praised than 3, founded upon the manifest ignorance of its nature and contents contents which is betrayed in the usual allusions to it. It it common to see books compared with it, which might just as well have been compared with the 'Cid' Walton's 'Angler' is care. tially what Charles Lamb called a 'take-downable book, neverte he superseded for its sweet pastoral pictures, though leasure it is a as a guide to angling. The country poets are not, we believe, favourities in the country. Theory itus and Virgil stand alor, but their modern rivals do not so well repay perusal. It were ungrateful to utter a word in depreciation of Cowper, who was so faithful to rural life, but in the ears of the present generation too many of his lines have an artificial and prosaic ring warsuffices to keep him undisturbed in his place on the shelf -

> * The stalle yields a sterceracco is heap. Imprograted with quick formenting salis, And potent to resist the freezing bast.

Warily, therefore, and with prudent head He socks a favoured spot, that where he builds The agglemerated pile his frame may front The sun a meridian disk."

It would be very unjust to say that Cowper is always he this, but there is too large a proportion of such dislocated proc to permit of his becoming a popular favourite again. Thomse is not beyond the reach of similar objections, and for simple ! and truthfu ness to nature he was surpassed by a humb of the lower who is not so much read now as he deserves to be Russ Bloomfield. We do not say that the poetry of the 'Farne' Boy' is equal to Byron's or Wordsworth's, but the description are evidently a transcript from real life, and the round of labor in the fields throughout the year is depicted with a bonefidelity, which we only get elsewhere in the occasional toxico of the other and far greater peasant poet—Robert Borns.

Among the most striking sketches of lite in the woods and fields with which we are acquainted are those of Chare St. John, who, although an ardent sportsman, could write tooks which may be read with continual interest by persons who car little or nothing about sport. Few of his readers are eventiles to lorger his thrilling story of the 'Muckle Hart of Benmere, " his accounts of the badger—an anima which is sometimes see posed to be getting scarce in England, although we have known of his flourishing within lifty miles of London, and in the mile of a stronghold of foxes † The badger, in fact, not unfrequents

^{*} The Task, Book Third.

† The busterl, the booker, the gyr-falcen, and object care birds have been about within a few miles of the same spot about the last three as 6 or year.

lodges with the fox, and it would be extremely difficult to bring together, out of the whole of the animal creation, two creatures of greater cunning and rascality. If they have any means of communicating their ideas to each other, and are able to compare notes at the end of their night's sport, many a stirring adventure must they have to relate, and many a hearty laugh must they enjoy over the way in which they have outwitted

ber great but comparatively stupid enemy-man.

It was owing to Charles St. John's intense love of the country that he left a name which, we believe, will outlast that of many writer who has occupied a much more prominent place in the public eye during his day and generation. He will always be sure of an honoured place in the country library, and that alone will preserve a man's memory green. His books are genuine records of out-door life, not prepared for effect, nor made to sell, but written out of the falness of knowledge and of love for the subject. It was very hard at first to persuade him that he could write anything which others would desire to read, but one day a friend put together some of his notes on Scotch aport, including the tale of the 'Muckle Hart, and sent the attile to the 'Quarterly Review.' Thus it was in these pages that St. John was introduced to the public," and great was his ddight, as his friend Mr. Innes has recorded, in receiving 'the first money he had ever made by his own exertions.' The work on the 'Witd Sports of the Highlands' t was the result of Us first experiment, and after a long interval there followed ha 'Tour in Sutherlandshire,' and his 'Natural History and Sport in Moray -- hooks which are destined to live, although his own opinion of them was so modest. 'All I wish,' he says, us that my rough and irregularly put together notes may afford a few moments of amusement to the old; and to the young not smusement only, but perhaps an incitement to them to increme their knowledge of natural history, the study of which in all its branches renders interesting and full of enjoyment many a amble and many an hour in the country which might otherwise be passed tediously and unprofitably. They are worth reading with this object in view, but they also possess many of the attractions which belong to the best books of travel and there are no books which are more acceptable in a country house,

Of these, according to the ordinary library catalogues, the number is legion, but comparatively few will stand the hard

^{**}Quarterly Review, December 1845.

**Of which a new clitton, with Llustrations which add much to the interest of the test, was published in 1878.

**Natural History and Sport in Morny (1863), p. 326.

In some cases, we see far more test of a second reading. of the author than of the places which he visited; in other, the narrative is rendered almost intolerable by a bul size or by excessive diffuseness blemishes which mar many a celebrated book of travels. In still other instances, it is eledent that the traveller has not been anxious to mark the asse between romance and reality, and the consequence is that it is difficult to decide how we are to take him. This appears to us to be one of the faults of Herman Melville's 'Typee' and 'Omoo'—dashing narratives enough, though rather 'free' and coarse. Far more favourable examples of the best works of the class may be found; and, to avoid making what might seen an invidious choice, we will mention two or three which belong to the last generation, but which will survive for some genera-tions yet to come. One of these books is Eliot Warburbure 'Crescent and the Cross.' No Eastern traveller has ever surceeded so well in bringing the Holy Land before the mind's eye without waste of words, and without once falling into the sin of tedionsness. Damascus and Jerusalem have often been describet, but by no one more effectively in a short compass than by War-The inspiration of a large part of 'Tancred' was probably derived from the 'Crescent and the Cross,' . It is tree that Mr. Disraeli approaches his theme from a different post of view, and his genius for epigrammatic sayings was not shool by Warburton. It was in 'Tancred' that Abraham was but called an Arab 'Sheikh'—a phrase afterwards used by Dean Milman in his 'History of the Jews.' In the same way, Mr. Disraeli dealt with Damascus in a sentence which flashed like one of the far-famed blades of the ancient city:—"It had municipal rights in the days when God conversed with Abraham. Warburton conveys much the same idea, but will less art: There is little to be seen in Damascus, except the city's self. No vestige remains of the palaces of the Salisas. and, indeed, few of any other antiquity, though this is probably the most ancient city in the world. Elegars, the trusty seward of Abraham, was a citizen of it nearly 4000 years ago, and 30 Arabs maintain that Adam was created here out of the reclay that is now fashioned by the hand of the potter into etam forms.' † The voyage up the Nile has been described angurat nanseam, but Warburton's story of it never wearies. Yet, wire one yields to the common, but usually mistaken, tendency to collect all the works of a writer who has pleased us, the result in the case of Warbarton is a disappointment. He was a man

^{*} The latter was published in 1845. *Topered," in 1847.

^{† &}quot;The Crescent and the Cross," vol. of. pp. 313-15.

based of Prince Rupert' wholly worthless balv other book of Eastern travel that can be compared to 'Crescent and the Cross,' is one that far surpasses it in a of description and in finished workmanship—Mr. se's 'Eothen.' No reader of that small, but perfect, I likely to forget the chapter on the 'Plague at Cairo,' or atled 'Terra Santa.' Through the brief and memorable fon the 'Sphinx' there rans a strange and solemn underwarning and mystery. It is curious that the three chich contain the most remarkable Eastern pictures anybe found, out of the Bible, were published within five I each other—between 1844 and 1849. The third is a 'Monasteries of the Levant,' a work far more interestance novels out of ten. Mr. Burton's 'Bookhunter' searched in vain for the records of any bibliophile who

his search after rarities with a zeal exceeding that of soon in his explorations of the Conticand Syrian monas-

His Darien' is all but unreadable, and his

Nothing could be better done than his account of the set of the Pulley,' or of the great monastery of 'Meteora,' a visit to the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Good of the Greek calendar. Let us not forget to notice that a was a book which would never have been written if hor had not lived in the country. 'I was staying olf,' he tells us, 'in an old country house belonging to By, but not often inhabited by them, and having nothing a the evening, I looked about for some occupation to be passing hours.' Then it occurred to him to give an of the adventures which he had encountered in the purhis ancient manuscripts, and the result was a book which was be looked upon as a good friend and companion by ho have once made its acquaintance.

than most people suppose. Novelists get out of date, very fow—Fielding, Scott, and Miss Austen, at the the exceptions in our own language. It requires aordinary gift of foreknowledge to perceive that most writers of fiction who have promised themselves important will fall a long way on the 'hither side.' Each ion will have enough of its own to read, and it will prefer the novelists who best represent its own ways of thought, and habits of life. After a few a old-fashioned air begins to be visible in all novelists those who did not deal exclusively with the men and of their own generation, as in the case of Sir Walter 158.—No. 326.

Scott, or who, if they did occupy themselves with stail of their contemporaries, were almost the first to bring gear and originality to the work—as was the case with Field of Yet in candour it must be admitted, that there are many terror disagreeable chapters in 'Tom Jones,' and stall more 'Joseph Andrews' and 'Amelia'—chapters which, as a Hindoos say, leave 'a bad taste in the mouth.' It is could whether many readers of the present day get through either these works without liberal skipping, although they might alike to acknowledge it. In all the earlier novels of Sir Wanders of the age, it is satisfactory to find that these sace are always read by the young with the greatest de ight. Pat set of 'Waverley' within their reach, and they will never so until they have gone through them all; and when they have done, they will not carry away with them a single ban idea impression. There are not many novelists, old or new, of what

works as much could be said with equal confidence.

Novelists, however, are of a perishable race, and the exceptions are only sufficiently numerous to prove the rule. Let say reader of long experience try to recal the "great" fiction b has road in his time, and see where they are now, and then # him estimate the chances which any modern writer and reaching the year 2000. It will not be mere style, or at a sarcasm, or power of depicting a 'character' here and smobil there, that will save a man; it will all turn upon his poor! interest and amuse successive generations. Dickens's would portrait gallery, although crowded with grotesque figures at no danger of sinking into oblivion. His plots were usual thin and commonplace, but the picturesque surroundings which he placed many of his creations, and the genuine hams of his early works, seem to give him an assured claus spe posterity. No man of our time has ever approached him is power of photographing scenes and persons after they had on -and perhaps only once- passed under his eyes. The Aper can skotches in 'Martin Chuzzlowit' were made in the come a rapid journey, and yet they revealed an insight into asheat character and peculiarities, which years of close observation American ife could not have imparted to ordinary men 📏 great power is shown, on a smaller scale, in the unrasa pictures of old City churches, queer characters, and qual country fairs or streets of provincial towns, which he presert R4 'The Uncommercial Traveller.' There is no need to sees the public that they owe one of the most dramatic and hand wrought novels in the language the 'Tale of Two Little -Church Charles Dickens; but there are other admirable writers who no longer seem to 'draw' the large audiences which they deserve,

The 'sensational' tales which of late have been sold by tens of thousands could scarcely have won success if the present generation had not forgotten Mrs Gaskell. One of her short stones, 'The Grey Woman,' clearly suggested the vulgar iontation which during the summer has been thrust into every body's hands at the bookstails. Another writer to whom jister is not bring done now, even if it was ever done, is Chiles Lever. It is the common impression that his stage was always crowded with roystering dragoons and hard-drinking buh squires, and comparatively few readers scom to have appreciated the brilliancy and variety which adora the 'Knight of Gaynne, or to have appreciated the mingled grace and your shown in 'Sir Brooke Posbrooke' and 'Tony Butler,' People who think of Lever only as 'Harry Rollieker, look at the sombre scenes which usher in Luttrell of Arran,' or the vivid conception of Irish life which is transferred to the ruler's mind by the opening chapters of 'The O'Donoghue.' As for the mystical stories which are once more in vogue, the two father of thom all was the late Lord Lytton; and if he could see the productions of the school which he founded, he mald not come to the conclusion that the public have grown ouer or more critical since his time.

The companionable books are those which suit a reader's ladividual taste and temperament, and therefore each must find as own. The friend who is ever welcome to one man may be burden and a vexation to another, and it is much the same Yet it may safely be said that in the spare room is the country there ought to be a fair sprinkling of the older times—the great poets will be there as a matter of course—and west company of the essayists, from Montaigne to Sir Arthur Balps. Sir Thomas Browne or Burton, Clarendon or Burnett, would not be looked for in vain. Evelyn and Pepys will aways be able to fill up a spare half-hour, and Walpole's letters, a a little brief diversion with Sterne or Smollett, will sometimes sait the fancy when more substantial entertainment is not Biography can scarcely fail to be attractive, if it truly lets before us the course of a human life; and everybody knows that Boswell's 'Johnson' is one of the books of this class which can never be taken up at the wrong moment, or laid down with-on unwillingness. The historians to whom one goes willingly, us to trusted counsellors, are few and far between, and their sme has been acquired rather by good sense and sound judgment than by a garish style, and the 'scene painter's' manner. Sir Robert Walpole's feeling is shared by most men who are penetrated beneath the surface of public life: 'Do not read so history, for that I know to be false.' The attempts to wate contemporary history are mostly failures, although they are often much applauded at the time. It would be easy to mention works which were received with wildly exaggerated praise, as 'setting criticism at defiance,' but which upon a little on examination are turned out of the library in disgrace.

We dare not even touch upon the vost field of modern general literature, but we may venture to express the hope the a place for George Borrow will always be found in the country house. We know of no works published in the present centure which preserve to much of the romance and charm of its country as 'Lavengro' and 'The Romany Rye.' There was dramatic power in Borrow which ought to have won for him; famous name. His account of the appearance in Mamput Dingle of the awe-inspiring figure of the Flaming Timman and the tremendous combat which ensued; the scenes will Isopel Berners, and with the gipsies, Petulengro and Tanne Chikno; the attempt of the old crone, Mrs. Herne, to putte the 'gorgio' in the tent, as she had 'drabbed the porter these and many other powerful passages seem to show the George Borrow might have written a great novel or plu-What he has left, however, will be for ever prized by al wh know how to enjoy it. He, too, lived and wrote in the country or he would never have written at all, "I hastened," he was to my summer-house, by the side of the lake, and there! thought and wrote, and every day I repaired to the same par-and thought and wrote until I had finished the "Bible to Spain."

Live always in the spring-time in the country, says We Ruskin. You do not know what leaf-form means unless you have seen the buds burst, and the young leaves breathing in the sunshine, and wondering at the first shower of rate. But it may be said that there are some people who cannot bring themselves to like the country, or to live in it, and there is at least one great authority to be cited in support of the view, whose name must always be pronounced with respect and effection—Samuel Johnson. We know that he honestly thought that no place in the world was equal to Fleet Street, and the used to relate with glee the story of the tallow-chandler who went to live in the country, who grew tired of that and of he idleness, and who at last begged his successors to let him the

^{* &#}x27;The Two Paths,' p. 153.

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turn to his beloved haunts at least on melting days. Charles Lamb called the country 'odious and detestable,' and declared that 's garden was the primitive prison, till man, with Prome-But what did Lamb know about either the country or a garden, escept Covent Garden, which, next to the Temple, was his ismurite place of abode? When he wrote the letter from which we have just quoted, he lived in a street in Enfield, with shops two yards square, balf-a-dozen apples, and two penn'orth of oversoxed gingerbread, for the lofty fruiterers of Oxford Street; as for the immortal book and print-stalls, a circulating library that stands still, where the show picture is a last year's Valentine.' This was Lamb's idea of the country, and he preferred the sweet scents and repose of Covent Garden. But even the tea. country would not have suited him, for he, like Johnson, was made for the streets, as many other people are. They must be perpetually chowing and being elbowed by their fellow-emantics, and see a crowd around them, with flaring gas-lamps, and shops and theatres, or they are as lost and helpless as so many frightened children. That being so, the country, with all its soottung influences, and its myriad objects of interest, is no better to them than a place of penance. Such men ought not to enticed away from the rattle of the stones, which is more musical to their ears than the songs of nightingales or the marmur of summer zephyrs among the trees. Moreover, any one who has spent the greater part of his life in London, in the In dat of active pursuits, does wrong to go suddenly into the country, abandoning all business and occupation. His mind is and attuned to the scenes around him; he does not understand anything or care for anything; the trees, flowers, birds, have message for him-very likely he does not even notice them. Nature and he could never have more than a distant bowing acquaintance one with another. His wisest course is to go to Lown constantly on 'melting-days.'

But a man who remembers his 'best hours,' and has not fallen out of harmony with Nature, will find life far more pleasant in the country than in the town. He will no doubt see the town occasionally, but his home will be in the country. How are the most cherished associations of home—apart from kinsfolk to gather round a London street, a wilderness of brick and mortar, where no individuality can impress itself, and nothing that is ours, except the furniture, is to be seen? Home can best the created in the country, and that is the reason, among many

[•] Letter to Wordsworth, Jan. 22nd, 1680.

others, why children-circumstances permitting-should always be brought up there. The word 'bome' then means to then something much more than a place to est and sleep in; ther young minds are stored with recollections of all beautiful thans in nature, and of a thousand innocent amusements which the ar child knows nothing of, although, by an undying instinct, is never ceuses to pine for them. In the country, home strikes as roots deep into the heart. The children never forget the flowers they planted, the birds they were accustomed to watch, the iter patches of gaulen which were given to them to cultivate, the very sounds which are associated with the fields and works. The time will come when these influences will be invested with a strange and tender, perhaps with a pathetic interest; but il are for good. Sir Arthur Helps tells us that once, in the mouse of a forest which he had to traverse on a journey, there care strongly into his thoughts the 'possibility of all care being driven away from the world some day.' A similar feeling ness often have been with every man who has wandered much akasy in solitary places, so incompatible do suffering and eril seur with the outward beauty and majesty of the great world at nature. Some protection against the evil, some solace for the suffering, is provided for the young, when a love of this great world is implanted in them. As life advances, its power will strengthen rather than wane. Hard, indeed, must be the lat of the man or woman whose life is for ever bounded by the streets of a great city. Reyond lies the country, pure and tranquil. remembered well amid all the vicissitudes of after years, and once there, the storms of life are moderated, even though ther cannot be altogether hushed. In this precarious work, it can not always offer happiness, but at least it will bring peace.

Fean de Witt, Grasel Pensionnaire de Hollande. Par um Letèvre Pontalis. Paris, 1884.

volumes record the events of a life of high renown memorable age. John de Witt was not the most of the soldiers and statesmen who, in the seventeenth he placed at the head of the Datch Republic; but & a more noble and impressive figure in that long of distinguished worthies. The Grand Pensionary deed, all the qualities of a born ruler of men; and his md habits were not of a kind that removed the effects in his character. He had not the quick infins which seizes the occasion at great crises, and course of the State to it; and, though capable of fluct, he was rather too prone to a policy of device, of ps, and of attending events, which he sometimes failed for to master. With an intellect, too, more serene and essentially that of a philosophic jurist, he was at how passion and feeling blind nations, like men, al interests; and, being a member of a great Middle implished and learned but somewhat evelusive, he was alvantage in conducting affairs, that he was not versed gues of Courts, and that he stood aloof from popular And yet this eminent man ruled the Seven Proing a long period of danger abroad and trouble at a success that must be pronounced remarkable; and onwealth, under ais ampleious policy, attained its if ruin through revolution and a destructive war, when his hand the reins of government; but he extricated it attemity of peril; and he enabled it ere long to assume of formidable weight among the Powers of Europe. boides, the principal author of the celebrated League the first time, checked the ambitious violence of ,; and he may be said to have prepared the way for the lances which, at last, set bounds to the immoderate pretensions of France. Though he failed, too, at the career to free his country from foreign invasion, it is n that he in no sense merited the furious obliquy but sgainst him, and that led to his calam.tous death; us, indeed, for the defence of the State, if somewhat beve high praise, and were frustrated only by causes control of men at a disastrous time; and, in fact, he be very alliances, through which, under his famous suc-Republic ultimately emerged from danger. He accomplished all these things, moreover, though he ruled the Commonwealth with a doubtful title; and though, during the whole time of his power, he was opposed and thwarted by a large party in the State, and by a Pretender of imposing classes, the efforts of both being a continual source of division, strife, and national weakness. Nevertheless, though great as a man is action, it is chiefly as a far-sighted thinker that John de Win claims the attention of history. He was the most judicious statesman of his time; the one who most clearly perceived what were the permanent interests of the States of Europe, apart four passing and disturbing influences; and in this respect he vis like Richelieu, but Richelieu without his hard cruft and ambition. The counsels he offered to Louis XIV., though given with a view to national interests, remain a monument of as sagacious insight, and attest his deep political wisdom. Had not the great King, in the pride of his power, turned a deal ear to the Dutch statesman, William III. might never have ruled these kingdoms, and England, perhaps, would not have attained the supremacy on the sens she has so long enjoyed. On the other hand, France would have been spared the fierce and protracted strife with Europe, which left her exhausted at the Peace of Utrecht; her Sovereign would have died the Chief of the Continent; and the seeds might never have grown on lar soil, of which the Revolution was the deadly harvest.

The life and career of John de Witt are not, we believe, welknown in England, partly because most of the accounts of them were written in the Dutch tongue; and partly because his fame has suffered from the discredit that follows a detease We engerly turned to these volumes to ascertain if they were worthy of the theme, but we cannot say very mach in their favour M. Pontalis, no doubt, has torled hard at his work; he has collected materials of real value from the library and the archives of the Hague, from the correspondence of Je De Witt family, and from State papers in London and Pansland the Duc d'Aumale, with characteristic kindness, has placed at his disposal a number of letters of the Great Conde, preserved at Chantilly, which throw fresh light on the invasion of Holisad The author's researches on other points have also produced some fruitful results; we would especially refer to important details contained in the De Witt papers, respecting the policy of the Grand Pensionary, and his preparations for the defence of the States, before the campaign of 1672; and many incidents of the trightful tragedy, in which the brothers De Witt perished and William III. sacceeded to power, have been disclosed, for he first time, in these pages. The book, however, is in some respects

spects disappointing; it is a dull chronicle, and not a bioaply connecting important events in history; it is a mere emblage of ill-digested facts, not the well-ordered work of a til al artist. Notwithstanding his long and assiduous labours, Pontalis has failed to place before us the living images of has de Witt, of the remarkable men who shared his councils, d of the statesmen with whom he played for nearly twenty as the great game of politics; and Mazarin and Cromwell, barles II. and Temple, De Lionne, Louis XIV., and Louvois, where stand out on his crowded canvas in their personality and is lineaments. His narrative, too, is confused and obscure; is no doubt, difficult to describe clearly the shifts and moves the stage of Europe, of which the Peace of Breda, the Triple hance, the Treaty of Dover, and the war of 1672, were only contward and visible signs; but we seek in vain for a clue in book to that intricate maze of intrigue and statecraft, in ich John de Witt played a conspicuous part. Even external hats are badly depicted; and such striking scenes as the at may all battles between the fleets of the States and of England m 1652 to 1666, and the memorable campaign of 1672, are bly and indistinctly portrayed. We must add that mistakes names abound, which we charitably hope are errors of the s; and the book, in a word, is another example of a singular in the literature of our day, how the French intellect, ever extremes, has forsaken its methods of the last century in the rance of history and kindred studies, and contents itself with using details, without an attempt to generalize, or to observe rules of art, order, or clear arrangement.
John de Witt was born in 1625. The family of the future

of the Commonwealth had been originally feudal nobles; like many of their order, they had turned from the land to unerce in the sixteenth century; and they had long formed art of the high burgher easte, which had freely lavished its like and its blood in the protracted struggle with the monarchy spain. Jacob de Witt, father of his illustrious son, had, like my of his ancestors, filled offices in the governing bodies of native town, Dort; and he had even risen to high place in States, for he was an ambassador from the Republic to the ut of Sweden. The boy was brought up with the attentive bestowed by his class in that day on their offspring; he sent at an early age to the high school of Dort, a seminary

We mention some of these, and could mention more:—Vo. 1 p. 7 'Spir es' Spirits' p. 143, 'Askan' for 'Astan', p. 371, 'Robert' for 'Rupert', B. 'Ha than' for 'Harman', p. 402, 'Shriban' for 'Shorthese' Vis. A. 'Oscery' for 'Oscory', p. 314, 'Solsbay' for 'Solobay.'

of European fame, and in time he became a student at Leider, the chief University of the seventeenth century. gave proof at these places of learning, of great industry, and the finest parts; he showed an extraordinary turn for law, especially in its noblest branch, developed lately by the hand of Gressi; and he not only mastered mathematics with ease, but displaced much aptitude in applying the science to numerous interaction The influences, too, which of his ingenious countrymen aurrounded the youth in the circle of home were well fitted a make the student a cultivated man of the world. At this period many eminent men of letters in France held close relations with the aristocracy of the burghers of the States; Montaigne and other distinguished Frenchmen had found an asylum or bene in the Provinces, and the philosophy and manners of France flourished at Dort and other chief towns of Holland, Jan de Witt, in his teens, had the great advantage of mixing ** this brilliant society; he became a cisciple and friend Descartes; and the French sympathies, which he felt tarour life, were largely due to the memories of these days. As the lar burgher, too, like the noble of Venice, received a very co-prehensive training, John de Witt became versed in may accomplishments; he learned fencing, tennis, music, and se forth; and, like other future heads of States, he dabbled a verse with some success. To complete an education of the most liberal kind, he made, with his elder brother Cornelis. for in life, as in death, the pair were united,—the grand tourch & seventeenth century; the brothers travelled through a large past of France, and visited London and the southern counties It was the time of the troubles of the Fronde, of the close of theee! wars of England, and of the tragical fate of Charles I.; but, = ously enough, the letters of the De Witts take no notice of the great events, though they certainly must have impressed the Very probably, with characteristic caution, the 1983 men were unwilling, when in foreign lands, to place on weet their views respecting affairs of State of the highest munits.

At the age of twenty-four John de Witt became an attention of the Supreme Court at the Hague. He carried in he had precocious fame, and some of his youthful pleadings are retreatly good, but he was not destined to devote to law about fit for a nobler calling. In 1650 the Seven Provinces shaken by a revolutionary movement, which, after a street rapid changes, ended in assuring the accordancy, for a time tho high Burgher families that roled Holland. William he the Stadtholder, the hot-brained chief of the illustrious Hage Orange-Nassau, had for years aspired to a higher position that

that of a mere chief magistrate. Allied by marriage with the king of England, he naturally desired to wear a crown; and with the connivance, perhaps, of Charles L, and certainly of the crafty Mazarin, he had secretly plotted to subvert the Repairie. A proposition made by the States of Holland to reduce the army under his command, gave the Prince the opportunity he sought; at the head of a soldiery devoted to him, he stempted to surprise and take Amsterdam; and he suddenly arested and cast into prison a six deputies of the obnoxious Powmee. His supremacy seemed, for the moment, complete, for though loud murmurs of discontent were heard, the different sates of the Seven Provinces were not agreed on the vote for the army, and in many respects were all in accord; but death mapectedly closed his career, and, for a time, defeated the opes of his party. A counter-revolution speedily followed; and as the Stadtholder's heir was only an infant-William III. was born eight days after his father's death -and the States-Genera, had little real power without the support of the chief bagistrate, authority passed to the States of Holland, at all ames the first of the United Provinces, and, as we have not control in its great Burgher Houses. The occasion brought John de Witt forth from the obscurity of a learned profession. His father had been one of the imprisoned deputes; he was known to be a young man of parts; and he bas chosen, accordingly, by his fellow-townsmen, as Pensionary, or head of its governing body, to represent Dort in the States of the Province. He took a prominent part in the long bates which followed the recent change of government; of the late Stadtholder from the hereditary place of chief of the rmy; and gave proof of such talent and ripe discretion, that he occure known in the States as the 'wise youth of Holland.' His rise, in fact, was so complete and sudden, that in 1652 he was selected to fill the office, temporarily, of Grand Pensionary, or Head of the Province; and this, too, at a critical juncture, then the Commonwealth was in extreme danger. The choice, perertheless, was well justified; he showed ability of the highest eder in negociations with foreign Powers; and he succeeded by admirable skill and firmness in preventing an Orange rising a Zealand, which threatened to overthrow the existing Governpent. Already recognized as the real leader of the class now lominant in the Republic, John de Witt was confirmed, in 1653, in the high place he had held for a time, and he was

[&]quot;The attempt of Charles I to arrest the unders of the (types tien in the former of Commune will seem to the mind of the midder of English uistary

made Grand Pensionary for the legal term of five years. He was a little older than Pitt when that great Minister came to the belin of affairs in England; and, like Pitt, he was for nealy

twenty years supreme.

The office to which John de Witt succeeded made hin President of the States of Holland, and Administrative Head a the whole Province, through the governing bodies of the leading towns; and it gave him large influence in the States-Genera, especially in their external relations. By the law, however, the Grand Pensionary was in no sense chief of the entire Commuwestlth; and his prerogatives, in fact, were strictly limited to the narrow bounds of a single Province. Partly, howers, because, as we have said, after the decline of Constitutions. powers, authority naturally passed to Holland, which was always the dominant State, but chiefly perhaps, because a great man almost always draws authority to himself, John de War became, in a short time, the virtual ruler of the Dutch Re-public. It was fortunate that he attained this position, for a master hand was needed, at this time, to golde the nation throgs a sea of troubles. The jealousy of a rival maritime Power is brought on a terrible war with England; but, though Troup had upheld the glory of his flag, the fleets of the States had been defeated in a series of fiercely contested actions, and had take refuge within their harbours, and the victorious enemy was pering upon the vast commette of the defenceless Commonwealth and was suppling its resources by a strict blockade, from the mouths of the Scheldt to those of the Eins. Meanwhile a quare had broken out with France, curiously enough concerning 124 right of search; and other States, which had felt the arms of envied the wealth of the Venice of the north, had tacitly combined in a Lengue against her. The Portuguese had reconquered bank and certain Datch settlements in the Indian Seas; the Count of Sweden was openly hostile; and even the Empire and its subject Princes anticipated gladly the rain of a Power which, in many respects, had presented a contrast humiliating to their own neds arrogance. Revolution, besides, with its train of cvils, had as we have seen, disturbed the nation; it had envenomed factors, destroyed credit, and generally impaired that steadfast patrious which is the best hope of a people is danger. The disasters the soon overtook a community depending for the most part on our merce were grievous, and threatened to become intolerable. Bepublic distress was so great that 'grass,' it was said, 'grewin the streets of Amsterdam, and hundreds of ships rotted a one the wharves; many of the chief citizens of the large traduct towns shut up their houses and shops in despair; a whose pe pulatico

population was reduced to want, deprived of its yearly harvests of the sea; even the peasantry suffered and murmured loudly; and it had become impossible to collect the taxes, the State being menaced with general bankruptcy. The nation which, a low years before, had emerged victorious from a death-struggle, such had founded colonies in many lands, had extended its sommerce to distant continents, and had made Europe minister

to its wealth, seemed about to fall from its high estate.

The Grand Pensionary contrived to rescue his countrymen ion these depths of disaster by a policy necessarily not brilliant, ad even, in some degree, tortuous, but well considered and bly conducted. The one great enemy of the States was Eagland, which, under the vigorous rule of Cromwell, was making Europe feel how intense may be the energy of a revocationary Power, and which seemed to have so completely besten down the Republic, that the Protector contemplated its mexation. To make peace with England, on any fair conbuons, John de Witt perceived was therefore essential; and be addressed himself to the arduous task with characteristic Mill and Judgment. The existing English and Dutch Governments had one common ground of feeling and interest: Cromwell was naturally jealous of the Prince of Orange, a kinsman of the fallen House of Stuart; the high Burghers of Holland regarded the child as a dangerous Pretender to their own power, and both viewed with dislike the Royalist exiles, who, with Charles II., had fled from England and taken refuge in the tenitory of the Seven Provinces. Making dexterous use of these entiments, the Grand Pensionary, after a long game of diplomatic address and intrigue, succeeded in obtaining the coveted peace, and that on better terms than might have been thought possible. England, indeed, obtained a complete recognition of her ancient than to the sovereignty of the seas, and compensation for begone injuries; but the States suffered little material loss, and the idea of annexation was for ever abandoned. It was stipuard, too, between the contracting Powers, that an asylum should be refused in the States to the Royal Family of England and their adherents; and the Prince of Orange was declared recorded from the high commands that had belonged to his Hose. A singular incident proves how complete was the avadency of Holland at this time. John de Witt, foreseeing that the States-General, and indeed the States of the other Parinces, would never consent to the clause of exclusion, proprovide that it should be submitted to, and ratified by, the States of Holland only; and Cromwell accepted this strange compromise, though it had no sanction from usage or law, and though though it was opposed by many even of the Holland deputies. The treaty, however, if irregularly made, had brought the was with Lingland to a close; and, as John de Witt had correctly judged, the Republic could deal with her remaining enemes. The dispute with France was quickly patched up, though it left better recollections behind; for France, at this period, has no navy that could pretend to cope with the Dutch squadrons. As for the Portuguese, they retained Brazil, but they were driven from the Indian islands and seas, and their Government was soon brought to reason, a fleet under De Ruyter having blocksded Lisbon. A great naval victory won in the Baltic disposed equally of the threats of Sweden, and the Empire and its visuals were obliged to acquiesce in the revival of the successful Republic. Within eighteen months from the Treaty of Westminster, the Commonwealth was at peace with all foreign Powers, and was able, so to speak, to breatne freely again.

During the years that followed, the States regained, and even increased, their former prosperity; and they attained the higher point of their power. The navy of the Common wealth, was: had always been the favourite service of the high Burgher class became more formidable than at any previous time; the ships its merchants filled every port, and carried the products of merthan hall of Europe; and the world - forgetting how fearl and me carrous was all that sustained this orilliant opalence-admind to restoration of the Dutch Republic. The government, mountain appeared secure; taxation was lessened by the reduction of the debt the great office committed to John de Witt was entrated to him for the second time, and the Orange party was firs while silent amidst general plenty and content. A new on however, soon opened in Europe; the Commonwealth of bachand passed away with Cromnell; Charles II sat on his father throne, and France, rich in all kinds of resources, and ruled by young and ambitious king, had become the dominant Poner ? the Continent. The Dutch Republic felt ere long the const quences of these momentous changes. Charles II, had mule smooth professions to the states, and had sailed from the lingue on his way to England; but he had not forgotten the Trest of Westminster, and he longed to chastise the insolent brights who had dared to offer an allront to royalty. Besides, 10 increasing rivalry kept up the old foud between the States and langland; the traders and seamen of the two nations had quarrely in every part of the globe; the Cavalier Parliament joined in the outery, and the King encouraged a national sentiment that felin with his own purpose. Pulibustering expeditions agust the settlements of the States in Africa and the West Island provoked peroked a rupture already imminent; the Republic instantly decared war, and the two nations rushed to arms once more, We shall not attempt even to sketch the scenes of the short but tremendous struggle that followed, and which is described at length, but not well, in this book. England was never engiged in such another strife at sea as the terrible Battle of Four Days, and England has seen few such days of shame as that m which the Dutch ships forced their way past (hatham, and made their guns to be heard at Gravesend. Of the fleets of he contending Powers, the English, on which the Duke of ink had certainly best wed extreme care, apparently made the barer show; it went into action in a more orderly line, its magayres were more exact and brilliant. But the artillery the Dutch was the more formidable; they possessed in De Ruster a great commander, of immense weight in the scale of Ciane; and De Ruyter, it would appear, succeeded more than once in breaking the enemy's line, a sure sign of a superpority is skill. As for the common seamen in either fleet, they were somen worthy of each other's steel; well matched in dexterity,

strength, and determined courage.

John de Witt played a great part in this war a tendency to temporize, which was perhaps his most distinctive fash as a statesman, he had endeavoured too long to avert the som by mere diplomacy and expedients of the kind; and, with a statecraft not deserving praise, he had given up three of the regainle judges to appeace the ill-will of Charles II honever, found the States prepared; and the Grand Pensionary, as Ifead of the Government, not only planned some of the chief operations, but took a large share in its stirring events. After be defeat of Ohdam off the coasts of Suffolk, he went on board the fleet to direct a commission charged to enquire into the Admiral's conduct; and he did not leave the flagship until the Amament, refitted under his careful eye, was ready to put again to sea. It was he, too, who ordered the descent on Castham, saperintended by his brother Cornelius; and, had the war conlaned, he had projected attacks on the ul-defended coasts of bootland and Ireland, which would probably have had great results. His scientific and mechanical knowledge, too, proved taluable in the highest degree; the accuracy of his calculations on winds and tides was repeatedly of great service; he perfected several naval instruments, and chain-shot, a terrible pissule now disused, was one of his ingenious inventions. The young brench nobles of the Embassy at the Hague have escribed with eneers how the great Bargher thought himself he equal of a Venetian noble, and, dressed in uniform, and with with a long dangling sword, stalked about the fleet with an in of importance; but the close friendship between John de Wand De Rayter, which dated from this very occasion, proves about the foremost scamma of the age thought of the assistance of the civilian statesman. The arduous exertions of the Gran Pensionary were rewarded by no uncertain success; and, though the effects of the Great Fire and the Plague contributed in the final result, it was the disaster in the Medway that mid England treat. The Peace of Breda in 1667 was not, as he been said, disgraceful; but it was different from that dictardly Cromwell. Each Power practically retained its conquests but the States kept possession of one of the Sunda island which they had undertaken to code to England; the Navigator Act was, in part, relaxed; a favourable Treaty of Commerce mande, and England in some degree modified her improve

chaim to the dominion of the seas,

Long before the Peace of Breds, however, the Republic 12 begun to feel the pressure of the other great monarchy to approached its borders. Philip IV. of Spain had died in bely and Louis XIV, set about accomplishing the traditional mod of the House of Bourbon for the increase of the power in dominions of France. He laid claim, in right of his wife, Man Theresa, an Infanta of Spain, to the greater part of the Spand Netherlands and to large possessions in Franche Comb, and with the calculating craft which often marked his conduct, & took ample means to enforce his pretensions. Everyting seemed to favour the ambitious monarch; his army, led by the first generals of the age, and organized to a high degree ! perfection, was beyond comparison the best in Europe: bi diplomatists were men of parts and experience, and his fearer seemed equal to any offert. By his alliances, too, he had, a thought, secured the consent of Christendom to his scheme of conquest. He was giving apparent aid at this time to the States; but it is now known that he was offering Charles ! a share of the spoil of the Spanish monarchy, if England would be friendly or neutral, and Charles lent a willing our to his overtures, though no positive engagement was made. As a the rest of Europe, Louis had obtained the acquiescence of the Emperor Leopold by a policy of promises, threats, and brite carried out with remarkable boldness and skill; and he had bought over, cajoled, or terrified, a majority of the princes sion the Rhine, who were almost vassals of France since the Peor! Westphalia. The Northern Courts, moreover, had been see b similar means, and also because Louis had soothed their fears b renouncing a project to place a French prince on the throw

classed; and even Frederick William, the Great Elector, already alons of French ambition, and meditating a league of German ares against it, had been brought into an alliance with the ing. In 1666, when England and the States were destroying the other in a deadly conflict, it seemed all but certain that the meted provinces would soon drop into the lap of France.

One statesman only in Europe had tried to check these proas of French aggression, and had already foreseen their toral results. Even before the death of Philip IV., John de in had exchanged ideas with De Lionne with reference to spanish Netherlands; and it would have been well for the and and France had Louis given beed to his enlightened The object of the Dutch statesman was to keep ance at a distance from the United Provinces; he perfectly detatood the kind of neighbour she would prove to be if tod on the Scheldt; and he proposed that, in the event of being obliged to cede her Netherland Provinces, theseonling to a project of Richelieu-should be constituted an ependent State, under the protection of the Great Powers of cope,—anticipating, in fact, the modern settlement of Helgium; as an alternative, that France and the States should agree divide these debatable lands, a fortified barrier being raised ween them. The arguments he addressed to the King and ministers in favour of this far-sighted scheme-which, it will penarked, forestalled the policy with regard to France and the w Countries, since carried out in different ways from the ice of L'trecht to 1830-are remarkable for their provident The Grand Pensionary, endeavouring to further the mests of the States, but reasoning to influence French statesa distinctly pointed out that England would never permit nce to become mistress of the Spanish Netherlands; that a able conflict would be the consequence; and that, in any , it was the true policy of France to keep the maritime er of England in check by a cordial alliance with the Dutch public, this depending upon the frank adoption of the plan mich we have traced the outline. The subsequent course of opean history attests the sagacity of these views; and how erent would have been the march of events had they been epted by Louis XIV.! But when did arrogance and conhas power listen to the voice of justice and reason? Colbert, said, backed John de Witt's proposals; but the King paid e attention to them; and, when everything was ready, the sion began. In the spring of 1667 three French armies ched from Picardy and Lorraine into the Spanish Netheris, under the command of Louis himself and Turenne; and the Vol. 158.—No. 316. 2 0

the campaign, it was said, was a 'summer journey.' In an incredibly short time the Spanish fortresses on the Lya, the Dender, the Scheldt, and the Sambre, ill-provided, surprised as weakly defended, opened their gates to the exulting or a length Lille alone stood a regular siege, and, as autumn approached the French watch-fires might have been described from the will of Brussels.

The Grand Pensionary, as may be supposed, beheld with alarm the extreme rapidity and suddenness of this easy conquist and the policy he had advocated was no longer feasible. San a however, beyond most men in expedients, and, as usual, m nouvring to gain time, he submitted to Louis a new project and proposed that, in the existing state of affairs, Spain shoot acquiesce in accomplished facts, and that I rance should real a part of the Netherlands; and the Republic, he added, weal support the lying, should Spain not accept the proflered of ditions. But on the death of the young King of Spain-a decept child not expected to live his old plan was to be entertained again, and the residue of the Netherlands was to be made neutral State-like the Belgium, as we have said, of the present day and to be partitioned, leaving a fortified barrier. surprise of Saint-Germain, and of John de Witt himself, Lan towards the close of 1667, accepted in principle the proposition terms, may, he claimed a smaller part of his late conquests the he had demanded two months previously. The Grand Peans ary nevertheless paused, maintained a dubious attitude sor time; and then, with a quickness scarcely his wont, adopted policy almost wholly new. The attack on the Lon Countries and the dangerous progress made in a few weeks by the ma of France, had aroused general a arm in hurope; and England, especially, the old jealousy of France had been see intense by these events—the fee ing, in truth, had been grown for years—and had provoked an outburst of national wrate this juncture, too, the men who had inclined to a French allow in the closet of Charles, and had usually supported a First policy, had been driven from office, or had lost power; and a set of ministers were in their places, who were generally bristed to regard France with distrust, and who, it might be support from their professed sympathies, would upaold a Protect Power like the States. The new Administration, may the har himself, vielding to the force of popular sentiment, made overtise to the Datch Republic, and the Grand Pensionary san in the proposals the means of assuring at least the success of his preshould keep his word. The result is well known to store to history; John de Witt and Temple met at the Hague; and the Triple Alliance was the fruit of the negociations of a few nomentous days. By this compact, England, the Dutch, and weden—that State, too, had become jealous of Louis—agreed that Spain ought to be made to cade—if necessary by force—the strip of the Netherlands claimed recently by the lying of France; but provision was made by a secret article, that, should Louis depart from his own terms, the Three Powers would betwee war against him, and would enter into a closer alliance. In the future of the Low Countries rittle was said; and, to castic secrecy and expedition, the instrument was approved by a small committee only, chosen from the body of the States-Loueral, and was not submitted, according to the law, to the States of any of the Seven Provinces, an expedient which shows how great was the power of John de Witt and his confidence in houself.

There is always danger when a State changes its old alliances for a new system, and in this instance the change was certainly fraught with ill to the Dutch Republic. Very possibly, too, the Grand Pensionary would not have taken a course opposed to his anal policy of leaning on France, had he thoroughly understood our insular politics, and read the hearts of Charles and the land. Yet we now know that he was completely justified in Latrusting the proposals of Louis; and he was in the right a calcavouring to find security against the aggressiveness of thing. The offers of Louis were not sincere; at this very one he had made a secret treaty with the Emperor for the final partition, in certain events, of the whole Spanish Monarchy, strasistent with his pledges to John de Witt: and it was pertaps the knowledge of this audacious compact that caused the Dutch statesman to treat with Temple. As for the Priple Ahance, it soon came to nothing. It lasted, in fact, a few ments only, and it had but little effect on the subsequent Peace "Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, by which Spain list a great part of the Notherlands. It may appear strange, therefore, that this elebrated League was regarded by a generation of Englishmen as political event of supreme importance, and that it really firms a landmark in the history of the time; and yet it is not difficult to understand the reason. Up to this period the power of I made had been growing for fully half a century, until it had become dangerous to every nation. In fact it overstadowed harape; and yet it had seemed impossible to check its progress, and no coalition had made the attempt. But the Triple Advance opposed resistance, for the first time, to this evil ascendency; and, what is more significant, it proved the forerunner of the adiances 2 6 2 which.

which, during the next forty years, curbed the ambition are pride of Louis XIV., and finally triumphed at the Peace Utrecht. For our fathers, therefore, it was the first turn in tide of events long viewed with alarm, the first ray that shower a break in the storm; and it became the harbinger of an age of glory, succeeding years of national decline and weakness. Many of the generation that had heard of Seneffe, and were eye-witnesses of the disaster at Chatham, lived to exult over the great deels of Marlborough, and to see England the first Power in Europe. The Triple Alliance, in the eyes of these men, was as certainy connected with the later events, as the rising of Spain in 180'-8 was associated in our fathers' thoughts with the triumphs of Wellington and the Allies and the fail of Napoleon.

The Republic was, for a brief season, at rest after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. John de Witt, re-elected in 1935. had become Grand Pensionary by a fourth election; and the States basked in the sun of good fortune which had usually shone during his long supremacy. But a dark hour of duster was near; and though, after a fearful trial, the Commonweads escaped from the danger, its illustrious head was to pensi a the shock. Louis XIV, never forgave the insult, as he thought it, of the Triple Alliance. That a junto of traders should theat! the policy and distrust the word of the Royalty of France, was a pleberan outrage not to be borne; and fuel was added to the wrath of the King by caricatures from the free Press of the States, and by a tariff hostile to Colbert's views. To hamble, perhaps to destroy the Republic, became with Louis a setted resolve; and to effect his object he toiled for two years wita so assiduous energy, which attests alike the vindictiveness of 14 despotic nature, and his high estimate of the power of be States. His army, fresh from a recent campaign in Franche Comté, as brilliant as that of 1667 in the Low Countries, was roused to full 200,000 men; and extraordinary exertions were made to fit out a fleet capable, to some extent, of contender with the renowned Datch navy. As was his wont, too, lone spared no effort to form alliances against the intended enem; and, like Napoleon in the great war of 1812, the King unwi more than half Europe in a League to crush the imperiod Commonwealth. He turned to England in the first instance. and the secret negociations and Treaty of Dover secured the compliance of the Cabal with his views, by pandering to the wants and passions of Charles, by encouraging Royal intrices in Parliament, and even by solid provision for English interest in a proposed partition of the territories of the States, and guarantee in favour of the Spanish Netherlands, or rathe d

what remained of them. The other allies of the King were gained by expedients, for the most part, similar to those which had proved successful in 1666 7. The secret treaty for the partitioning of Spain was dangled before the eyes of the Emperor; and he was told, on the one hand, that the ruin of the States would facilitate this iniquitous scheme, and, on the other, that, if he opposed the King, all Hungary would be stirred up against Extraordinary precautions were taken to assure the cooperation of the Rhenish Princes, especially of the great Bishops Munster and Cologne, for the territories along the Lower Rhine were to be the theatre of the projected attack; and the Elector of Bavaria, and other States, were induced or compelled to join the alliance. The Northern Courts were won over also; and, in fact, all Europe north of the Danube, if we except the Grand Elector and a few petty Princes, were combined in a Laugue to assail the States when the King of France should

give the first signal.

The preparations for the great enterprise went on during 1670 and 1671, and John de Witt laboured to avert the danger already gathering around his country. As usual, however, be regarded politics as an affair of reason undisturbed by passion; he hesitated, perhaps, too long to act; and in one instance, certainly of supreme importance, the hopes he entertained were completely frustrated. He made great efforts to turn away Louis from his evident purpose by tempting offers; be kept Spain outside the Triple Alliance, and opened again the question of the Spanish Succession; and he once more proposed that France and the States should reduce the naval pretensions of England, which had already given the King umbrage. Louis, however, put these projects aside, or tritled with them merely to gain time; and the Dutch statesman, it must be admitted, from his lifelong sympathies or from ignorance of Courts, was not suspicious enough of this dubious attitude. As for the rest of the Continent, John de Witt appears to have thought that the Empire and its dependents could not be induced to form a League so obviously fatal to their own interests, as would lead to an attack on the States; and if this conclusion was at the moment wrong, it rested on grounds of solid sense, as subsequent history amply proved. For the time, however, the States were forestalled, and had secret foes where they ought to have found allies; and, as regards England, the Grand Pensionary unquestionably was altogether deceived, with consequences even more disastrous. The diplomatists of the States at Whitehall failed to get wind of the Treaty of Dover; John de Witt was left in complete ignorance

of the late revolution in English policy; and, as Parliament and the nation still clearly pronounced for the Triple Alliance and all that was implied in it, he believed that he could rely a England, in the last resort, against brench aggression. As a general consequence, the States remained almost isolated as hostile Europe, and French statecraft had opened a way apparently safe for brench conquest. Yet John de Witt was not wholly discomfited in this long game of intrigue; Spain and Frederick William promised assistance; and these allumes ultimately proved of incalculable value in the hour of need

To the disasters that threatened the States from abroad was to be added, besides, a peril at home, which had grown ix years, and become most formidable. The Orange party has at no period accepted cordially a high-burgher Government, and on several occasions it had angrily stirred and crevel serious and widespread trouble. On the whole, however, it be acquiesced, in prosperous times, in the rule of John de Wisand during the boshood of the young Prince it was a defeuted faction without a head. The Grand Pensionary too, will characteristic skill, had successfully laboured to divide and lessen the dreaded influence of William III.: he had dextre ously played on family jealousies to separate and weaken in closest adherents; and he had contrived to enact a law in which future Stadtholders were pronounced, in certain circle ineligible to hold military and civil posts at the same time Nevertheless, with his habitual love of compromise, he has interectly opposed the States of Holland in a proposition to ab bit the office of Stadtholder, and to transfer its functions; and is setually undertook in person to superintend the studies and edow tion of the Prince, sincerely believing that he was a friend of the lad, and that he could mould William III, to high-in 1ghe 150 pathies. Cam and self-contained, like his great ancestor, be apt to dissimulate, even in his teens, the young man claudy accepted his lot, and treated his preceptor with studied order ence , but he suddenly quitted John de Witt's roof, on the 12st occasion when a chance offered, and he contrived to make be escape into Zcaland, always the stronghold of the Orange part He was received in the Province with general acclaim, was be clared by the States their ' first noble,' the local rank enjoyed by his House; and he was soon at the head of a great is llowing, eather sinstica ly attached to his name and cause. The contagi m spress through the other Provinces, and William found himself, at the age of twenty, the leader of a formidable party in the States, store in the support of the Calvinist clergy (always on the side of the House of Oranges, of the mass of the people, who torre with the

If the domination of the high-burgher easte, and of the classes ad persons who are at all times dissatisfied with an existing becament. At this moment, in fact, when invasion was near, count in threatened the Republic at home; and John de Witt, no had unwillingly raised the Prince of Orange to high place the State, was con pelled at the close of 1671, by general restore impossible to resist, to give him the chief command in array, and to entrust the defence of the Commonwealth to extract general of twenty-two. This was a heavy blow to Grand Pensionary's power'; and other causes conspired talake the authority already slipping from him, and to weaken at undermine his government. All who had felt jealous of his premacy, and the false friends who had fawned on his greaten, for I away from him in the hour of danger; and it had some impossible to act with the vigour and energy required a termendous crisis in a State torn by domestic frection John de Witt, however, was not found wanting, or unworthy

John de Witt, however, was not found wanting, or unworthy himself, at this great emergency; and the author of this book prices the credit of having relieved this part of the statesas career from the obliquy which has been thrown upon it. ben it had become evident that war was certain, that is in the months of 1672, the Grand Pensionary addressed himself reparations for the national defence, with the intelligence framess of a real man of action. The navy, under the francess of a real man of action. smand of De Ruyter, was already in a high state of perfection; sumbered a hundred and thirty men-of-war and frigates a of how immense was the power of the States at sea. John Witt, still ignorant of the Treaty of Dover, proposed to play a part of this armament in shutting up the French fleets their harbours, and in making descents on the coasts of ace; and great exertions were made to accomplish a plan dually approved by De Rayter. By land, too, with a true meet, the Gmnd Pensionary desired to forestal the enemy's ck, and to take the offensive, or, at least, to keep the Prench a distance; and he wished to fall suddenly on the exposed itories of the allies of Louis along the Rhine, and to occupy force the strong places upon the lower course of the river, owing garrisons, besides, into the fortresses of the Meuse. softwately the military power of the States was not equal to ets like these; and time was wanting to increase it largely, exially in the distracted state of the Commonwealth. The my of the Republic had always been an appanage of the use of Orange; it had not been favoured by the highrgher class; and during the long years of repose on the other, which had followed the end of the war with Spain, it

had gradually been greatly reduced in numbers, and had falled into a state of decline and indiscipline. Corruption, weakness and insubordination of all kinds, in fact, prevailed at thus me in the force which had once contended with Parma's legislation. and had repeatedly balled the art of Spinola; and, wta a strength on paper of 100,000 men, it numbered less than 30,000 soldiers. In this state of things, and also because the fortresses, which in past wars had proved such formidable points of defence, were many of them ill-prepared and larmed, John de Witt was compelled to abandon his project: and the army of the States, under the Prince of Orange, was concentrated behind the line of the Yssel, with garrisons on in the fortified towns along the banks of the Meuse and the Rhine. Extraordinary exertions, however, were made to mix new levies, and to improve the fortresses; and if the Grad Pensionary cannot escape blame for having, during his pretracted rule, neglected the military force of the States, and fr being too late at this conjuncture, he made good use of the resources at hand to place the Commonwealth in a state of defence.

In May 1672, the long-threatened tempest suddenly but Three armies, organized with extreme care, and furnished we every appliance required to master rivers and overcome forces. were directed against the territories of the States; the first, unor the command of Luxembourg, advancing to meet the allied ontingents of the two Bishops on the Lower Rhine; the second. with the Great Condé at its head, moving on a parallel line by the Meuse; the third, led by Turenne and Louis, by the Sarbr across the Spanish Netherlands, the neutrality of which had been violated with contempt, as in the case, long afterwards, of the campaign of Ulm. The second and third armies effected that junction not far from Maestricht, on the Lower Meuse. That celebrated fortress did not arrest the movement, having bett masked by a sufficient detachment; and Louis, following counsel of Turenne, a master of the great operations of Tamade, with his united forces, for the Lower Rhine. The celerity of the invaders' march was unexampled in the seen teenth century; fortress after fortress, assailed with the and resources perfected by the renowned Vauban, and feeling defended, opened their gates; and by the second week of Justhe victorious French had turned the great defensive line of the Wahal, and had penetrated into the province of Gelderland The barrier of the Leck was next broken through, an advaced guard of horse having forced the passage, under the eyes of the King, with audacious courage; and by the 14th of June are conquering

conquering army, from 60,000 to 80,000 strong, was rapidly marking towards the Yssel. The Prince of Orange had not more than 30,000 men to defend the river; his army, besides, sa too extended; and he was compelled to retreat from the last hae of vantage, and to fall back to the verge of Holland. Meanwhile Luxembourg and his auxiliary forces were overrunsing the Northern Provinces; towards the middle of June they had reached the Yssel and drawn near to the main army; and, is a few days, the fortified towns on the river, following the example of their sisters on the Rhine, had succembed to the sameer's efforts. Louis, before this, had approached Utrecht and taken possession of the surrounding country; and, by the 18h of June, the citizens of Amsterdam heard with terror that a test hostile force was encamped within a few leagues of Sur walls. Had the King listened to the advice of Con le *tie most daring and brilliant general of the age-a few thousand horsemen might at this crisis have fallen upon and captured the our; and, in that event, it is difficult to see how the Common-

malth could have escaped destruction.

Hostilities had begun a month only; the invaders had marched from conquest to conquest; and now Zealand and Holland were the only Provinces of the Republic outside their son grasp. Even at sea the projects of the Grand Pensionary had been to a great extent frustrated; Charles, throwing off the mash, had declared war, and endeavoured to suppress the voice a ms people; and the junction of the English and French squadmes had made the intended descents impossible. De Ruyter, based, had vindicated his high renown; he had surprised the aued fleets in the roads of Solebay, and had gained a bloody but indecisive victory; but the navy of the States, after the dataters on land, was compelled gradually to abandon the sea, and was drawn towards the coast for the national defence. The satuation seemed all but hopeless; and, in the universal pane caused by the rapidity and completeness of the French larsaion, John de Witt assembled the States-General, and, with their approval, sent a deputation to Louis. It may well be that the proposal to treat, at this terrible crisis, was an unwise policy; the Grand Pensionary ought probably to have em that concession and compromise were now useless, and that resistance to the death was the one chance for his country; but the step he took, it is just to recollect, was sanctioned by the great National Council, by a large majority of his own order, and even by many of the people of Holland; and finally

^{*} The Due d'Aumale, is the forthcoming volumes of his * Lives of the Coudes, "Ill, no doubt, expens this emportant passage of the entipagin-

it was in no sense opposed by the Prince of Orange and the military chiefs, who thought it impossible to prolong the war. On the other hand, the author of this work, with an industry ist research deserving all praise, has shown that the heroic resolve which first arrested the invader's progress, and proved the susstion of the Republic, was due in the main to the high-minist statesman, who is described by more than one historian of the time as, at this conjuncture, a pusillanimous coward. Before the I tench army had drawn near Utrecht, John de Witt had secrets given directions to have everything ready to pierce the dykes | 101 at the very time when he was parleying with the foe, he was inviting the chief men of the towns of Helland to venture apa a tremendous experiment, to be justified only by the extreme! of danger. The Assembly was by no means unanimous; must angry or timid protests were raised, but the Grand Pensseur was firm in his purpose; and, the magistrates of Amster a baving declared on his side, the orders were issued in the thir week of June. In a few days the devouring sea, regaining vel joy its ancient domain, had blotted out a rich and prospess landscape formed by the toil of industrious ages; and valves houses, pastures, and gardens, had disappeared under its sien wastes. But a broad and impassable expanse of waters by between Amsterdam and the Prench army, and men-xi-wir floating like fortresses on the waves, formed a line of delesses round the still imperilled city.

By this time the Republican envoys-of whom De Cout. a son of the famous Grotius, and formerly Ambassador from the States to France, was the most eminent—had made their very to the camp of Louis. The King scornfully refused to see them, and handed them over to the pitiless Louvois, why of the pretence that they had not sufficient powers, sent then back to the States without a word of hope, De Groot and he colleagues were at the Hague on the 25th and 26th of June but they found the Government almost in anarchy, and a see lution already imminent. The disasters of the Commenced had brought disgrace on the long dominant high-burgher care and had enormously strengthened the Orange party; an issurrectionary movement had begun; and the Grand Pensionars, a mark for conspiracy, had been severely wounded by the haso of assassins. Long and angry debates, not restrained by the wisdom and moderating influence of John de Witt, followed in the States of Holland and the States-General on the questiend treating further with Louis; the deputies of Amsterdam and of five other towns insisted on breaking off, and refused to vote. the representatives in the States-General of five of the Provinces.

he absent, or uttered doubtful protests; but ultimately a parity in the States of Holland gave De Groot full powers in name of the Commonwealth, the Secretary of the Statesneral withholding his signature to an instrument which ressed their consent. The vote, due in the main to the beence of a discredited class in a single Province, became the sal for a great Orange rising, and for a tremendous outburst popular passion. A cry went forth from Zealand and Hold, and found an echo in the other Provinces, that the base chants who had mismanaged everything, and had brought the tion to the verge of ruin, were about to save their wealth and ir skins, by making an ignominious peace with the enemy; a forious demand for a clange in the Government was ottly encouraged by the adherents of William, and was ked by a mass of angry discontent, and by the army almost a man; while it was even approved by reflecting persons, sincerely thought that, at this crisis, the best chance for the amonwealth lay in a transfer of power to the Prince of age. Words rapidly passed into significant acts; a general attraction broke out; in several towns the existing head men e violently replaced by Orange partizana; in others the magiswere forced to swear allegiance to the young chief of the ay, the government was denounced by excited and shouting bs as knaves and cowards; and in some the burgher class had unde their heads, or fly for their lives from the wrath of the ulace. The movement was wild, but, on the whole, national; rude banners worked with the quaint inscription of 'Omnge n, Witt (White) onder,' as they were flung out from many mer and steeple, or were home on high in a hundred marketivs, attested the force of the prevailing sentiment. success of the rising doubtful; the States of Holland-the are and seat of the authority of the late ruling order-were pelled in terror, and under the threats of the populace, to give Revolution a solemn sanction, and to place William at the d of the Commonwealth On the 1st of July the Prince was ested with the full authority of the ancient Stadtholders by Assembly which, a few years before, had tried hard to lish the office.

The change in the Government was sudden and complete, in de Witt ere long retired from the post he had filled with our for nearly twenty years, and the administration of the unconquered Provinces was transferred to adherents of Prince of Orange. Revolution, however, thirsts for blood,

and the abettors of faction and popular fary united in a ferre cry for vengeance on the alleged traitors and foes of te States. The late Grand Pensionary was naturally the chin object of this passionate hate; but the first blow fell on the faithful brother, who had been for years his best friend and adviser. Cornelius de Witt, as High Commissioner of the States, had been at sea during the late contest, and his pesence of mind, of which he had given proof on De Ruyter's in during the fight of Solebay, had won the admiration of the great seaman and his crew. But party madness thrusts acresuch memories: he had resented the violent change of magatrates at Dort, where the revolution first broke out, and the was enough in itself to mark him for a victim. An informer, afamous in life and character, made a false and scandalous stage against him, of having conspired against the Prince of Omorand, having been arrested, and, contrary to law, taken out of the jurisdiction of Dort, he was cast into the State prison of the Hague. The Judges of the Supreme Court of Holland, ettibeing partizans of the new government or influenced by the feet of the hour, felt no scruples about trying to extort a confessed from him by the direct tortures, and when the harbarous attempt had failed, and no proof of guilt could be found, they senteend him to banishment for life. This example, lowever, wester nothing, while the other brother, a greater criminal in the and of the multitude, remained unpunished. John de Witt tal been the head of the high-hurgher class; he had always faround the national enemy; he had done nothing for the letence of the Provinces; he had neglected, wasted, and musilirected everthing; and, mingled with these terrible charges, in which tas hood was artfully combined with truth, calumny noises, about that he had betrayed the Republic, that his private I is un been steeped in vice, and that he was a bad citizen and a designing traitor. Denunciations like these breed crime, as a matter of course, at a popular crisis, and a conspiracy was hatched to murder the statesman who a few months before hid been the pride of his countrymen. The wretches who had informed against one brother, and, terrible to relate, one of that brothers judges, were deep in the plot against the late frand Persionary; and it was finally agreed that a visit, to be made be John de Witt to Cornelius in prison, should be the occa-sion for the slaughter of both. The deed was to be unite by a mob directed against the prison when the brothers were asside but the conspiracy had skilful and determined leaders, and the sympathy at least of the multitude; and it is not improbable John de Witt was lured to the terrible fate prepared for m by an invitation forged in his brother's name."

The tragedy that followed was not only a national crime the deepest dye, with horrible and revolting incidents, but illustrates one of the lessons of history, that in a revolution thority will often fail, be untrue to itself, and become powerless presence of reckless and audacious wickedness. The charge the State prison and the adjoining precincts was, it seems, rided between a Committee of the States of Holland, at this ac in session, and the magistrates of the Town Council of Hague; and, as intelligence of a plot had perhaps been tained, a body of soldiers from the regular army and parties on the train-bands of the guilds had been stationed around bailding, with orders to keep the peace and to drive off crowd. As soon, however, as an excited multitude, stirred to by the authors of the plot, had surged into the square ound the prison, the members of the Committee of the States ink away, or only protested feebly; the magistrates, retreating the Town Hall, entered into a parley with the very men who d been told off to commit the crime, and the soldiers were irched away on a false pretext, the commander, alone true to dety, exclaiming against the desertion of their post. Thus work to be done became easy; the train band parties made resistance; and one of these bodies actually furnished hands consummate the execrable deed. We transcribe from the lumes before us details of the crime and the scenes that lowed; the parrative is copious and less dull than usual. The posins found the doomed men together ;--

The brothers heard them approach without alarm. Cornelius do tit, broken down by the agonies of torture, was stretched upon his d, he were a nightene, and was dressed in a robe of foreign stuff, han de Witt, who had kept on his shoulders his velvet chak, was sted before a table at the foot of the bed. He was reading the bic to his brother, to strengthen him against the fear of death, I the anguish of the last hear of life. The officers of the guilds, he were their guardisms, tried in vain to defend them against the referers; these areve them back, charged them with having been abod, and threatened them with the fate of the presenters.

A kind of prelude to the crime followed:-

In patient to hasten to the bloody end, Verhoef, followed by band, rushes to the bed of Cornelius de Witt, rudely draws curtains, and exclaims, "Traitor, you must d.e., pray to God, if get ready." "What haven have I done you?" was the calm

M Projects denies this but see Hear Martin and his sutportion on the side. -- Historic de France,' vol. and p. 404.

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answer of the victim. "You intended to take away the Present life; make haste, get up at once," said Verhoet. Front all resigned, as he had been in the presence of the terturer, and wh his hands joined, the magistrate collects humself in a last amorwhile a blow with the butt-and of a musket, directed against big and turned saids by Verhoef, strikes one of the posts of to and breaks it. He is commanded to dress, and as he is pushes a stocking on, a dagger is brandished at him, and he is for to get up. John de Witt, separated from his brother by the tion of the assume, and having tried in vain to lay held of a real to defend himself and die, boldly advances to meet them, are the them if they purpose to slay him Lhowise. 'Yes,' is the es; " tr iter, secondred, thief, the fate of your brother will be your At this moment, Van Soenen, a notary, strikes him on the tax of his head with a pike, and blood gushes out. The tirand Penser, kerel list. Crossing his arms, he exclaims in a first time of the. "Do you wish my life? throw me, then, on the ground at you as And Lo barod his breast."

The victims were then dragged forth from the prison, we massacred in sight of the populace :-

By Verboef's orders, John and Cornelius de Witt, fercod from 🛬 room, are violently driven towards the circular stations are twenty-mino steps. The Grand Ponarchary is dragged down first or brother, wounded by a blow from a board, is nearly thrown converhurled to the lowest lunister. Scarcely able to more be stowed Their hands join in a parting clasp, and looker out his arms cach other for the last time, each says, "Brother, good-bro!"
"When they reached the bottom of the staircase, they and

speak, and lost sight of each other. Yerhoef had made John has go on first; he kept close to him, like an executioner "Trock by the power of his eye, as he himself declared, as neall to be dared to strike the first blow, even with the ail of two compairs is John de Witt possessed a weapon to defend himself. He struthat he was confounded by the coolness of the Grand Pen as who, having now only his moreur to save positive of "If all Let in or me of treason laid to his charge, and exclained," If all Let in the latter would have been serrendered." Heaven the who, having now only his honcur to save justified home If he versation, and fearing that the prey would escape, the stolest began to accuse Verboef of having been bribed, and of scoperfrom John de Witt his purse and watch. To clear himself, h jade his violan away, and handed him over to the band of savige. were waiting for him at the entrance of the prison, in art. to "" him, with his brother, sixty paces further to the seal of a formation of his house in the Kucuterdijk. Their fury prevented the carrying out their orders, and the two presents were an helefore they reached the customary place of execution.

Cornelius do Witt, having been dragged rather than in the

form p

becape of his brother, he had been behind him, -was the first to by the hasts of the inviderors, "What do you wish mu to "he said; "whither am I to go?" Scarcedy has he possed hen the prison vault, driven along at the point of laggers and pikes, it entered the adjoining square, when, forced against the balustrade ta. overlocks the canal, he atumbles, falls to the ground, and will be under foot. Two citizens, a wineself realled Van Kyn od one Lozw, a butcher, strike him down with the butts of their one He was trying to mise himself on his hands, when Cornelis Assigny, an engraver, the heutenant of the Blue train-band, stabs with a danger, while a sailor splits his shull with a hatchet. be bystanders then rish formura and dance on the corpse.

The agony of his brother follows close upon his cwin. John do fitt having been led from the prison barehead d, and with blood and down his face from the stroke of the pike, had wrapped him-If rp in a cleak, and was making use of it to ward off the blows that re aimed at him from every side. He had been delivered from cancel, who, wounded by a blew from a musket, had thought it cafe to stay by his side, and was trying to escape and he was bressing the special rs in last wents like those, "What are you ing a mrely you do not wish thus " when the pitiless men of the the true band drive him back, and close their make, while he makes head, horrer-stricken, as the frightful sounds that naneunced death of his inches resoled his cars, when he is stat from hard by a pastol fired by John Van Valme, a navy officer, whose other had been one of Verhoef's band. Seeing him totter and I, the assassin exclaims, 'There is the Perpetual Edict on the bund!"

the de Witt, bruised and dying, is nevertheless still able to has had, and to stretch his observed hands towards howen, in this last moult is not spaced: "You pray to God? why you is believe in Him, you have long ago abjured Him, you trustor miscreant!" At this moment, mother measure. Peter Vertion, an innkeaper, leaves the ranks of the Blue trum-band; his baving missed fire, he gives the Grand Pensionary a violent w on the head with a musket, which leaves him senseless, and some other man of the same company -a butcher, Christopher in, was one of them thro at him point blank, and thus despatch

It was half-past four in the afternoon."

The atricities that followed bear a strong resemblance to the otting scenes of the Reign of Terror :-

Two corpses were all that remained of the great citizens who, e faithful and glorious services, had been immedated as their stry's energies. These, too, were not spared. Having brought ntry's enormes. These, too, were not spared. Having brought in to one spit, the train-bands next the prison ferm into a circle discharge their pieces in sign of rejoicing. The corpora were disagged to the scaffold; they were lung up by employing the looka

locks and bandoliers of the musicets. A sailor tied them back to back by the feet, and fastened them to the highest steps of the git bet, declaring that " criminals such as these ought not to be hanged by their bade Their clothes were torn away and the fragments divided. Assim Van Vaslm a postboy, one of the chief conspentors, got hold of the velvet clock of John do Witt, and ran through the streets, crying out

"Here are the rage of great John the traster?"

'In the midst of the howling of a mob thirsting for blood, the victures after death received treatment of the most barbarons knd. The two first fingers of John de Witt's right hand were cut off, as f to make him expuate the use he had put them to in signing sal assenting to the Perpetual Edict. In wanton outrage the more exerciwretches in the growd mutilated the corpses in the most shameful ad observe fashion. As if to exhibit the last excesses of savage britality one of those at this abominable work took a piece of flosh, and posted that he would cat it. The mangled remnants of the bodies were add by auction. "I bought," an eye-witness said, "a finger of John & Witt's hand for two sons and a pot of beer."

The 20th of August, 1672, a day long remembered with grief in Europe, was the date of this execuable deed of blood

The conduct of William in the Revolution, of which we have briefly sketched the outline, was of a piece with his well-known With habitual self-command and prodence, Le sou character. care not to forestal events or to make a single premature step. >> had the warrant of law for all his acts; he even refused with gure tlecorum the office of Stadtholder when proffered to I im, untab had been formally absolved from the oath he had sworn to obe But he had not uttered a wird to the fallen Government. restrain the savage violence of his extreme partizans; he allowed the Revolution to run its course and to raise him to power. without an attempt to moderate its disgraceful excesses: 22 acquiesced in anarchy, and profited by it. As for the brotten De Witt, we do not believe that he compassed or eren connived at their deaths; his nature was superior to deeds of blood, and, as a statesman, he knew that crimes are blanders. but he artfully encouraged the movement against them; be did not raise a finger to avert their fate; he cynicaly re-marked when all was over that it 'was a lamentable but a fortunate accident;' and the principal murderers were, bejied question, rewarded or amnestied under his government. genuine and even ardent patriotism undoubtedly blended and selfish ambition in prompting William to pursue this course calculating but far-sighted stateeraft. He felt, and he was san to show, that the safety of the Republic depended on himself and, not to speak of the extraordinary powers he was been long to reveal to the world, the ties that linked him to we Poster.

houses, and that became the means of securing the aid of more danone monarchy to the Seven Provinces, caused him to be at the crisis their most fitting governor. These considerations ull strongly for him; not ought we to blame his party for wring a change in the government at this conjuncture. The serices of John de Witt had, no doubt, been splendid; he was personally very little to blame for the comparatively defenceless stee of the Provinces; he had laboured more successfully than su generally supposed to combine altrances against the enemy; a the hour of trial he had proved himself not unequal to cope the a dire emergency. But he was the representative and head of a class which had in some measure betraved its trust, and did act possess the national sympathy; he had always favoured the and decried when a French army was at the gates of Amsterdam, in tasse circumstances, a general movement to deprive him seekee and to place in his stead a scion of a great race of heroes, who in other occasions had saved the Commonwealth, was to be spected and was not blameworthy; what history justly censures the abominable crimes of the Revolution which was the

conequence.

Success was ere long to justify William, and to shed a ray Eligat on the States in their darkness. A turn in the tide of inlessey events set in by the autumn of 1672. The progress al trench conquest was slowly arrested; two other towns made s teave resistance, and Louis returned to France in the winter. lathe following year the young statesman, who was now supreme in the Dutch Republic, had contrived to win over the Great bester and the Emperor to a contial alliance; and, though but n over and over again in the field by the brilliant generals of france, he pursued ais course until he had freed the terriun of the States from their late invaders. By the Treaty of Ameguen, largely one to the authority and renown of William, a he province was indeed added to France; but the Republic sugged no loss whatever; and a nation, late, v on the verge of ruin, specied once more as a Great Power in Europe. The result must be sembed, in a great degree, to the ability and perseverance of the Prince of Orange. Yet we ought not to forget that it was John de Witt who prepared the way for the very League which attractely saved the States from destruction, and who chiefly probased the heroic purpose through which the French were stayed in their career of conquest. After the tragic death of the Grand Possionary, the history of the Republic, and indeed of Europe. on into a new and eventful course; and a period of violent Values and wars, surpassing those of his youth and man-vel. 158.—No. 316. 2 H hood bood, hood, and more permanent in their general results, opened on a troubled and long harassed world. The broad consequence was to destroy for ever the menneing ascendency of the Bourbs Monarchy, to assure England supremacy at sea, and to reocc the power of the Dutch Republic; and the order of thags established at the Peace of Utrecht proved for many sens an enduring settlement. That state of Europe, which it was one main object of the policy of John de Witt to assure, his been made impossible in the march of events. His Repulled is now a third-rate Monarchy, no longer resting on France by land while endeavouring to restrain her ambitious neighbor, and no longer the rival of England at sea; and the aspiration of the Datch statesman are among the forgetten dresses of the pust. Nevertheless history still does justice to the washend his farsighted views on the ambitious pretensions of Louis XII. and the barrier fortresses of the eighteenth century, and the for and neutral lielgium of our own, attest his clear and sagscott forethought. We have endeavoured briefly to trace the outlies of the life and career of a great worthy, not without fault at ruler of men, but eminent among the deep-thinking statesus whom Europe looks up to with love and reverence.

Aur. VI.-1. Frederich Lillywhite's Source and Biographic. London, 1862.

 The English Game of Cricket. By Charles Box. London 1877.

3. The Cricket Field. By Rev. James Pycroft. London, 1873

4. Cricket Notes. By William Bolland, London, 1851
5. Echoes from Cricket Fields. By Frederick Gale. Lon

5. Echoes from Cricket Fields. By Frederick Gule. London 1871.

OFFIEN we consider that Cricket occupies a position areast our national pastimes accound only to that of fine inwe may well be astonished at the poverty of its literature less after year an increase occurs in the time devoted to it, in money spent upon it, and in the interest which it excites. But though it has produced much writing of an ephemeral number of volumes upon the subject which will last are but few believe, indeed, that the publications which we have placed at the head of this article represent, if not all, at least by the chief portion of the cricket love which the student of the future will have to consult, if he wishes to ascertain the positive neprogress of cricket in the last quarter of the nineteenth cents;

fits origin and previous history.

The pains bestowed upon the compilation of 'Lillywhite's cores and Biographies has resulted in the production of plumes for which few cricketers will grudge room on their In them every match of importance is recorded, from 1646 to very recent times, and a brief biographical notice is tion of every player of note who has appeared on any of the letropolitan grounds. The compilation of this work is undersood to be due to the great care and seal shown by Mr. A. Hasgarth, himself well known as a safe and cautious bataman. He travelled to all parts of England to collect information, specially as to the birth and burial of noted cricketers, and pared no pains to attain accuracy. It is ungenerous to criticize work of such labour and such love, and we trust that we shall wound any feelings if we say, that many of the matches hight with advantage have been omitted, and that the necessarily the accounts of the players can only have a temporary interest. The book, however, will be a useful work of reference, tootains many amusing anecdotes, and will afford a valuable means of comparing the various stages through which the game

Mr. Box's volume has something of more lasting interest. from it may be gathered a knowledge of the development of he game serviceable to the non-cricketing render, while the player who is versed in the technicalities of his favourite masement will call from its pages many valuable hints and

with special information.

From the pens of Messrs. Bolland, Gale, and Pycroft, we are lesser works which, though not without their interest to meketers of a certain era, have little or no claim to the attention of the general reader. In a word, the magnum opus of cricket his yet to be written; the cales sacer is yet to be found, who vol record in language which posterity will read the great ul ievements of batsman or of bowler, and the influence which encket exercises on the habits and the muscles of the present Pheration

No one of the writers to whom we have referred has been shie to tell us for certain whence cricket sprang or what is the derivation of the name. There can be no doubt that many bill-games are older. Tennis, for instance, was popular, and indeed had attained to something like its present development, long ere any allusion to cricket can be found. Bandy and golf are both more aged games. Bowling and ninepins are greybeards compared with cricket. Shakspeare, who refers to 2 # 2 tennis tennis in a well-known passage, and uses concerning it phrass still in vogue, has no allasion to cricket. Monarch, a supporter of tennis, knew not cricket. Until the eighteenth century the game had little foothoid, and even then its vitality was of the toebiest. It existed, indeed, much earlier. In evidence given in 1593, one John Derrick, then fitte years of age, deposed, with reference to a garden at Guildford, that 'when he was a scholler in the free scaon of Guilatord, he and several of his fellowes did runne and past there at crickett and several other plaies.' Lisle Busies, writing of Bishop Ken, who was admitted to Wincleser in 1650, says, 'On the fifth or sixth day our junior . . . is form! for the first time attempting to wield a cricket-hat.' Alusions are found of a much earlier date. In the wardrobe account of King Edward I, for the year 1500, the following words occur: 'Domino Johanni' de Lock capellano Domina Edwarda fil' Regis, pro den' per ipsum liberat eldem Domina and ad Indendum ad creag' alios ludos per vicea.... 1000 in 1365, certain games are disparaged as 'inhonestos lucos et minus valentey, atterfering with arenery. And blandys of handoute, which is supposed to be a sort of cricket, is inter-dicted by 17 Edward IV, c. 3.*

In 1.42 we find Gray, the poet, alluding to certain detinguished statesmen as having been not long to-fore dirty borplaying at cricket. Mr Pycroft quotes one of Walpole's level of May 6, 1756, two years after reaving Lton, in which he say a match at cricket is a very pretty thing to recollect. a 1748 the King's Bench decided that cricket was not alknumber 9 Anne, e. 19, holding that it was a very manly gasenot bad in itself, but only in the ill-use of it by besting part than ten pounds on it. In 1751, Frederick Prince of Wandied from internal injuries caused by a blow either from encket or a tennis-ball. And in 1774 we find a meeting a noblemen and gentlemen assembled at The Star and Gausto discuss the laws of the game, which, it is reasonable to make

had then made good its tenure upon popular respect.

We are not concerned to dwelt long upon the derivation of the name. Mr. Bolland—no mean authority upon the patiest which he did so much to advance—derives it from cross-wick and bases his derivation upon the idea that the easence of the game was the running of the batamen from wicket to wick. Mr. Box propounds, and Mr. Pycroft supports, the derivation the basion word 'cricce,' a stick, but leans to the idea the

^{*} See, for this, an excellent article in * Encyclopedia Britania.

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crickit' was the name for the stool originally bowled at; for which he quotes the authority of Cartwright's 'Lady Errant,' 1651—

' I'll stand upon a crickit and then make Fluent orations.'

If we were forced to select, which fortunately in an article seither etymological not archaelogical we are not, we should inthree to the notion that the name came from the crook or crick which was the origin of the present bat, and of which word tericce or croag may have been the Saxon progenitor, and that, as bowls was derived wholly from one implement in the game, cricket was derived from the weapon which is even now the

principal portion of a player's equipment,

One of the earliest clabs, if not the earliest, was that formed at Hambledon, in Hampshire. Mr. Pveroft quotes a letter from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Bishop's Waltlam, in which it is rated that the club existed in the beginning of the eighteenth centary, and he refers to an entry in the clab records, a net day, only three members present, nine bottles of wine, which points to the consideration that cricket was not the only object with with its members came together. None of the scotes are, however, extant carlier than 1773, when Hambledon Club was defeated by All England by 5 wickets. On the Hambledon ide was Richard Nyrene, the king of Hambiedon cricketing, and the father of John Nyren, the first chao deler of the game. On the England side perhaps the most famous was the player The always in the cricket world called himself Lumpy, but shore real name was Stevens. In this match there is no record I the manner in which the players lost their wickets, *** played on the Artillery Ground, Finsbury Square '--a round on which twenty-seven years previously was played the aud, which is the first quoted in Mr. Lilly white's book—Kent mas England-and in which Lord J. F. Sackville led the hop am to victory. Between 1773 and 1730 the Hamb,edon Club at only held its own, but gave an impetus to cricket which the beginning of its ultimate success. In 1791, Richard year left Hambledon for London, and from that time the Sambledon Club waned, if it did not actually disappear. But inclet was fairly started, and has never since lost its hold upon he affections of Englishmen.

Many causes have contributed to this. The game is a contest in which skill plays a great part, and luck not a small part. It is played in the aummer and in the open air; it gives scope both to individual prowess and to the same decorps. It encourages

good fellowship, it brings together all classes, it promotes beth, needs physical activity and even hard work. It affords some ment to those who play and to those who look on. The following verses, referring to a match played in 1743, describe not raptly some of the qualifications which then made cricket popula, and which have since confirmed its position as an English spec-

To exercise their limbs and try their art
Forth to the veriant fields the awains depart.
The buxom air and cheerful sport unite
To make Hulse* uncless by their rough delight,
Betters, whem nature has for war designed.
In the soft charms of case no joy can find;
Averse to waste in rest the inviting day.
Toil forms their games, and labour is their play.

The last lines touch the point which causes the weader of Continental spectators. It was an Eastern potentate was looking on at a ball in London, asked how much the ground of the entertainment paid the dancers. But even with Freezemen, of whom lethargy is no characteristic, the most pregnatoriticism of cricket is based upon astonishment that men should be found to enjoy taking so much trouble in hot weather: upon American gentleman once said to a well-known cricket. It is all very well, sir, for boys, but it does appear to me quantized to see adults running after a ball for a whole afterness.

Cricket in its earlier days, as now, owed much to prowho could afford to spend money in their amusements. in the earliest records we find adusions to, if not an accounts the performances of such men as the Dake of Dorset, Im Tankerville, Mr. Amberst, Sir Horace Mann, Lord Wise also and Lord Darnley. Of these, the first mentioned, the '118 Duke of Dorset, and the last but one to bear that the nearly succeeded in giving a very remarkable developed to cricket. He was sent as ambassador to France in 1724, 181 while there he made an arrangement for getting an Eagle Eleven to go over to Paris to give an exhibition of the case The Eleven, which included Lord Tankerville, W. Yalle the wicket-keeper, 'I umpy,' and other skilled players, * chosen, and had, we believe, got as far as Dorre, when the Dake was compelled by the course of events in France to a Paris and give up all prospects of the game. If it is true, so urges, cleaves a pathway of peace o'er the plain, friends France who are not players may perhaps regret the ill-succe

^{*} A pesetrateu physican,

his Grace's efforts. If the nobles of the reign of Louis Seize id had the opportunities of mixing with other classes which a like the Dake of Dorset and Lord Frederick Beauclerk and in English cricket, the history of the last quarter of the theenth century might have been less bloody;

* Trojaque nune states, Printuique arx alta maneres.*

Between 1774 and 1517 the implements of the game underint several changes. We have referred to a meeting in 1774 shruary 25), which was held at the 'Star and Garter,' Pall al, and at which the laws of cricket were revised. In the new de the wicket was of two stumps, twenty-two inches high by sinches wide. Earlier in the century the wicket had been p feet wide by one foot high-a wicket which would lead to assumption that the batsman must have been out if the ball sed through the stumps. It appears that this assumption ald have been erroneous, though we are not aware of any anciation of the rule. But from 1774 it was clearly necessary bowl the bail off or the stump out of the ground, and many the occasions on which an erring bataman must have escaped results of his ill play by the bail's passing between the miss. The date of the addition of the third stump is doubt-Mr. Pyeroft says that 'in a match of the Hambledon ib in 1775, it was observed at a critical point of the game the bull passed three times between Small's two stumps out knocking off the bail, and then first a third stump was led.' Mr. Lil.ywhite, however, states that it is impossible discover when first a third stump was added; and that some cents place it as late as 178). About 1781 it was found t balls, not rolled along the ground, but pitched a good gth, were so likely to bound over the wicket that it was seary to raise the height of the stumps: consequently they remained until 1798, when the stumps, which are three, t be twenty-four inches out of the ground, the bail seven hes in length.' The date of the next alteration is doubtful. he wicket was altered, says Mr. Pycroft in the 'Cricket d,' to twenty-seven inches by eight in 1817.' But the orting Magazine' for July 1819, quoted by Mr. Lillywhite, s: 'Several well-contested matches of cricket were played month; the game was played with the new regulation aps, twenty-six inches.' For a brief period, if we are to

M. Preset was 1814, in which he is clearly arong, if the laws of the Maratice task, respect to 1768 and quoted by Lillywhite are, as there is many to to believe they are, authentic.

believe the 'Hampshire Chronicle' of 1797, Lord Winchlas introduced a fourth stump, with the result that 'the game is thus shortened by easier bowling out.' But the innovation was unpopular and was specifily abandoned. In one point there has probably been no alteration since the earliest days of enciet. The wickets were ordered to be pitched twenty-two yards spat (that is, a land-chain, in the first recorded rules, and twenty-two yards apart they are pitched now. A longer distance would give an unfair advantage to the batsman, while most judges of the game, though not all, believe that a shorter distance would

give an unreasonable supremacy to the bowler,

The ball still remains of the weight, from 54 oz. to 54 oz., that it was in 1774. But the bat has varied greatly. Originally there was no limit to its size. When the bowling was chieff along the ground, the bat was made curved. Later, as length bowling came into fashion, and the desirability of hitting the ball along the ground and not in the air became more and user apparent, the bat was made straight, but larger and thicker at the end than at the shoulder. In 1774 the width of the ball its widest part was fixed as now at 44 inches. Subsequently he limitation of 35 inches in length was fixed, with —what many cricketers even now do not understand—no other or special limitation in the size of the pod.

We shall have further occasion to refer to the rules, but we will here briefly notice one in which a remarkable modificant has taken place. For a long period the visitors were allowed the choice of innings; a concession to hospitality which is not uncharacteristic of cricket, but which, when matches become more frequent, it was found impossible to maintain. In 1816 the rule as to tossing for immigs was passed, and has since been enforced; but in a note it is said to be a custom when the matches (what we should now call a home and home match) in played by the same parties, that the one that goes from here

should have the choice of innings.

We have endeavoured, but in vain, to ascertain when the word 'but' was first used. Lillywhite quotes from the dictions by Philipps in 1716, in which cricket is described as a game with but and balls, but history, so far as we are aware, is si cal to be when and why the implement of defence ceased to be a crocket

club, and became a bat.

We have stated that the Hambledon Club decayed, if it didnot break up, in or about 1791. Three years before that the the Marylebone Club seems to have come into existence. Presduc to the efforts of one Thomas Lord, who was promised the support of Lord Winchilsea, Colonel Lennox, afterwards Diff

of Richmond, and others, if he would start a ground at Marvlebow in succession to the ground in the White Conduit Fiesds, then probably being built over. Lord was a descendant of a Reman Catholic family of Yorkshire farmers, who had suffered in the confiscations of 1745. About 1782 he was a wine machint, and a cricketer of great zeal and some ability. Lord, to appears to have had energy, closed with the offer, and estabased a ground in what is now Dorset Square-not perhaps, we may opine, without some help from the Sackville interest with the owners of the Portman Estate. On this ground, called heds, a match was played in three days of June 1757 between coren of England and five men of the White Conduit Club with sa men given. Lord Winchilsen and Sir Peter Burrell played for the latter, who were easily detected. Lord's efforts resulted in the establishment of the Marybeliane Club, who revised the riles of their layourite game before the season of 1788, on Jose 27th of which year they played and won their first recorded match. We say their first recorded match, because, owing to the destruction, by fire, in 1825, of many of the old Atrals of the Marylebone Club, their early history is not perfects traceable, and it is by no means impossible that the club my auxe played their opening match before. Lord stayed, and the Marylebone Club stayed with him, at Dorset Square, till 181) or 1811, when, in consequence apparently of a disagreement with Mr. Portman about rent, he migrated to a ground caled the new or middle ground, near North Bank, Regent's Three years later the Regent's Canal was cut through the round, and Lord removed to the ground now owned by the Marlebone Clab in St. John's Wood Road. The original turf and in Dorset Square was taken up, so says Mr. Lidywhite, with each removal, and consequently when the Marylebone Club paren, on June 22, 1814, their first important match, de-isting Hertfordshire in one innings, they played on the same of as that which years before had afforded foothood to the men the moribund White Conduit Club. From 1814 Lord's as been a household word in cricket, and so firmly is the Virylebone Club established, and so widely is it supported, tur there is every reason to hope that the pact's assertion

· Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,'

14 not wholly predicable in a cricket sense.

Meanwhile cricket was not confined to the Metropolis. Stress good matches were played on a ground at Chertsey, and the Sevenoaks Vine Club in Kent laid the foundation of that Ptestige which, nearly half a century later, it more fully established.

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Surrey, Kent, and Hertfordshire, were the lead counties in the movement, partly from the circumstance that them resided the chief patrons of the game, partly became the prevalence of commons and open spaces apon which vul youths could cultivate their skill. Lord Frederick Besid used to say, he believed cricket was played earlier in Berki than any other county, and that during his time there had h more cricket in Berkshire than in any other county, and used to add, the worst cricketers. To the northern, and a to the midland counties, many years elapsed before chi penetrated to any extent. But a few matches were plant Nottinghamshire as early as the first decade of this century, in 1817 an All England Eleven were deteated by Twenty-to the county. The concourse of people was, as Mr. Box infe us, very great; those were the days of the Luddites, and magistrates informed Mr. Budd that unless the game stopped at seven o'clock they could not answer for the particular than the At seven accordingly the stamps were drawn, and simultaned the thousands who lined the ground began to close in apor players. Lord Frederick Beauclerk, who was on the England side, lost nerve and was very much alarmed; Mr. Budd said they did not want to hurt them. 'No; ! simply came to look at the eleven who ventured to plan two the feelings of his fellow-countrymen than did Lord Freder

We propose to refer to county cricket presently, but be will suffice to say that a match was played on Knavesmire race course of York) in 1809; that a Warwickshire club started in 1819; that the support afforded by the Rege a much to help Sussex cricket in the days of the Brighton Pavaland that in Essex there are records of a county club so far as 1790.

In the early days of its history cricket passed through a ganger, with which all its true friends trust it will never a be threatened. It was only natural that in its first stages game should depend much upon money. Matches were by patrons for considerable stakes. It was not unusual 500 or even 1000 guineas to depend on the issue of a saltr vol. xvi. of the 'Sporting Magazine' mention is make match between eleven of Westminster School and elect Eton College for 500 guineas, and the same periodical to a game for 1000 guineas, in August 1811, between the armed and the one-legged pensioners of Greenwich Hosp. These perhaps would not have seemed large sums in the of Brooks's and Crockford's. But they were large energical contents of Brooks's and Crockford's.

wouch discredit on cricket, and to force it into the risk of pse. For the inevitable result was produced. Ringmen wed all the principal matches, and where professional as congregate, there manoruvres of doubtful colour are sure sue. Even old Nyren bewailed the doings of the days of Winchilsen and Sir Horace Mann, Matches were occally sold, and were more often said to be sold. If A, or B, ed a catch, failed to stop a ball, or made no runs, he was down as having done so from unworthy motives, when very cently the faiture was purely accidental. The betting too exaggerated by rumour. In the celebrated match at Town ing, between England and Kent, Lord Frederick Beauclerk Lord Thanet were supposed to have 1000lf on the result in the game was over, the country people in front of the were surprised to see Lord Frederick pull out his purse pay Mr. Aislabic thirty shillings as his lost wager to Thanet. Nevertheless there was undoubted mischief. match at Nottingham, in June 1817, the umpire had to hanged. On another occasion two players quarrelling he ground were ordered to be brought into the pavilion og a great match. Recriminations speedily began, og a great match. Recriminations speedily began, were paid to lose the Surrey match? 'You were at over at Nottingham!' Who missed the catch at Bury? and who bowled at anything but the wicket in Kent?" such causes angry feeling was excited, and the progress e game seriously hindered. The evil cured itself. When sides in a match could be bought, and even the purchase players did not produce a certain result, buying became ctual. The leaders of the game found this out, and heavy ng on cricket died a natural and an unlamented death. resent, cricket stands almost alone in the absence of all rial inducement to success. Huge sums depend upon all principal horse races, the actual prizes of which, apart from are in all cases valuable. In rowing, in ataletic sports, cht-racing, aye, and even in lawn tenns, articles of conable and in some cases of great value are the reward of the saful competitors. In cricket we should be surprised to learn a hurdred pounds changed bands in any match throughhe year; and though for professional players who display ptional skill the hat is sometimes sent round, or the owners be ground provide a special donation, there is no reward sccess beyond the applause of speciators, the congratulations players, or the praise of the critics in the press. Every an who rows in the Oxford and Cambridge race is presented a medal. But not even a parsley crown awaits the boy w brose

whose prowess helps his school to victory, the undergracker whose patience or skill has turned the tide in favour of his lasversity, or the older player who has saved his county or he nation from defeat. For many years it was the fashion of the Surrey Club to give every one who made fifty runs on the Kennington Oval a new bat," but we believe this habit has ben discontinued, at any rate so far as regards a public presentation No trophy will mark Mr. Steel's great innings against de Australians at Lord's, which unquestionably turned the seas against our guests. He will have to content himself with the record to the annals of the Marvlebone Cub and the prinpapers of the day: and we dare opine that, true cricketer ask is, such a reward will amply satisfy his ambition

All this is as it should be. Cricket is above such pairs considerations. Though there is no modern Product to search wondrous lays of poesy in honour of the aeroes of the Ora & Land's, the fame of a great cricketer is such as to be in ireba-slight meed. If 'Monstrari digito pratereuntium' is an ober with U.yett or Peate, with Mr. Grace, Mr. Steel, or Mr. Sold cricket affords it them to the fall. What is unlgarly cale 'pot-hunting' may not be beneath the dignity of the russel the oursman, or the pigeon shooter, but it is well for Engal pastimes that there is at least one which is played solely for a

own sake, and of which honour is the only prize.

Before we pass from early cricket, it may not be write. interest if we refer to one or two minor matters. Original to as is well known, the score of each batsman was kept by noteto on a stick. In the rules of 1774, 1788, 17,18, 1816, and least the word notch is used for a run. When a striker is run withe netch they were running for is not to be reckoned. 19 soon after the last-named date the word cropped out of use 4 some stanzas extracted from Pierce Lgan's Buck of Spott. 1532, quoted by Mr. Box, it is said of Saunders that-

> . A fine flashy bitter, by few he's surpassed, And when he's well in fetenes raid very fait."

The original word died hard, and in 1833 we find a writer a the 'Sporting Magazine' saying three wickets fell without ! onotch. But with the introduction of scoring books the see phrase ousted the old one, and 'notch' became an observe term, used only as a joke. With reference to this, a cursu fact is recorded by Lillywhite. On July 8 and 9, 1783, 00

[&]quot; Mr. O J Ottaway revised sev nd buts after 115 dames of the annual H Stew on 1860. But these were girls of his friends are, advanted, but proattached to the game Hambledia

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Himbledon Chib played Kent, and according to the record dambledon scored ought we to say 'notched'?) 140 and 62, and Kent III and 91. These figures make a tie, and such was the result proclaimed. But it was afterwards discovered that Pad, the Kent scorer, whose method was to cut a notch for very run, and to cut the tenth notch longer, had in one place surked the eleventh notch instead of the tenth. His stick, which would have given the victory to Kent, was afterwards produced, but the other scorer could not or would not produce his

In the Kent and All England match in 1746, Bryan, one of he players, is entered as atmoped by Kips. The next record of this method of ousting a player is thirty-two years later, in 108, and the next to that in 1782. It is not clear how the hat was at first registered, though we are certain that Sueter, one of the earliest keepers of the wicket, got many men out. Possibly the record was 'run out.' Later, as in a match at Lord's a 1787, it is either 'stumped out' or 'put out. After 1790, the Fore universally shows stumped, or, in brief, st with the name of the wicket keeper. We find thit wicket scored for the first time in a match between Hambledon and England in 1773, and bot again mentioned till 1786. Lillywhite considers that, as in the case of 'leg-before-wicket,' the original record was merely 'bowled'. It was not till 1833 that the bowler's name was It was not till 1833 that the bowler's name was existered in cases of the fall of a wicket by a catch or stumping. The Marylebone Club did not introduce this change till 1836, and some years even then clapsed before the habit was adopted the newspapers. In the old days, therefore, many a bowner st the credit of a wicket which was fairly his.

At first the bowling was all under-hand. In the earliest days it was probably, as we have said, all along the ground. But the young the capediency of bowling what is called good leggs, so as to force the batsman to play the ball at the most officult period of its rebound, became manifest. This led to a charge in the shape of the bat, the old scoop or crook shape long abandoned for a straight pod. The next changes seem to have been chiefly, if not entirely, in pace and in the height of the hand at the moment of delivery. One of the first to decelop the resources of bowling was the player whom we have been alluded to as Lumpy. He was a tast, but not one of the fattest bow ers. He strained to great accuracy, and on one casion Lord Tankerville won a bet of 100l, that Lumpy would had a feather once in four balls while bowling at Chertsey, Lumpy's favourite achievement was to bowl 'shooters,' that is any, balls which, instead of bounding from the pitch, shoot

rapidly

rapidly along the ground. He was ever seeking a wick a suit this object, and it was said of him -

*That bonest Lumpy did all iw He ne'er could pitch but o'er a brow.'

Lord Frederick Benuclerk, who from 1791 was for nexts thirty-five years one of the chief patrons and upholdes of cricket, was, in contrast to Lumpy, D. Harris, and others alow bowler, who got many men out by catches and stumper His career as a cricketer was as distinguished as it was atended. His tenure of clerical orders that not interfere with his play; and at Lord's, even up to the year 1849, he was a respond authority on the game, even for years after age had forbide him to practise it. His slow bowling, delivered with a test olbow and as it were by a push, which seemed to give it 'syner was for a long time triumphantly successful. But a pure called Hammond set the example of running in to hit his and not only did Lord Frederick lose much of his confidence a said his forcness for bowling, but for a time slow bowless was forced to yield place to fast. Of the fast bowlers of the fac quarter of the century, perhaps the two most celebrated ver Mr George Osbaldeston the celebrated 'Squire' and MFB -and George Brown. Mr. Osbaldeston was as remarkated cricket as he was at other sports, which, as he was a first-rarunner, rider, shot, and billiard player, is saying a good be-His career, however, between the wickets was not a long or He was very fond of single-wicket matches; and, in iti-challenged that he and W. Lambert would play any four p England, Mr. E. H. Budd, a player whom we shall have occurto mention hereafter, selected with two others George Brank of Brighton, who was believed to have been one of the ince bowlers, certainly the fastest underhand bowler, that ever pland in important matches, but who at that time was not known to Lord's. Mr. Budd's side won in one innings, and Mr. Odadecton, who never relished defeat, was so chagrined that is removed his name from the Marylebone Club.

It is doubtful when round-arm bowling was first introduced. Mr. Willes, a Kentish player, living near Maidstone, has not of the credit of it; and it is said that he obtained the idea has the attitude and delivery of his sister, who used in the warmonths to bowl to him for practice in a barn. It is not downwever, that older players did not attempt the same practice and that the success of a bowler named Tom Walker, who was also distinguished for slow deliveries, did not raise such appartion to it as was successful for half a generation. In 1872.

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Lord's, in a match between Marylebone and Kent, Mr. Willes beran bowling round-arm for the hop county, but being 'no balled' left the ground in disgust. The law then stood as forces:—

The tall must be delivered underbanded, not thrown or jerked, out the hand below the elbow at the time of Jehrering the ball. If the tran is extended straight from the body, or the back part of the bad is uppermost when the ball is delivered, or the hand norizontally conded, the un pire shall call "no ball."

Mr. Willes's retirement was not therefore apparently justified, but it led to a heated controversy which lasted for nearly six jurs, during the whole of which period the new style of bowl ing was more and more practised. Like all reforms, it was polently apposed. Cricket was said to be degenerating into borseplay. 'Throwing Bowling' was denounced as dangerous, s selegant, as brittal, and even as unscient fic. Three matches are played in 1827, between Sussex and England, to test the bedield, Lord's, and Brighton. After the first two, nine of the All England Fleten signed a declaration that they would not av the third match unless the hussex players would abstain text throwing.' Fire of them subsequently with lrew their text and played, but four did not. The controversy raged burely in 1827 and the ensuing winter. But reasonable persels prevailed. In a closely argued and able letter to be Sporting Magazine, Mr. G. T. Kn ght, a cricketer of some o minence, announced his intention of proposing a rule which buld allow round-arm bowling, but maintain the veto upon driving, jerking, or mising the hand above the shoulder at the tine of delivery. His compromise, which was adopted by Bendbridge and Lilly white in practice, was accepted, and in May 1828, at a specially summoned meeting of the Marylebone the it was resolved to substitute the following for the 10th Law quoted above :-

The ball shall be bowled. If it is thrown or jerked, or if any put of the hand or arm be above the olbow at the time of delivery, the impure shall call "no ball."

Except that the word 'shoulder' was substituted for 'elbow,' is alteration took place in the law as regards bowling until 1564.

It is difficult to compare the past and the present, and therewe even if there were any means of testing the initial velocity with which a cricket-ball leaves a bowler's hand, it would be appossible to say whether the old underhand bowlers or the modern

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modern round-arm bowlers bowled the faster. The taker bowlers of the last twenty-five years have probably been & Harvey Fellowes, Jackson of Nottinglam, Tarrant of Carbridge, Hill of Yorkshire, Mr. C. W. Boyle, and Mr. Spiffinthe Australian. Perhaps with these may be classed Mr. Soc of Oxford and Mr. Hope-Grant of Cambridge, who player of the University match in 1803, and Mr. Lang, who player of Cambridge a little carlier. Whether these or any of them we faster than Mr. Oxforddeston and Brown, cannot now be decided But it is tolerably clear, that the advantage as regards species not so decidedly in favour of round-arm bowling as its open

neuts in 1827 seemed to think.

The conditions which undoubtedly made round-arm box at so formidable when it was first started, and which have so t a continuance of its effectiveness, are, first, that the ball near delivered from a greater height has a greater and therefare nor cifficult rebound; and seconday, that any bias which may be to en the ball is more difficult to detect than in the case of asir hand bowling. The first cause operated with additional dewhen the grounds were less level than they are now, and there fore it is but natural that with the spread of round-arm box u. pads for the legs and gloves for the hands were introduct somewhat to the d'agust of the older school of cricketers, a second to think it was manly to get unnecessarily hurt. It the principle of slow bowling, though it received a severe boxwas not destroyed. About 1836 W. Clarke, perhaps the net famous slow bowler of the century, appeared at Lord's (masshis debut oddly enough when he was . i years of age), and if man) years held a most commanding position from the with which he used to defeat even the best batsmen. It carried, we think, further than any bowler before him, the Dell of bowling not merely to hit the wicker but to get his opposeout. He used to study each man's play, and out he wall points, and craelly press his knowledge. 'We shal bor' "haccident" sir, soon, I know we shall, was his layounterpression when a botsman had apparently mastered bit, as accident we are bound to state there usually was, "His " you get out Mr. A.?' he was once asked. 'Nothing ease 's replied. 'I bowl him three hals to make him proud to forward play, and then with the fourth I pitch shorter tw state catcle him at the slip." Cricketers may well appreciate the sewhich could and did bring about such coups. But we m doubt whether a good judge of the game would praise the paof a modern player, who from the universality of his skil 34 well be called the Admirable Crichton of Ireland, and wise see

ed that he frequently bowled leg langhops for a catch to

ag-stop.

If Charke had a fault, it was the somewhat English one of ret knowing when he was defeated. He was a ways sanguing a wicket next over. Lord Frederick Beauclerk had the same ling, if failing it be. 'I knew I thould get you,' he once id to Mr. Ward. 'Yes, but I have scored eighty,' was the ply. It has been the same with other celebrated bowlers. Do not you think we had better have a change?' was once id to one of the best slow round-arm amateur bowlers of the decade, by a somewhat weary cover-point. 'Yes, I think

had, I will go on at the other end.'

But we have been lured from our object, which at present is trace the progress of bowling. After the establishment of ind-arm bowling in 182% though fast bowling was more quent than slow, and underhand bowling became more or out of favour, still the efforts of Clarke showed the effect of terhand slows. His style had many imitators, among the roumber of whom it may be only necessary to mention term Goodrich, V. E. and I. D. Walker, E. M. Grace, and, x. W. B. Money and A. W. Rilley among amateurs, and arge Parr, R. C. Tinley, and perhaps Daft, among pro-liquals.

As the grounds improved by care and by the development of size of rollers, fast bowling became more and more easy play. The knowledge of batting too increased, and it was not that on true wickets straight bowling without spin or it grew less effective, with the demand for some new form track came the supply of a school of slow round-arm bowlers, haps the most formulable of these have been Buttress (when proper health), Li lywhite the younger, Southerton, and Shaw, bag professionals; and Messes, H. Arkwright, H. M. P.ow, D. Buchanan, R. D. Walker, W. F. Maitland, and A. G. et, among gentlemen. We have not included Mr. W. G. ev, because his bowling, when at its best, was medium pace for than technically slow. Each of these bowlers has had a few years a deservedly high reputation. But the bowling II bowlers, slow or fast, is more or less ephemeral.

The reputation and position of a batsman is far more easy to intain than the position of a bowler. Like the Athenians old, the bowlers are ever seeking something new. A player rars, who from some peculiar variety of style is unlike his lecessors. For a time, it may be for two or three seasons, he lies everything before him. It may be his spin, it may be pace, it may be his judgment—with Mr. Steel and one or fol. 158.—No. 316.

sobriquet of Alfred the Great—held his own for me than many others; and at one time it seemed as if Grace would be as absolutely exceptional in bowling in batting. But the others, both amateur and lasted but a brief period, and year after year the me managers of clubs is to discover and bring out exponent of the most difficult portion of a crick bowling.

We have digressed rather from early cricket, as return for the purpose, first, of a few remarks upon wicket matches which were popular for the first contury. When betting upon cricket matches was it patrons of the game used to delight in backing on their favourites to beat any others. The rules at single wicket, but the matches that have been played last twenty years could, we believe, be counted upon In 1862, at Stockton, Carpenter, Haywood, and Tares five of the best men of the northern counties; and lab after a big match, a single-wicket match of some played between Mr. C. P. Buller and the present La ham; but the fashion has nearly died out. It may Pycroft rightly accounts for the reason, when he so have no real cricket in them: 'little catching, no wid and the best hits forbidden to score,' and-what important—that they lead to betting and all its cons. With this criticism we have no quarrel. But we certain fundaces for the exhibition of individual pro-

Boueleck and T. Howard for a hundred guinens. soming of the match. Mr. Osbaldeston was too ill to play, and wished to have it postponed. But Lord Frederick insisted-and be was within his rights-in abiding by the original conditions. Mr Oshaldeston was advised to forfeit, but declined. *Lambert may beat them both, and if he does the stakes shall be his,' The match created much sensation, and was watched by many spectators. Lambert, who went in first, scored 56 runs from 203 balls, before he was bowled by Howard. Mr. Osbaldeston casic an effort, but after scoring one run from three balls was object to abandon the attempt. His companion was put spon his mettle, and, scoring 24 in his second attempt, beat his opponents by 15 runs. Three statements are made about this match, for none of which we vouch, and none of which shows a state of things creditable to the cricket of the time. First, that Lambert purposely bowled wides-which it must be omembered did not then, or for some years, affect the score—to put Lord Frederick out of temper; secondly, that he received ronsiderable sum of money in addition to the stakes; and thirdly, that a bribe was offered to keep the match from publication,

Three years later we find three gentlemen of the Marylebone Club-Messrs, Oshaldeston and Budd with Lord Fredeboth Bennelerk defeating three players of England -Sherman, thward, and Lambert; an example of amateur supremacy then and for many years unusual. We have referred to the match in 1818, when Mr. Osbaldeston and Lambert were severely defeated by the skill of the fast howler Brown; and we might pate many instances of important and exciting games. We have, however, only space for reference to very few. In 1831, at Nottingham, T. Heath defeated S. Redgate, an unquesbouchly fine howler, in one innings, chiefly by throwing out his opponent at a distance of 37 yards when he was attempting to ma. In 1833 the same Heath was defeated by Dearman, of terkahire, a great batsman, who scored 111 and 9 in his two langs. In 1838, Dearman, who claimed the championship, a the which has never existed in cricket, was fairly beaten by Mr. Altred Mynn, the hero of Kent cricket, who scored 34 and as in one match, to 3 and 8 of Dearman's, and 55 in the return untch at Sheffield, to 8 and 14 by his opponent. Mr. Gale, Who is a great admirer of Mynn's, thus describes the first en Renter.

Dearman was a little man, and Alfred Mynn looked like a giant tende Lim. I can see him now, in a close-fitting jersey bound with red ribbon, a red helt round his waist, and a straw but with a broad

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red ribbon.' [There are many living now who will recognize the portrait] "Dearman, who had never been beaten, and was havely backed by the Yorkshiremen, had not the smallest chance with he opponent, and I verily believe that Alfred Mynn out X ster kindness of heart gave him a few off-balls in the second many as Dearmen was 110 to the bad. The little man made some base of off-hits before the boundary stump, and was no checkered, but was it got near 6 o'clock, shouts of "Time's short, Alfred; filled him off!" were heard from the threats of linsty Kentish yearing in I have a vision of a middle stump flying in the air and spinning in a whool.'

In 1846 Mr. Mynn defeated Mr. 'Felix,' who was no borb, and with this match ends the record of the single-wicket ends

games to which we have any inclination to allude.

We have mentioned several of the leading players in the early days. From the pages of Lillywhite may be gathered detailed accounts of the performances of many whom we may reluctantly pass by. Of Beldham, for instance, who began partial 1786, and was for many years one of the best batsmen. England, and whose cricket did not prevent his bear thirty-nine children and living to the age of ninety-six of Mr. Asslabic, who for many years led the Marylebone Clabra victory, and managed all their affairs. Of Mr. Budd and played for fifty-one seasons, and continued to practice and by was seventy years of age; who also made the first hit for use on record, and hit clean out of the old Lord's Ground ! Mr. Ward, who in 1820 made the enormous score of 278, wwho did much to perpetuate the Marylebone Club by purchass Lord's lense in 1825. Of Broadandge (of Sassex), who in 155 stumped or exaght nine men in a county match. Of Falle But (of Kent), long the chief of scientific butsiness. Of Mr Jane and Box, the two great wicket-keepers. Of the Lib. oracs Of Mr. Wanostrocht, who played under the name of Felix, and did so much, both by example and precept, to cultivate a prefer style. Of Sir F. Bathurst and Mr. C. G. Taylor, the last 15 distinguished at tennis as he was at cricket. Of Redgas 11st Hillyer, whom some good judges would mak among the fint use or eight of the bowlers of the century. Of George Part, where many cricketers of the present day can remember as the reco of professional batsmen; and of numberless others who, walls varying degrees of skill and for varying periods, have cocouraged the game by their presence or their play.

^{*} Readers of modern first in will remember that Tom Brown, in the list is nobeed days, "I owich slow lobe to old. Mr. Aldahie, who came in fit as held without."

ment of wandering clubs. There were plenty of clubs and then, but it was felt that great good could be done, by young players brought into notoriety, if some of the yers were to travel about the country, playing matches all opponents and in all districts. The first to carry theory were the Gentlemen. In July 1845 was formed by which has perhaps done more than any other to be and foster cricket; and ever since then I Zingari syed in all parts of the United Kingdom to the entent of pleasant companionship and good cricket. We stanzas of their well-known song, which will explain shod;—

The hall the stout cricketer urges
Cleaves a pathway of peace o'er the plain,
The weapon he wields leaves no securges,
No record of carnage or pain.
No; tis his to correct man's affection.
Reviving his pastime of old.
From one camp then we fear no defection
'Neath the folds of the Red, Black and Gold.

Then the wine cup, the wine cup bring hither; Fill high, we sip naught but the brim.

May the germ we have planted near wither,

Nor the star of our buthinght grow dim.

May the friendships we ve termed never sever,

May each link lengthen long and grow old;

Then a bumper—Here's cricket for ever,

'Neath the felds of the Red, Black, and Gold.'

example has been widely followed, and now wandering clubs are plentiful enough; but we trust many years use before the thanks of the cricketers cease to be paid to the three veteran chiefs of 1 Zingari, who still tate to willing followers.

16, W. Clarke started the All-England Eleven. His object lay all over the land, to bring the knowledge of cricket to he could not afford to go to the central ground. You cartloads of your balls, he said to Dark, where you sell dosens. Being a man of energy, he succeeded, against odds if necessary, were arranged in many to which cricket had not penetrated. For about years the All-England players, first under Clarke and its under George Parr, kept up their reputation, and eat deal to spread the knowledge of the game. Their however, was not wholly for good. Gradually it was found.

found, that they encouraged matches in which the gate-money was a greater object than the cricket. They withdrew the bear players from eleven-a-side matches, and developed matches in which twenty-twos of inferior players were, time after time, defeated by elevens in which the best skill of England was no represented and would have had no opportunity of display if r had been. These matches led to a vast consumption of varhad liquors, to carelessness, and bumptionaness on the part of the leading professions.s. County cricket suffered from them, and a brief, after a time it was found that, while they were benefiting local publicans, they were injuring cricket. The Marvichow Club, who for several years had encouraged the system to giving a match between the All-England Eleven and the United All-England (who were started somewhat later with the same object) a prominent place in their programme, windrew their support. Cricketers of influence in the provious removed to county cricket the aid which they had given to All-England matches. George Part, and some players was acted with him, endeavoured in vain to stem the tide of metion, and for some seasons refused to play in London. But they were too weak to resist a movement which was we founded; and the number of matches against odds steadle approached the minimum which it has now reached. movement started by Clarke was wholly regretted by some good judges, whose views we do not share. While, however, we believe that it did much good, we are not sorry that is attempts to prolong it failed.

We have said that in 1825 Mr. Ward purchased from Lark his lease of the Marylebone ground. Subsequently he ported with his interest to Mr. Dark, who retained it till 1864. Is that year the affairs of the club reached a crisis. Through end report and good report, the club had maintained its posters. Its rules were accepted without demur by the cricketing with in general. Its decisions were respected, and its example followed. But in 1864 its future required careful considerates. The number of its members was not sufficient. It was unit? ground not its own, and the condition of which was not conuclve to good cricket. It was availant that, if its permanent was to be secured, something must be done. Strenuous elicit were made, and on the 8th of April a special meeting of w members was held, at which the committee were authorized to make arrangements by which the club might become the least of Lord's ground for a period of ninety-nine years, 'ke in promotion of the national game of cricket and for the may tenance of the principles of the game. After a time, the new

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y money was forthcoming, the Prince of Wales subscribing I guineas to the fund. The lease, extended to the abovemed period, was bought, and the club was established on a ting basis. Under the direction of the Honorary Secretary, a Principal of the accommotion of members and of the public. Steps were taken, which we been carried further each succeeding year, for the improvement of the ground; and the result was speedily seen, not only the better cricket which has been played upon it, but in the pidly-growing numbers who come to see the matches.

In the same year, the club took another step of some portance. The rule as regards the height of the howler's id in bowling had, for a long time, been more honoured in breach than in the observance. Infringements of the law d become more and more frequently tolerated. Willsher of at, one of the finest bowlers between 1858 and 1867, was especial offender. 'Jackson's pace is very fearful, Willn's arm is very high,' was said of him in some pretty verses liten to the memory of Mr Alfred Mynn. At the Oval, in match between Surrey and England, he was no-balled by Surrey umpire. The decision caused some commotion, and bight to a crists a controversy which had lasted with varying ength for many years. As in 1828, the opponents of restricos on the bowlers prevailed. hand was felt to be no longer tenable. In the matter speed, over-hand bowling has no special advantages as comred with round arm. When the grounds were rough, inasth as over-hand bowling had a greater tendency to bump, it considered, and probably was, more dangerous. But the actly for this was felt by good judges to be the improvement the ground, and not the imposition of fetters upon the elers. The Marylebone Club therefore faithfully represented blic opinion when they substituted for the old law ten, the owing:

The ball must be "howled"; if thrown or jerked, the unpire il call "no ball."

With the decay of the All-England Elevens, and the inusing discredit thrown upon matches against odds, there eared a fresh and vigorous effort to attengthen and reorganize into cricket. Cambridgeshire, indeed, which had occupied high position as long as Tarrant, Hayward, F. Smith, and tra were to the fore, was no longer able to maintain its atstion. But Middlesex was revived in 1864, and, though fering from want of a ground, got together a good lot of cricketers, cricketers, and played a series of good matches, which it was continues. Nottinghamshire, with varying success, kept up to unbroken record of good cricket, extending from a vers eads period, and brought out some of the best howlers of the generation in Grandy, Wootten, Tinley, McIntyre, Morley, and Al ze Shaw, and certainly two of the most distinguished betamee in Richard Daft and George Parr. Yorkshire saffered from the *cricket schism,' as to which we shall presently say a few, a very few words: as well as from a schism of its own, he with the re-establishment of unity and good feeling they recovered strength, and now play good cricket, and play it will Lancashire formed a county club which has prospered, ad Gioucestershire, principally through the efforts of the Greek bounded at once into the highest place. Leitestershire, De la shire, Warwickshire, and Sussex, though their committees of management have striven their best, and though Sussex as rapidly improving in consequence of Lord Sheffield's energy and aberality, have not as yet found players of sufficient calibration to attain first-rate honours. Kent, after many vicisutudes sai having passed through a period of remarkable depression, is raising its head again proudly under the guidance of Land Harris, and, having had the somewhat exceptional advances of defeating the Australian Eleven of this year, has the propert of even better things in the future. Surrey, the resuscitation of which county dates from 1844 and who played a first the match on the Ocal in 1846, had a short period of cars brilliancy under the captaincy of Mr. F. Muler. Do not resignation in 1863 the county began to lose a little of mossition, not assuredly through the fault of its new captar. Mr. F. Burbidge, who was an excellent judge of the game, a placky player, and a good manager of a match. For any years it appeared as if the Surrey players devoted all the attention to getting runs, and alid not care to prevent their appearents from doing the same. Languages were advantaged opponents from doing the same. Long scores were advantageout to the funds of the club. If a match lasted the whole o' are days, the Surrey audience were well pleased. We are not convinced that considerations of gate-money influenced the or Probably the run-getting on the Oval was great affected by the dead level of the ground and the excellence s.th which the wickets were propared. But, from whatever cause, 20 fact remains, that matches on the Oval were for a long time, and are now to a considerable extent, more distinguished by brobignagian scores on the part of the batsmen than by merit in the howling or fielding. Let us take an instance or two from look In the first county match of that season, between Surrey and

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Sussex, 720 runs were scored for the loss of 22 wickets, Surrey making 201, and Sussex 328 and 101 for 2 wickets. In the sext match, Surrey versus 13 of Cambridge University, Homparey and H. Jupp, then commencing a short but brilliant career, scored 101 before a wicket fell, and the eleven marked 416. Cambridge scored 261 and 384. Huge scores were made is many other matches, in the majority of which Surrey gained the advantage by the brilliancy of their batting and in spite of weakness of bowling. In subsequent years the same charac-lenanc was exhibited, with, however, this variety, that while Surey failed to develop powers of attack (and in saying this se have no desire to disparage the efforts of such men as Southerton—as painstaking and earnest a bowler as ever lived), by did not keep up at its extraordinary height their powers of dince. In match after match at the Oval we have seen the kid put out deep to save runs rather than get wickets, and the mole policy of the game based rather on the chapter of accidents has the supremacy of the bowlers. It cannot be denied, that the Surrey Committee have done a great deal for cricket and here encouraged county contests of a high standard. luge scoring at the Oval has not been an unmixed benefit,

Various circumstances have combined to produce, in the last parter of a century, a great change in the relative strength of mateur and professional play. Time was when the chances of he 'Gentlemen' in a match against the 'Players' were of the must meagre. At one time, and that well on in the history of maket, the match was all but abandoned in consequence of its pelessness. In 1857 the Gentlemen defended wickets of the sur, size, while the Players detended wickets 36 inches by 12. This match, which was instituted by Mr. Ward, was called the Bundoor Match, or Ward's Folly. Instituted in 1806, the Gattemen and Players' match has been played every year since 1850, with great preponderance of success to the Players To 1846. For the thirty-four intervening years of the asches played on even terms at Lord's, the Gentlemen only on on six occasions. From 1853 to 1865, the Gentlemen ever won once at Lord's. This perhaps is not astonishing. As a rule, the best professional play at any game is superior the best amateur. It is but natural that it should be so. The bare who runs for her life has an advantage over the bound the runs for his dinner. The professional devotes his whole the to the pursuit from which he derives his livelshood, the genman only spares it a part of his leisure. A bad score or an unbition of bod fielding may lose a professional the chief part Lis opportunities of gaining an income during the summer, and

and risk his chances of establishing himself in some occupation when his cricket powers are woung. A gentieman only is perils his position in first-class matches. An amateur has the things to think of, and very often proficiency in other contribute cultivate. A professional attends to his profession toker Occasionally some exceptionally brilliant a nateur appears, we defeate all his professional opponents, but it is rare that not i position is maintained for long. Mr. Casa Major in sea are and the present bir Wilnam Dyke in racquets, were for a unsuperior to all adversaries; but they had other affairs to attent to, and the supremacy of amateur skill which they established

was not long kept up.

In cricket, however, a further series of considerations ones to play. The Gentlemen's Eleven has been for many recer into play. years made up of two or three men of mature experience, who have been able to continue to devote time to cricket, which the large majority of their compeers have been compelled to care to more serious pursuits, and eight or more younger men ato have not yet been called away into the stern business of its. Thus the Players have, year after year, been confronted by trace in as high practice as their own. Nor is tais all, Since . Said there has been annually found in the ranks of the Gentlemes player who has been enabled by exceptional arrangements in spend his summers in cricket, even though attached to a procesion usually requiring the whole time of its followers. Wires not say that the Gentlemen would not have won without Mr W. G. Grace, but we are certain that to the series of success which has for the last twenty years attended their play, scarces anything contributed so much as the extraordinary brilliance of his performances.

During the years when the Players had the best of it, there can be no doubt that their batting was more careful than that of the Gentlemen. In those days the grounds were not as smoot as they are now, and as between brilliancy and cause to advantage was with the latter. Carpenter and Hayward was play over after over without being tempted to take a liberty. Put and Duft, though powerful hitters, only hit when it was taken do so, and when, to use a phrase common enough in cricket are casily understood by non-cricketers, their eyes were well at On the other hand, the Gentlemen, with very few exceptions were unable to resist the inclination to hit. They had no the great fund of patience which was part of a professional cricketers stock-in-trade. The result was a repetition of mistorianes into the success of the amateur teams. In addition to this, there howling was not as good as that of the professionals.

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ameteurs did not care for bowling as they do now. They practized it less than batting. Mr E. W. Blore, Mr. C. D. Marsham, Mr Traill, Mr. Kempson, and others, were fine bowlers, but they had not the combined accuracy and spin of the professional bowlers to whom they were opposed. We doubt whether there has ever been a time in which the amateur bowling was superior to the professional. But it undoubtedly was not so, when the Gentlemen were invariably defented by the Players.

In 1885 the tide began to turn. In that year the Gentlemen wen at Lord's, and lost at the Oval. In the tollowing year the Grademen won at the Oval, and lost at Lord's. Then for many Jeus the amateurs had all the best of it on both grounds. How sech Mr. W. G Grace contributed to this result, a few short figures may be quoted to show. In 1868, in the match at Lord's, e made 134 not out. In 1869, he made 48 and 88 at the Otal; in 1870, he made 109 and 11 at Lord's (on the occasion when the Players were defeated by 4 runs), and 6 and 215 at the Deal. In 1872 he made 77 and 112 at Lord's, and 117 at the In 1873 he made 163 at Lord's, and 158 at the Oval toldly enough after having been caught off a 'no ball,' and after wing played a ball on to his wicket which did not dislodge the In 1874 be did not do much, but in 1875 he made 7 and 52 at Lord's. In 1876 he made 0 and 90 at the Oval and 169 at Lord's. In 1878 he made 40 and 64 at the Oval, and 90 and 2 at lord's. During the whole of this period his bowling and fielding were as effective as his batting. Indeed, without him the amateurs rould have done badly, for he was assuredly a host in himself.

Nor was his prowess contined to these matches. Between 1864 and 1877 inclusive, he played 352 innings in first-class matches and averaged over 53 runs, and he howled in 347 first-class matches and averaged over 53 runs, and he howled in 347 first-class mannings, and averaged 34 wickets per innings at a cost of 13 runs per wicket. His power over the ball was marvellous, his great height gave him a reach of which he knew fully how to avail himself. His eye was clear and accurate; his trought great; and his knowledge of the game unrivalled. All howling came alike to him. When other batsmen were puzzled by a new style of delivery, by a sudden change in the condition of the ground, or by difficulties of wickets or of light, Mr. Grace but to treat all circumstances with the calm confidence of a mater, and display to admiring eyes his superiority to all forms of opposition. There was, in a word, no sort of mistrust of the lictum that he was the best cricketer that had ever appeared, and much belief in the prophecy that very many years must has before he would be equalied.

Mr. Grace has been for many years a practising physician,

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and has for some time held local office in this capacity. It is obvious that, to enable him to devote his summers to cricke, special arrangements must have been necessary. These arrangements at one time received a great deal of comment, especial among the ranks of the professional players. There being a prizes at cricket, the importance of the distinction between amateurs and professionals is not so great as it is in other spheres of contest. But it is nevertheless of moment in cricket, as elsewhere, that the status of amateurs should be careful defined: and it would be a great pity if it could ever be about that men playing at cricket as amateurs made out of the run an income to which men playing as professionals could not hope to attain. As regards English cricketers, the Marylebur Club have taken effectual steps, by carefully laying down the qualifications for those selected to play for the Gentlemen against the Players at Lord's. But the conditions under which elevens from other countries obtain access to our principal grounds will, we venture to think, require careful consider

tion in the near future.

We have alluded to the 'cricket schism' which did asch mischief before 1864. Without going at all into the details of a disagreeable subject, we may say, that it was caused by an attempt on the part of the professional players to combine at the purpose of making their own terms, and settling where the would and where they would not play. The movement fairly because without the support of gentlemen of position prefer sional cricketers could not stand, and the leading gentlemes set their faces sternly against gate-money matches and matriagainst odds. Recently, however, the fashion of exhibit matches has been reintroduced by our Australian visitors, who have this year insisted on receiving for themselves had gate-money taken on the grounds on which they have plated; in some cases they have received more than halt. The poltion which they have been allowed to occupy, though perfectly honourable to themselves, is one which we believe to be very dangerous to the true interests of cricket. If their example is followed, we may have a repetition of the evils which are successfully combatted between 1564 and 1867. English per feasionals are well paid now (a successful player makes 3' or 3 a week, besides presents); and we think that it is much better that they should be employed at a generous scale of remain tion by committees of county and metropolitan clubs, than risk they should attempt to set up a society among themselves in the formation of contracts, which might appear for the monadvantageous, but the benefit of which would not be lasting Profession

Professional matches are interesting as displays of mature kil, but the keenest and most exciting matches are unquesimably those played between the Pub ic Schools and the Universities. No one cares the least whether the smokers beat the non-smokers, or the players over thirty are defeated by bose under thirty, and there is not much interest taken in the chances of the North against the South. The games between regiments and between colleges of the same university provoke excitement. But the rivary in the matches between Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and Harrow, or Eton and Winchester, is more polished, the espect de corps more thorough, than is the case with any other contests. What boy who has son his blue,' and is chosen one of the proud and famous body who are to contend at Lord's for the honour of their school, does not think of the coming struggle by day and dream of it by night, for weeks before the happy day when, in the presence of schoolfellows and under the admiring eyes of loving critics, he is to play his anxious part? What care is taken of the favourite bat! What practice is there with his caleagues! What painful efforts to improve the weak and are igthen the strong points of his play! And for the captain. but solicitous watching during the whole summer half of the old 'choices' of his cloven, what eager scarch for nascent skill, What ardinus what careful comparison of competing claims! combing of others, and what studious efforts to justify the high jos tion occupied by himself! At the Universities the same is the case, except that at the Universities the keenness is more siled, the enthusiasm less demonstrative. In the field, however, the University players have an advantage. Their skill is more matured, their experience more repe, their physical powers more developed. Young men who are playing for the second on third time for their Universities ought to be in the zenith of their activity and quickness. Their play should show, and older does show, more brilliancy and dash than that of older players. Their batting may not be as cautious, nor their towing as severe, as that of men half a dozen years their smors; but in rapidity of motion, in elegance of style, and in unflinching and unweatied energy, they should have no compters. Coupled with these qualifications, University players usplay a spirit of rivalry and a zest which has no equal. Conequently there are few cricket matches which afford so much statement, or give such opportunity for that real pleasure which ever accompanies a close finish, as a University match where the result is uncertain at the end,

Three times in the last twenty years has that pleasure been afforded

afforded at Lord's. In 1867 Cambridge had headed Oxford to 66 runs in their first innings, and were put in to get the sail. score of 105 in their second. The ground was last, and it was evident that runs would come speedily if at all. Inssmood a the Cambridge eleven contained five first-class bats, and twote three others with great powers of defence, the best judges is ticipated an easy victory for the Light Blues . We shall viz by five wickets, said a by no means sanguine partitan of Canbridge, now occupying an honourable position on the junctubench, who hoped that the spell of success on the river and the eraket field, which had long attended Oxford, was at he broken. Mr. E. L. Fellowes, however, the Oxford bowler, wu in fine form. Bowling from the Pavilion end he kept delivering over after over of straight, well-pitched balls, with a little curl from leg. This was just the sort of bowling to produce effect in a match of such intense interest. He was encouraged by early success, and bowled with great plack as well as with some good fortune. It was obvious that Oxford would six if they could keep the average of runs per wicket as low as 10; and oddly enough, as the score approached that figure, a write always fell. But between 4 wickets for 40 and 10 for 10 there is a vast difference, especially where every 'anick' gets and every 'bye' runs to the boundary. Still 5 wickets for about 50, and 6 wickets for a trifle over 60, kept the hopes of the Oxonians at fever heat. When Mr. Green, a very panuling player, was caught at point, and Mr. Warren, who in the last innings had carried his bat for 37, was caught at the wieses, the excitement grew; but even then Cambridge did not desput With 9 wickets down and some 20 runs to get, Mr. C. A. Absolom came in. No one better than he to score at such a crisis. Cool, uninfluenced by the excitement of the moment of the overthrow of his fellows, perfectly expuble of either defending his wicket or hitting a bad ball for 4, he seemed use very best man that could be selected to win a victory at such a time. Every ball was watched with interest. The bowlet who was bowling at the opposite end to Mr Fellowes was a test shooting bowler, with a quick break back which made it very hard to hit his balls on the on side. Ball after ball did he debret which this peculiarity alone saved from destructive violence. The score crept up; Mr. Absolom seemed invincible. Its Cambridge total arrived within 15 of that of their opponess. Two fourers, or even one, would have processy within 13, given them the game, from the loss of confidence it world have caused to their opponents. But it was not to be. A ball from Mr. Fellowes, with more than usual curl, took

Mr. Absolom's off bail, and the Dark Blue eleven had won by

the very small amount of 13 runs.

Even more exciting was the match of 1870. That year Cambridge had finished two innings of 147 and 206, in the last of which Mr. W. W. Yardley made the first 'century' that had ever been made in an inter-University match. Oxford, was had made 175 in their first try, had 179 to get to win. Mr. A. T. Fortescue compiled 44, and Mr. C. J. Ottaway played a most patient innings of 69. Mr. F. H. Hill was well in, and there were 19 runs to get and 5 wickets to go down. Many spectators left the ground, thinking the match over. Some good judges, not rating highly the batting of the last three Oxonians, especially at a crisis, remained and were well repaid for their patience. With 4 to get to win and 3 wickets to fall, Mr. Butler made a hard hit to leg, which would have undoubtedly scored the requisite number had it not been half stopped by the right hand of Mr. Ward, a left-handed bowler. With 3 to get to win and 3 wickets to fall, Mr. Cobden bowled to Mr. Butler. Off the first ball of the over Mr. Butler was caught at mid-off. The second produced no result. With two wickets to fall and 2 runs to get to tie, it was result. With two wickets to fail and 2 runs to get to tie, it was tolerably certain that Mr. Hill would score the required 2 if he was allowed a chance. Practically, therefore, it came to this, that unless the last two balls of the over were fatal the chances. of Cambridge were worthless. The huge ring of spectators looked on aghast. Not a word was said as the Oxford batsman strode to the wicket. The occasion was too absorbing for utterance. Every eye was strained upon the wickets. Whatever hopes or fears were felt, to none was expression given. The intensity of feeling was kept up-for the first bail of the two was fatal, and the last Oxonian came in with the duty of keeping his wicket up for one ball only. It is scarcely too much to say that no one breathed as Mr. Cobden started to deliver the ball, and the moment of time which elapsed as it sped on its way was of unparalleled auxiety. Alas for the hopes of the Oxonians! The ball was straight. It was unimpeded in its course. And by runs only Cambridge were declared victors of the closest University match on record.

A plucky thing was done in the University match of 1875 by Mr. A. W. Ridley, the Oxford captain. Cambridge had to get 175 to win, and had scored 161 with three wickets to fall and two men well set. At this stage Mr. Ridley put himself on to bowl slows. His judgment in doing so was sound. Affairs were desperate, and desperate expedients could alone avail. Unless the change were successful Cambridge must win, and success

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must come speedily or not at all. Still it was a bold thing fee captain to put himself on to bowl, and to bowl slows when so few runs were required. The result, however, fully justified Mr Ridley's opinion. His first ball disposed of one of the dangerous batsmen. The other was caught off a hard hit few the opposite bowler, and the last Camoridge main came in the get 6 runs to save the match. The first ball from Mi. Relegated, the second nearly bowled him, and the third das quite. Thus, thrice within the short period of ten years we the University match been decided by extraordinarily many majorities.

We have not space to refer to the many remarkable feat which have been performed in these matches; but the wints keeping of Mr. R. T. Reid in 1867, the two long scores of Mr. W. W. Yardley, 100 and 130, and Mr. S. E. Butlers tee of getting 10 Cambridge wickets in one innings, will not be

easily forgotten, and fally deserve record

That there is little to choose between the merits of Lion are Harrow, is clear from the fact, that of sixty matches between be two schools each has won twenty-five and ten have been crown Time was when, Harrow * being in the ascendant, critics from all manner of excuses for the failure of Eton. In chief these that rowing took away the best boys, and that the slow and less Eton ground did not conduce to success on the fast and unever sward of the Marylebone Club. Both these causes may have affected the result, but we are disposed to attribute the superiority of Harrow, which at one time was marked, a the excellence of the teaching which they had. There are in Plarrovians who will not admit that to the good offices of the present Lord Bessborough and the late Mr. Grimston, Harme cricket owes a very heavy debt. At a time when Lords av rough and bumpy, when balls rising as high as the batteria. head alternated with the deadliest shooters, when nothing con be more dangerous to a batsman than trust in a limited under standing of the law that the angle of inc dence is equal to w angle of reflection, F. Ponsonby and R. Grimston taste lessons of caution, and fostered a style of play, which we en mently successful at Lord's. Every ball that was not som enough to be treated as a long hop was smothered at its p.s. A straight ball was rarely punished. Runs will come if the wicket be kept up, was the lesson over and over again pressure. upon captains of elevens as well as 'new choices.' Take a liberties and run no risks. Punish crooked bowling severity

^{*} It will be remembered that Lord Byron played in 1860, in the Harrin Err

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out never be off your guard with straight. Opposed to tactics like these. Eton elevens accustomed to true ground were for a time a a disadvantage. But with the improvement of Lord's this state of things changed. The Harrow teaching to which we have referred was counteracted by the 'coaching' of Mr R. A. H Mitchell, formerly captain of the Oxford Eleven, and one of the most severe players of the present half century. The style such he inculcated was very different. His method was quite distinct. With him there were few balls off which runs could not be made. If a ball was the alightest bit over pitched, it hould be driven; if under-pitched, it could be forced with ha most dangerous of balls (rerely seen upon the level grounds of modern days) a leg stump shooter, with sufficient strength to sake the interposition of a fieldsman necessary if three runs were to be saved. No ball was safe from him; and with his ppearance at Eton arose a school of players well able to take dvantage of the improvement made in the wickets at Lord's. The result was that fiton, which had only won once between 1851 and 1868 inclusive, was then victorious for four years

onsecutively, and has since fairly held her own The improvement of grounds is a most important element in nodern cricket, the effect of which is sometimes not fully valued. the size of the wickets and of the bat, the size and weight of the ball, and the distance from which it is to be bowled, were ned at a time when grounds were very different from what edge of the proper method of proparing a cricket ground is no acception to the rule. Rollers have increased in size and have anshed out all irregularities. Mowing-machines effect a smoothwas which scythes could never reach. More money is spont in ratering and draining and generally tending the turi. No sath on a bad wicket, or at least on one on which the atmost eare had not been bestowed. The result is that the advantages patarally possessed by a batsman have been greatly enhanced. To a certain extent this was counterbalanced by the changeable eather which, for a succession of years up to 1883, has characterped our summers. Grounds were hard one week and soft the Hardly had the batsman become accustomed to the decessity of fast play and able to derive benefit from it, when ast play became fatally dangerous, and rece versa. Men playing on a slow wicket one week would find themselves obliged Vol. 188.—No. 316. 2 R end 490 Cricket.

end of the next. Even in these years, however, whenever the ground remained hard for a fortnight the scores crept up.

One of the best and most experienced judges of the game for whose opinion we have the highest respect, has held the view, that the long scores of the present day are due to a deficiency of the bowlers in pitch and spin. But without in any way wishing to undervalue the 'good old days,' we link whether at any time there have been bowlers who have held more accuracy of pitch and greater severity of spin than submer as Ulyett, Pente, Bates, Barlow, Spofforth, and Mr Steil And yet what enormous scores are made off them? Let us at what happened after a spell of fine weather in August in. Nottingham made 404 against Middlesex; Surrey, 440 against Wiltshire; Notts Castle, 301, and Gentlemen of Susser, 32, against Marylebone; Somersetshire, 300 against Devosible Yorkshire, 338 against Kent; Herefordshire, 530 against Essa Surrey, 319 against Derbyshire; Sussex, 359 against Verkibre In the Gloucestershire and Middlesex match, after three days

play, thirty wickets had fallen for 978 runs

Undoubted v there are instances of small totals. Thus i for eleven of Gloocestershire only made 83 against the Australius on a good wicket. But this does not alter the fact, that L., scores are very frequent when the grounds are hard and is wickets are good. This we do not think to be for the advantage We believe the game would be a better game if the of cricket. innings were shorter. The Marylehone Club, after many remi winking at a departure from the rule, have enacted that me day matches shall be decided by the first innings if not plant out-thus admitting what has long been recognized as a .sc. that a whole summer's day is not sufficient for an opinal match at cricket. Two days are notoriously insufficient w good matches, and there have been many instances in which first-class contests have been unfinished at the end of the days' play. There are few men who will afford this time ! an amusement. The managers of University cricket were d late years Litterly complained that lawn tennis attracts min' good players from the cricket-field. Men can shoot, or hat or fish, without abandoning other occupations. But from Mar to August any one who seeks to hold a first-class position it cricket must give it his whole time, to the utter exclusion of all else.

If 100 were a winning score for a side instead of, as now a pultry performance, fewer matches would be left drawn, the play would be more interesting to watch, men who have ess engagements would not be forced to abandon firstcricket so early in life, and the gratification of the players alves would be greater. We are fully aware that against ch change many influences combine. Batamen who care for their own score than the success of their side, rejoice king manings of 100 or, as it is now, even 200 runs; is lovers of the sensational are pleased when huge figures played on the telegraph board. But really good judges game would be far more pleased with close contests and batting under more difficult circumstances, than they we, where tagged bowlets and jaded fieldsmen work at the melfort of getting out good batsmen whose task is too ad whose advantages are too great. And the best players derive far more satisfaction from 30 or 40 runs made dithculties, than they get from punishing bowling which chance of success.

m we come to the remedy, the position is not so clear. eration of the law of leg before wicket would do some-The law as it stands was passed by the Marylebone very much at the instance of Mr. Aislabie, who si led bark in a dispute as to the meaning of 'a straight ball' When the law him and Caldicourt, another umpire. ssed, very few persons foresaw its full effect. And at many of the best balls of a bowler who bowls 'round ket are defeated by the bataman's legs. Any change however, put so much into the power of umpires that this of redressing the inequality is not universally approved. rease the size of the wickets, or leasen the size of the other alternatives. If Mr. Ward, when he arranged sch called 'Ward's Folly,' had contented himself with be would have received some support which he did not may be that a larger wicket may again be tried. to the delight which many good players take in a with broomsticks, we should think the more popular rould be to deduct from the width of the bat. Cricket, games, is very conservative, and we do not anticispecily adoption of any considerable change. But if and wearisome innings of the present time are allowed nue, bowlers will become weaker and weaker, and firstficket will be confined to professionals, or quasi-pros, and youths of immature experience.

on the Continent it has made no progress. An

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English eleven visited Paris some years ago, but their opposess were their own countrymen; and the French, who hold a large position at tennis, have shown no aptitude for cricket. Itsee elevens from England have visited America; professions a 1850 and 1868, and amateurs in 1871. The last eleven we led by Mr. R. A. FitzGerald, by whom the visit was consistented in a writy and amusing little volume, to which we work we had space to refer. The matches were invariably against odds. Except in Philadelphia, cricket has not availed against the counter attractions of buse-bail. In Philadelphia there is a strong club, the representatives of which have been beauty welcomed this year in England, and are to be thanked for their place and increasingly able performances. It remains to be seen whether they will be able to form a sufficiently strong position to spread the love of a game which has not yet obtained a last

on the affections of the American people.

Elevens have vivited Australia, where the knowledge of the game soon grew. What qualifications our colonial communitare for it, is proved by the extraordinary success of the men who, we the third time, have played exhibition matches in this count Such a team has rarely been seen in the cricket field. The have won oftener than they have lost, when playing against of atrongest counties. They have exhibited no failure, even again representative English elevens. There are some who wind differ from our opinion, that they would oftener than not to defeated by the best eleven which England can produce; but there is no one who would refuse to admit that they have give an example, from which even the most skilful of our countries The conditions under which have had something to learn. they play are those they have made for their own advantage For this no blame attaches to them. While in the hirse interests of cricket we think that those conditions are open to question, and should receive careful reconsideration, we gain pay the highest tribute to the skill and determination white have afforded great enjoyment to the many thousands who have greeted the Australians wherever they have appeared.

Cricket has been played, with more or less success, in same parts of Ireland. In Dublin the Phonix Club can bust together a strong team, and, under the guidance of an air secretary, has played many good matches. In the various part of the Phonix Park knots of boys and men may be seen

^{*} Wickets in the West.' Moure Timbey Brothers

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tapart for the working men of Dublin. In Cork and Belfast lere are good clubs. Nor are there wanting signs that, among the country people of other parts of Ireland, a desire is spreading a encourage and to cultivate a game which affords, in the trongest and yet the most harmless shape, an opportunity for the display of that spirit of temulation which is eminently haracteristic of Irishmen. The local clergy of all denominations are beginning to see the advantages of cricket as a partime, and it is earnestly to be hoped that their efforts to

d ivate it may succeed.

For the future of cricket we have little fear. Two dangers dy do we foresee for it: the effect of the superiority of the uting in discouraging gentlemen from undertaking matches such cannot be finished in two days, and the cycle which suld follow if committees paid elevens by gate-money instead so much a man. We have confidence that the managers of agish cricket will avoid both dangers. The Marylebone tab holds a powerful position, and the relations between its ammittee and the county committees are most friendly. In his hands the true interests of cricket are not likely to suffer, there from difficulties of pecuniary administration, or from reasonable unwillingness to make a very good game a better e, when occasion and opportunity for improvements are own.

We cannot conclude without reference to the loss sustained is year by the death of a gentleman to whom all cricketers e a debt of gratitude, and for whose memory Harrow secially feels the most thankful and affectionate respect. 2. Robert Grimston was the type of a cricketer of the best tarnest and painstaking, he met and overcame all If culties as patiently and carefully as he used to overcome all wing. He lived to see cricket pass through many changes, all of these his counsel and co-operation were freely given ed beneficially used. By his tuition and daily care Harrow icket was raised to a very high pitch of perfection. Halfalday after half-holiday would be spend teaching the boys of ta upper and lower school lessons of carefulness and good yle. And it is scarcely too much to say, that what he taught cricket was profitable to those who learned in many other ays. His efforts were appreciated by young and old, and to memory were written by Mr. E. E. Bowen, one of the farrow masters, some graceful lines, which we quote here, est because of their literary merit, and secondly as describing

a method and character well worthy of imitation, net only cricket, but in more serious and important paths of the

Still the balls ring upon the sun bit grass, Still the big class, deep shadowed, watch the play; And ordered game and loyal conflict pass. The hours of May.

But the game's guardian, mute, nor heeding more What suns may gladden, and what airs may blow, Friend, teacher, playmate, helper, counseller, Lies resting now.

"Over "-they move, as bide their fieldman's art; With stifted scene the strife begins anew; "Over "- we seem to hear him, but his part Is ever, too.

¹ He awayed his realm of grass, and planned, and wrongs; Warned rash intruders from the tended sward; A workman, deeming, for the friends he taught, No service hard.

• He found, behind first failure, more success; Checred stout endoavour more than languid skill; And ruled the heart of boyhood with the stress Of helpful will.

Well played. His life was honester than ours;
 We scheme, he worked; we heattate, he spoke;
 His rough hown stem held no concealing flowers.
 But grain of oak.

No earthly umpire speaks, his grave above; And thanks are dumb, and prame is all too late. That worth and truth, that manhood and that love, Are hid, and wait.

'Sleep gently, where thou sleepest, dear old friend Think, if then thinkest, on the bright days past. Yet leftier Lave, and worthier Truth attend What more thou hast!'

VII. 1. Œuvres de Massillon, édition annotée et nuivie de ces indites. Par l'Abbé Blampignon, Professeur à la

rbonne. 4 vols. 4to. Paris, 1865–1868.

To de Massillon; la jeunesse et la prédication. By the same other. Paris, 1879.

Lipiscopat de Massillon; suivi de sa correspondance. By the me Author. Paris, 1884.

may be said, we think, without fear of over-stating the fact, respecting the last of the three great preschers upon e lips the splendid Court of Louis XIV, was accustomed ing in almost breathless suspense, that to English renders meral he has hitherto been little more than a name and a

seet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, form a triad, each of whom tually suggests the other two, so closely linked together they become in the annals of the Christian pulpit. In the of time they make a nearly continuous succession, for not be word ceased to sound in the chapel of Versailles from mouth of the first, did the second lift up his voice in the of the Court; and it was only when this voice too had sunk ilence that the third took up his parable, and achieved the triumph of shaking, if it were but for a moment, the trate self-complacency of the agod monarch. In the order le, also, they followed each other with a marked gradation, has been compared to the transition from Homer to osthenes, and from Demosthenes to Cicero; the sonorous ric of the earliest giving place to the penetrating austerity s successor, as this again was followed by the diffuse sasiveness of the last of the three. What it particularly rns our purpose to note is the fact, that of the treasures of tian eloquence left by them to enrich the world, Mas-'s share has in this country enjoyed the widest popularity, much because of any supposed superiority of rhetorical in his sermons, or of any more distinct flavour of evan-I truth which has been detected in them; but because in comparative freedom from dogmas peculiar to Rome, and cir almost exclusive insistence on the moral side of Chris-y, they have hit the provailing taste in religion among us more success than their rivals. Of these three illustrious ers, then, it is Massillon who has established for himself idest hold on the English mind. But it is his word, not ersonality, that has become thus familiar among us. We the voice, but not the speaker; the communication, but he man. That is the distinction which we desire to GULLICATISE. emphasize. For every hundred readers who have more or less acquaintance with Massillon's sermons, in selections, transactions, extracts, or 'benuties,' it would not be easy, we imagine to find one to whom the preacher himself is much more that a unsubstantial shadow. When we ask what manner of man be was, what he did in that age of contention and intriges, a what influence was exerted by him over the thought and the action of his contemporaries, it is not easy to obtain any definite answer. Of the popular idea of him the end as we, if the beginning seems to be, that he was a great preacher.

voice from the pulpit, and nothing besides.

It may be conceded at once, that for this meagre and rags conception of a person, whose name is so celebrated, there is real and valid excuse. Massallon was not a man of action. If had little force of character. His one eminent gift was the gif of preaching. When he stepped down from the pulpe, descended to the ordinary level. He was too modest, wi retiring, too much a lover of quiet, to take any independent line of his own, or to mix himself up with the crooked politic and the ecclesiastical quarrels of his time. Of January in Jesuit, of Gallicon and Ultramontane, he naked nothing but he let alone. To do submissively what his superiors in Charl and State required of him was all his aim. Strifes mg thunder and intrigues might thicken around him; but we business was to compose his sermons, learn them by heart, deliver them as accumtely as his memory permitted. by leaders are made. But he possessed what on the whole better, although it makes no noise and earns little repute. was the gift of gentle, retiring picty; of a heart undisturbed ambition, warmed by charity, and in love with pears; a best on which the corruption around him left no stain, and which amidst the fierce rivalries and selfish possions of so age (unbelief and profligacy, preserved unsulfied its freshness at

It is the worse for the world when such examples fade at a memory, and leave to its annals only the turbid records at a bition and conflict. We deem it forumets, therefore—we do mean for the illustrious preacher's fame, but for the elifence of an age which sailly needs to be recalled from exagger to and strife to moderation and charity that a competent a learned fellow-countryman of Massilf-in should have been too willing to devote many years of about to the task of drawing figure out of the obscurity which has so long enveloped it.

a roice from the pulpit. The result is to be found in the volumes which are named at the head of this article. They show with what unsparing diligence M. Blampignon has followed every trice, ransacked every likely source of information, and brought together every scattered notice or neglected bint, through which something might be gained for the Juliess and accuracy of his commiture; and how truly his work has been made to him a abour of love one might almost say of passion—by the fervour of his admiration for Massillon's character and genius. As we follow our author through the stages of his toil, we cannot help weing how fondly his hand lingered over the task as it dress sowards its close, and with what reluctance he laid down the pen even when the story had been told to the end. His simple and touching epilogue has reminded us of those exquisite words, ong since become classical, with which good Bishop Horne wat forth his * Commentary on the Book of Psalms which, however familiar, can never be unwelcome or incapable of affording new delight:- Happier assure than those which have been spent on these meditations on the Songs of Sion, Lo never expects to see in this world. Very pleasantly did they pass, and moved smoothly and swiftly along; for, when thus engaged, he counted no time. They are gone, but have left a relish and a fragrance upon the mind, and the remembrance of them is sweet.' Such words, indeed, are inimitable. But their music has a not unworthy echo in the touching atterance with which M. Blampignon folds up his papers and lets the last volume of his work pass out of his hands :-

Here, at length, he writes with a manifest sigh, 'is the termination of this bumble labour. It has occupied a large part of my life, and to accomplish it neither researches, nor journeyings, nor negociations, nor requests, have been spared. If my hopes of discovering new facts have been frequently disappointed, yet what joy have I experienced when I was successful in getting hold of a letter, a signature, a angle line, from the hand of my hare, or when I unexpectedly came across some authorate and contemporary notice of his person! The conclusion of a work into which one has thrown one's heart is always surrowful; it is not without a pang that the labourer quits the field which he has talled, and turns his back on the soil which he has watered with the sweat of his brow.'

To the charm of the genuine admiration and love which have prompted and sustained our author's toils, the only drawback is the danger of its blunting, in some degree, the edge of the critical faculty. But against this risk M. Blampignon has himself furnished us with an ample safeguard, by his conscientious reproduction in full of every record which throws light upon the

the character of his hero. We are thus enabled to pulse for ourselves, and to qualify anything in his hingrapher's coimate which may seem to savour more of affectionate part slay than unbiassed reason. With such means in our hands of terme his conclusions, we shall tollow him with confidence a proceed to give a brief sketch of the illustrious Orntorian's hand work, which naturally divides itself into three parts—the training, the predication, and the episcopats.

Jean-Baptiste Masseillon (for so his patronymic was spelt till he himself softened it in middle life) was born at Hylmron June 24th, 1663, and was named after the saint, John the Baytist, commemorated on that day. His father was a notary, like his ancestors for several generations; and, destining his son fer his own profession, he sent him first for a few years as a caypupil to a school conducted by fathers of the Oratory in the upper part of the town, and then took him at the age of thurses into his own office. At this early age the boy had abead exhibited a taste for study and the classical authors, and had been accustomed to amuse his schoolfellows by reciting to them the sermons he had heard in church. For drawing leek and contracts, however, his distaste soon became so names. that before he was fifteen his father removed him from the desiand entered him at the Oratorian College at Marseilles to recore a liberal education. After studying there with success for nearly four years, he made up his mind to become a member of the Order; and as soon as he had passed through his noricein the Oratorian House at Aix he took the vows, and then was moved on to Arles for a two years' course of theology. period, when he was about twenty years o.d, belongs an and dote to the effect that a learned preacher, sent by Louis Allinto Languedoc for controversial purposes, was so much stream the young Massillon's ability and character, as to renter on assuring him that, if he only went on as he had begun be would become one of the foremost men in the kingdom. several years he was employed as a teacher in the colleges of his Order; and it is very curious to find him at the age of twested t writing to the Superior-General, in answer to an enquire about his wishes and tastes, - Since my talents and inclination tast me for the pulpit, I think a professorship of philosophy of theology would suit me best.' Two years later he was persuand to enter the priesthood, and for some time he preached its sionally, but with reluctance, at Vienne and Lyons, and to his surprise acquired a local reputation. But being at case or is in the pulpit nor with his Order, the leading members of #24were more pronounced Jansenists than he cared to show himself, he went into retreat at the Carthusian monastery of Septionts, with some idea, apparently, of towing himself to that severe discipline and seclusion from the world. From this he was saved by the election of a new and more liberal Superior of the Oratory, who called him to Paris, and placed him at second director in the seminary of Saint-Magloire, to teach sacred the toric to the young aspirants for the priesthood. Here at last, at the age of thirty-five, Massilion found his vocation. Almost with a bound he hecame the most popular of Paritian presenters; and for the next twenty years he maintained a supremacy in the pulpit, which ended only when his elevation to the see of Cleemont buried him, for the remainder of his life,

amongst the mountains of Auvergne.

This sudden emergence from obscurity into the full blaze of actoriety was in part due to the patronage of M. de Noailles, recently mised to the Archbishopric of Paris and the Cardinalate, whose Jansenist proclivities disposed him to bring forward any promising member of the Oratory. By him, through Madame de Maintenon, Massillon was introduced to the King's notice, and appointed to preach the Advent Course in 1099, at Versailles. But of the opportunity thus presented it remained for the young preacher himself to make use; which he did so effectually, that no sooner had he opened his mouth before the august audience, than a murmur of admiration passed round the glittering circle, and they perceived that a consummate master of language stood before them. It was customary for the Court preachers to begin the course with a compliment to the monarch, and on Massillon's lips the well-worn theme assumed a form as movel as it was delicate and aubtle. Having quietly given out the very unexpected text, 'Blessed are they that mourn,' he raised his downcast eyes, and slowly glancing round till his gazo rested on the King, in a voice charged with a sweet and penetrating pothos, he declaimed his well-known exordium, the music of which we cannot attempt to reproduce in our transation :-

Sire, if the world were speaking here instead of Josus Christ, assuredly it would not address your Majesty in the same language. Happy the prince, it would say to you, who has never fought but to compute, who has seen so many powers armed against him, only that he might impose on them a more glorious peace, and who has himself been always greater than but the peril and the victory. Happy the prince who, during a long and prosperous reign, enjoys at his case the fruits of his glory, the love of his people, the cewem of his minimises, the admiration of the world, the advantage of his congress.

the magnificence of his works, the wisdom of his laws, the sages hope of a numerous queterity; and who has nothing left for an telegra than that what he already possesses may long contact to But. Sire, Jeans Christ does not speak as the world speaks. Hope, He says to you, not he who wins the alteration of the present worl, but who is chiefly occapied with the world to cone, and lives a correspond to himself and of all that passes away, because the himself to kinglom of heaven. Happy, not he whose reign will be importanted in history, but he whose tears will have bletted out to history of his sine from the remembrance of God Himself, because in shall be comforted for ever. Blessed are they that meaning for coy shall be comforted.

Connected with Massillon's début there are a few anecdors which are interesting. When, after his arrival in Paris, he had heard several of the preachers most in faction, and was asked by the General of his Order what he thought of them, is replied, 'I find in them much genius and many talents, tot if over I preach, I shall not preach in their style.' The terms Bourdalose, on hearing one of his carriest sermons at Nate Dame, turned to his companion and quoted from the Gogel, He must increase, but I must decrease. To Massillon, in tiese carliest days of his fame, may be traced the original of the rebuke administered by more than one preacher to the flatters who accested them, as they came down from the pulpit, who assurances of the excellence of their performance: "The detagentlemen, has already assured me of that much more emphasically." One of the neatest of the neat compliments for what Louis XIV, was famous was addressed to Massulon, after the termination of his first course at Versailles; too neats and approach to read indeed to allow us to the arms of snavely turned, indeed, to allow us to taink that the arrived the Word had penetrated very far into the aged despot's ovscience, yet perhaps indicative of some degree of genuter continuit. 'Fither,' said the King, 'I have listened a my chapel to many great preachers, and I have been very well satisfied with them; but as often as I hear you, I am vert ?" satisfied with myself.' Alongside of this may be untilly placed the saying of Crozat, Massillon's wealthy friend, who used to entertain him at Montmorency, and afterwards defiated all the expenses attendant on his elevation to the Episcopau. 'Your sermons,' he said, 'terrify me, but your manner of lives reassures me."

In 1701, and again three years later, Massillon preached at Court the usual Lent course, consisting of nineteen sermus. These, added to the six of the opening Advent course, got forty-four sermons in all as delivered by him in the notal

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chapel; for, although the King expressed a hope to hear him every second year, he was never appointed again. There can be no question that his exclusion from Court favour and from the list for promotion was owing to his supposed leaning to Jansenism. His Order was popularly identified with the terrets which went under that name, and was in consequence perpetually st lend with the Jesuits. As these gained influence with Madame de Maintenou and the King, every one auspected of Jansenistic proctivities, from Cardinal de Noailles downwards, fell into disgrace. Yet after all, during the whole of Massillon's later life, it was the Jansenists who were his enemies, and never missed an opportunity of making sarcastic remarks on his conduct. Happily, in the great preacher's character we have the key of this apparent enigma. To submit to authority was the invariable rule of his action. To borrow a metaphor from physical science, he always moved in the line of least resistance. In the matter of Goldicanism his course was easy and consistent. On one side stood the national authorities, both in Church and State, on the other the Vatican; and, as the pressure of the Vatican was weakened by remoteness, Massilon, in his mild reticent way, went with the nation, and was a Gallican to the end of his days. In public, indeed, he held his tongue, and took no part in the controversy; but his private letters, especially those written by him, when he was past seventy, to Cardinal de Bissy, put his steadfast rejection of Ultramontane principles beyond doubt,

Massillon's relation to Jansenian was the more complicated, owing to the fact that the pressure of authority upon him gradually changed its direction. His Order took one side in the dispute; on the other was the French Government, with Rome for its reluctant ally. During the first half of his life his Order was practically the nearest to him, and exerted the preponderant pressure on his mind. It formed his sentiments, enveloped him with its influences, and exerted control over his studies; so that to become a mild possive Jansenist, and to continue so as long as the circumstances were the same, was the line which a plant and dependent character like Massillon's inevitably took. In sentiment and feeling, there is no doubt that he grew up as much of a Jansenist as so singularly moderate and uncontroversial a temperament would allow him to be, and that he felt a genuine distaste for the opposite doctrines of which the Jesuits were the champions. In 1698, when he was thirty-five years old, we find him, in a letter to Colbert, History of Montpellier, rejoicing heartily over the discomfiture which that prelate, who was suspected of Jantenism, had inflicted on

the Jesuita in his diocese; and three years later, when he had made good his position at Court, and was in the full blue of his popularity, a letter addressed to his brilliant fellow Oratoria, De Louvois, then travelling in Italy, naively betrave his avenua for Rome, and, as M. Blampignon admits, 'savours terrible of Jansenism.'

'Of all the wonlers you are seeing,' he wrote, 'I envy you all the cense lation which you have in being able to gray sometimes at the tembs of the holy Apostles, and to breathe there the resides of the apostolic spirit which their ashes and exhalo. For my own part I should very much profer to draw inspiration from thence rather than from the Vatican.'

Nor is there any ground to suppose that Massillon's privile sentiments, in this respect, ever underwent serious change. So by the time he was fifty, circumstances had become different 1713 the famous bull 'Unigenitus' was extorted him Clement XI. by Louis, and was rigorously imposed un by the name of the 'Constitution' on the Gallican Church, in the purpose of stamping out Jansenism. From that moments position of the professed Jansenists in France became that of a discredited and factious sect, on the verge of open schism. By this time, too, Massillon had become less dependent on bis Order, with which, moreover, his connection totally ceased shour afterwards, on his elevation to the Episcopate. Hence the prosure, to which it was his habit to yield, had changed its director The line of least resistance was now the line of submission a the Constitution, which Church and State alike entereed. He submitted accordingly, and acted as the agent of the Cort " induce his patron, Cardinal de Nosilles, to submit also, and give peace to the Church. Thus Massillon broke with the Janseas! party, and they never forgave him. But, true to his charactehe was as little of an active or controversial upholder of the Constitution as he had before been of the Jansenist tenets. As he advocated was peace. Think what you please about to doctrines in dispute, he virtually said to both sides, 'our sale mit to the Church, and don't quarrel.' In his private letter & expresses equal dishike for the two parties. The Jansenist a pique dubbed him 'the pacific hishop;' and he justified appealation by taking for his blazon a halcon brooding of the troubled waves, and by delighting to match Jesuits and Jittenists together at bowls or chess, with a smiling injunction? abstain from more serious contests. When he found a fant ratpriest refusing the last sacraments to Pascal's niece, the hear of the Holy Thorn, because of her refusal to accept the Constloo, he made short work with him, and sent a substitute to minister to her unconditionally. For bishops who loved loc and truth, he said, the only side to take was no side at all, it just to agree with the Church, which disavowed its ill-added defenders as much as those who attacked it. The business the bishops, as he understood it, was simply to teach their ople what the Church made obligatory, and not their own twice opinions. For himself—so he wrote to the saintly but tinate Scanen, who had been deposed from the see of Senez relusing to subscribe the Constitution—he declared before od trast nothing but love of the Church and of its doctrines of this in union with the Pope and with his fellow-bishops; I that he would rather lose a thousand lives than break the fired ties which were all his safety and comfort.

We have said so much about Massillon's relations with Jandam, because there is nothing else in his story which gives so ar an insight into his character; nothing that so well shows a devoid he was of self-asserting individuality, and what amount value he set on external submission and peace, the character cannot be called strong, but it has a sweetness its own, and a real value as a protest against that rabid appetitacentroversy which has been aptly called the 'scabies ecclesia,' that irreconcilable temper which invests petty crotchets with sacredness of articles of faith, and, sooner than refrain from actishing them in everybody's face, flings union and charity the winds. But on this we cannot dwell, for the large topic

Massillon's preaching has yet to be handled.

He had no faculty of improvmation. His discourses were borate orations, every word of which had been carefully comsted to memory. To compose one of them in less than a might of hard work was esteemed a prodigious effort; and to them faultlessly by heart occapied so much time that, when raged in a course, it was necessary to have the entire series ready rehand. The effect depended as much on tenacity of memory on excellence of composition; hence Massillon's reply to some who asked him which of his own sermons he liked best, he one I know best.' To break down in the pulpit was ably mortifying, but it sometimes happened to him. There story of three Orstorians, of whom he was one, having to sch one Good briday at different hours, and agreeing to hear eriticize each other. The first came to a stop, but not ch to the triumph of the others; for, becoming nervous when it turns arrived, they had no better success. To lose the had of the discourse in the royal chapel was worse; yet this pened once to Massillon, and brought on him the King's patronizing patronizing remark, 'Take time, father, to recover yourself: a is good for us to have a few moments to relish the fine teness

you have been saying."

This method of preaching, which reached its extreme win Marsillon, has obvious disadvantages. No one who practical texclusively, and was often in the pulpit, could possible produce a sufficient supply of new sermons: to repeat the cit ones was a necessity. On one occasion, at least, Massilon bad the annoyance of seeing his auditors armed with surreptitionly printed copies of the old sermon which he was delivering, and checking him sentence by sentence as he proceeded. A mon serious evil was the very stiff and formal, if not theatrical, as which was thus thrown over the sacred ministry of the Work Nothing was spontaneous, nothing simple. Every word, every tone and gesture, was carefully studied; every effect was got of and rehearted beforehand. The preacher was, for the time, not to be distinguished from an actor. One cannot wender that the method provoked the contemporary sarcasm of Feedo. whose charming agality of thought and bright readiness of speed set him far above it. When this way of preaching is tollowed. he wrote in his 'Dialogues on Eloquence,' there is no time for any other study or labour, and the same sermons must or continually repeated. What a curious sort of eloquener, when the hearers know beforehand every phrase and every movement that is coming! Truly, a fine way of surprising, astonish to and softening, of taking hold of and persuading men! a strate way of concealing art and making nature speak! For my part, I say it frankly, all this scandalizes me. Yet, on the other side, it may be urged that, in such Lands as Massilion's the method was capable of producing extremely powerd effects. One instance has been already mentioned; another was furnished long afterwards by the unacky funeral oration of Louis XIV., which brought on the preacher fronteal congresslations for the courage he had shown in telling severe trais to the ashes of the Grand Monarque. But the exordium was real stroke of genius. After giving out his text, Mass so looked round on the sombre pomp with an oppressed and terrified air, and then lifting his eyes heavenward exclared with profound pathos, 'God alone is great, my brethes' Still more effective was his celebrated climax in the mon on the Small number of the Elect.' Before it delivered at Court, it had been preached at St. Eustache and had become famous; so that to the brilliant audience who kare what was coming, and were watching with curiosity for the terrifying passage, the effect was somewhat discounted. is

all the same it was overpowering. The sermon, couched in the austerest strain, had been lurid throughout with menace, for the preacher threw his whole strength into demonstrating the almost insurmountable difficulty of salvation; but it was for the percention that the thunderelap of doom was reserved. As be approached it, Massillon healtated, paused, looked uneasily at the King, and dropped his eyes with a shiver, as if afraid to proceed; then with a visible effort recovering himself, he tasked on to his prepared chimax, with the last words of which be covered down for some moments, burying his face in his hand, while the startled congregation trembled in their seats. For those who may not know the particular passage, we give what may be called its dry skeleton:—

Were Jesus Christ to appear now in this temple, in the midst of the assembly, to judge us who are here, and make the awful separation between the gents and the sheep; do you think that the greater just of us would be placed on the right hand? Do you think that we should be equally divided? Do you think that even ten would be fend on the right hand? I ask you, but you know not, I know not, I have not, I have not, I have not it is at anners do not belong to Him. Who then are the faithful a this assembly? Titles and dignities count for nothing; in the prosace of Jesus Christ you will be stripped of them. Who, I ask, the the faithful? There are many sinners who do not wish to be constituted: more who wish it, but put off their conversion; many who we converted, only to relapse; more still who think they have no beed of conversion. These together make up the reproduce. Separate that they will surely be separated. Now show yourselves, yo ishteous? Where are you? Remeant of Israel, pass to the right form of Jesus Christ, come forth from among the chaff destined to the fire? O God? where are Thine elect? What is loft for Thy portion?

It is easy to say that such preaching was theatrical; no doubt it was, but it was something more. Borron, the leading comedian of the day, was right in saying, when he heard Manillon, 'This is an orator, we are only players.' Massillon was in real carnest. With all his force he was striving to impress and alarm the sceptical dissolute nobility, who througed the Court in the last days of Louis XIV., and to arrest them in the reckless course of selfishness and vice, by which they were hastening the ruin of their order and their country. We cannot doubt the sincerity of what he once said, hen describing the spirit in which he composed his sermons:—When I write a discourse, I imagine that I am consulted by Vol. 158.—No. 316.

some one who disagrees with me. I put forth all my strengt to convince him. I urge him, I exhort him, and I do not paid him till he has yielded himself to my arguments. Resting his sermons, we recognize the fidelity of this description. The years always practical and urgent. As the preacher unfolds his subject, he closes with his heavers, plays round them, as it were, an avery side, envelopes them so that they cannot elibelis grasp, and leaves no opening untried, by which he can make

his way in, and penetrate to the depth of their nearts.

Massillon's style. What was new in it was the introductor into the brench pulpit of a larger element of pathes, and a movivid and detailed representation of the windings and selve-fuges of human passion and weakness. Of its form, the chaffeature is the remarkable use of amplification or developmentarial idea is presented in all its aspects, extended in d is senses, dressed up in every kind of illustration, brought ame contact with the hearer's circumstances and wants in every possible way. Massillon seems to have formed himself on leaves a subject by adorning it. The crowding of some of his standards is extraordinary. Without losing their lacid to a becoming involved and intricate, they are span out by populal accretion of particulars, which add fresh toucaes to the description, new instances or examples to illustrate the point in take, which after all is usually of the most commonphase kind. A single specimen will explain this feature of his eloquence beat than many words, and for this purpose we adduce a section from the celebrated sermon on Death:—

Phere yourselves in any possible situation; there is no moment a may be your last, and has actually been the last to one or at time your follow-constures; no brilliant penal, but it may end now ctornal durknesses the tomb—and Herod was struck down in the mist of the service and tookshiftstery of his adjects into day set a start the solemn display of worldly aplondone, but it may first one take funcial theorems and Jezobel was promptated for it the way with her palace the very day she chose for showing here if in the left of her prode and estentation, no festival but it may to recent the sumptuous tangent; no rapose but it may barray you to the mattasting sleep and Holoforness in the midst of his cuards, conjuct of so many kingdoms and provinces, foll beneath the streke of any law is found an infamous death in the very tent of daughters of Mulian; no disease but it may be the latel term of your carrier—and every day you see the slightest index; shows the

the opinions of the most expert physicians and the expectations of the sufferer, and almost in a moment take the turn of death: in a word, figure yourselves in any possible stage or station of life, and with difficulty can you count up those who have been surprised in a similar citiation, and nothing can guarantee you against being yourselves surprised in the same way."

In forming a critical estimate of Massillon's style with reference to the requirements of oral delivery, the difficulty meets us that we do not possess his sermons as he actually preached them. Of the two extant texts, it is certain that neither is the genuine original. The earlier represents only so much as the reporters were able, without shorthand, to take down surreptitiously, and prepare for the press, in defiance of him; the later, what his sermons became, after he had spent his old age in correcting and polishing them. He never published them himself, but left the manuscripts in their final form to his fanatically Jansenist nephew, Joseph Massillon, with the ningular words,- 'We bequeath to our eldest nephew all our papers containing our sermons, conferences, and funeral orations, conjuring him to keep them for his own use, it not being our intention that they should ever be given to the public, yet submitting them with simplicity to the judgment of the Church, whose doctrine we have only professed to interpret. The said Joseph made an excellent thing out of the bequest; but what liberties he may have taken with his uncles words in the interests of Jansonism it is impossible to say, since not a fragment of the originals has over been discovered. In all probability a few crasures would be the utmost result of his manipulation; but the changes due to the author's own hand are unquestionably much more serious. There is a gain in literary smoothness and polish, in expension and fulness; but against this must be set a loss of some of the life and variety, which are necessary to keep the reader's attention from flagging.

It is time to return to the story of Massillon's life. The death of Louis XIV, opened the way for his return to Court favour, and at the close of 1/17 the Regent nominated him Bishop of Clermont, to which See he was consecrated a year later on the arrival of the bulls from Rome. In the intermediate Lent he preached what is known as the 'Petit Carème,' a course of ten short lectures addressed to the young King, then nine years old, and his immediate househod. The immense reputation which these lectures once enjoyed is a curious literary phenomenon. They are in a totally different style from the sermons. Little of Christianity, of religion properly so called, is to be found in them: they are chiefly occupied with exhibiting somewhat

idyllic pictures of the duties of good kings and nobles. Wiers, early in the following year, Massillon was received into the Academy, the austers old Chancellor of that famous Society, the Abbe Claude Fleury, complimented him on having wirely accommodated his teaching to the youth of the King, after beexample of the prophet Elijah, who contracted himself to the measure of the Stunamite's child, placing mouth to mouth, eyes to eyes, hands to hands, that he might restore warmth to the cold limbs, and recal the departed life. When published after Massillon's death, the ' Petit Carline' became the rage. On fine ladies' toilet tables it lay beside the rouge-pot-so be taire tells us; and by him, not the less, we may be sure, for the absence from it of any specific Christian tone, it was so valid that it was always on his writing-desk along with Haines Athalie. So melodious was it esteemed, in the flow of its settences and the gentle rhythm of its cadences, that people takes of it as capable of giving pleasure even to the bodily seast-a sort of voluptions enjoyment which the profunct unit could taste. To us its unconscious but terrible irony spehaps its most impressive feature. What would its author have felt, could be have foreseen the future career of the lad whom b addressed as the dear hope of France, and have anticipated the days of a Choiseul and a Pompadour?

For his bishopric Massillon soon found himself called upon to pay a heavy price, in being required to take part in w consecration of the scandalous Dubo's. This low-born favour of the Regent had been his tutor, and, as the Duchess of Orless bitterly complained, had disgracefully betrayed his true y initiating the young prince into the foulest debaucheries; le his abilities for unscrupulous intrigue made him so practical useful to his master, who had a weakness for clever scoundrik that he rose in time to be his chief Minister of State. Wyn Dubois was past sixty, and nothing but a plain Abbe with even the minor orders of the Church, he cast covetous eres # the rich archbishopric of Cambrai, varated by the death of the saintly Fenelon, and had the effrontery to beg it of the Recut. · Why, there is not a bishop who will consecrate you "exchise the Duke. Alas' that any should have been found wil me One Saturday, Dubois received the minor orders and the indiaconate; next day, the diaconate; on the following Sunliy the pricithood; and as soon as the balls could be exteried for the Vat.can, consecration to the archbishopric to lowed. The scandal was enormous, for the name of Dubois had become synonym for profligacy and vileness. All the vices, an St. Simon, 'treachery, avarice, debauckery, ambition, icn. 49

stove in him for the mastery.' What the public thought of A Pope, it was said, had once bestowed the purple on his monkey-leader; Coligula had made his horse a Consul; why should not a pimp and a lickspittle be turned into a great preate? Such was the man to whose fitness for the sacred ministry Massillon officially certified, and in whose consewated to take part. It is the only blot on his memory, but, as even his warmest admirers confess, it is a very lamentable one. How much better would it have been to take his stand by the sade of his old patron, Cardinal de Noailes, who refused all complicity with the odious transaction, and resolutely closed his arch-diocese against every stage of it! But, as we have already seen, Massillon was wanting in the tough moral fibre which alone can enable a man, in critical moments, to stand on his individual conscience against the pressure of external authority. The Government required his services; he owed his promotion to Dubois' influence with the Regent; Rome had yielded out of policy, because in the great struggle to extirpate Jansenism Dubois had taken what was called the Catholic side; was it not best to go quietly with the stream, and leave others to answer for the disgrace of the transaction? Fatal reasoning, indeed, but precisely of the kind to the acduction of which a mind like Massillon's was peculiarly open.

It was high time, for the sake of his honour and conscience, that he should be out of the corrupt society of Paris. Too pure to be at ease in it, yet too pliant to resist its demands, his mountain diocese offered him just the asylum which he needed, far from the base intrigues, the frightful profligacy, and the insolent scepticism, which were now rioting in the metropolis under the shameful regency of the Duke of Orleans. There, in the wild scenery of Auvergne, among parishes scattered so far and wide, and so difficult of access, that it took years of adventurous travelling thoroughly to explore them, his gentle spirit found scope enough for the pious labours and the deeds of charity in which it delighted, and could hear the distant noise of the world without disturbance or alarm. From the time that he settled down at Clermont in 1721, to his death in 1742, Massillon never left his diocese except once, for a few days only, when he was summoned to Paris to preach at St. Denis the funeral oration for the Regent's mother. done with publicity and applause, with the strife of tongues and the constraint of Courts. To be a good spiritual husbandman of the neglected poverty-stricken portion of the Divine PLEADITA

vineyard committed to his care, was henceforth all his ambition Money had no charm for him, except as it enabled him to aux the needy. He exacted little, and gave away much. Hs moderate income, derived partly from the See, and partly from the abbey of Notre-Dame de Savigoy which supplemented i, was chiefly spent in endowing the local hospital, and mitigaing the frequent distress of the rural districts; in repairing to the benefit of his successors the dilapidated palace at Clermont; so making more salubrious the pretty village of Beauregard, warr his modest country-house was situated, and in improving the condition of the cottagers by the introduction of the art & cotton-spinning. When he died, by his will be named as as heirs the poor of the Clermont hospital, declaring that he may gave them what was already theirs, since all his goods belonged of right to the poor and to the Church. Over his clerge te exercised a very vigilant oversight. Party-spirit among them and the fanaticism which is its unwholesome fruit, were s much the objects of his censure, as the worse faults of neglgence, laxity, and greediness. Every year he gathered them a Synod and Conference, pressed upon them coansels of petection, and portrayed in the blackest hues the characters of priests who disgraced their sacred calling by gambling, a dulging in field-sports, or fleeting their flocks by the exaction of executive dust. For such as words did not reform he instituted compulsory retreats in some house of pious discipline, where the appetulic switch might be rekinded in them. To present the apostolic spirit might be rekindled in them. To promit education for the ministry, he enlarged the caisting seminares and used his influence to obtain from the Government a trapference to them of the endowments of some worn-out and useless abbeys. For the rural schools he showed his care la composing a catechism for their use,—the only work, except are funeral oration for the Prince of Conti, which he ever set to the press. Simplicity in sacred things had more attractors for him than any of the pomps and vanities of superstains; the excesses of relic-worship were repugnant to his mind, and in an early attempt to abute them he met with a curious experience which is worth mentioning. During the proset visitation of his diocese, which occupied him nine successive springs, he had to pass through Riom, the hend-quarters of the administration of the law in the province; and finding in tal-force there an absurd cult of the stones with which St. Stepus was martyred, in the simplicity of his heart he torbad it to be continued. When he returned by the same town, he theself it his duty to visit the principal church, for the purpose of verifying the contents of the crowded reliquary; on waich to miles) of

populace, apprehensive of being robbed of their cherished treasure, mobbed him in the sacred building, drove him out, and smashed with stones the windows of the carriage in which he made his retreat. Thus, says his biographer, he narrowly

escaped himself the proto-martyr's fate.

Of the venerable bishop taking his case among his beloved flower-beds at Beauregard, two interesting sketches have been preserved. The prolific litterateur Marmontel, a native of Aurergne, received his early education at the College of Clermont, and to the end of his life he retained a vivid recollection of a visit which he paid with some of his commutes to Massillon, then in his seventy-right year:

'In one of our excursions,' he writes in his 'Memoirs,' to Beautegard, the Bishop's country house, we had the pleasure of seeing the venerable Massillon. The kindly reception which the illustrious old man gave us, the lively and tender impression which his appearance and voice made upon me, are among the pleasantest memories of my youth. At that early period of existence, when mind and heart are in such close communication, when thought and feeling act and react on each other with such rapidity, it is natural, on seeing a great man, to truce in his features indications of his character and genius. It was thus that among the wrinkles of that already withered face, and in the eyes so soon to close, I funcied myself able to detect the expression of the affecting and tender elequence, so lefty sometimes and profoundly penetrating, with which I had been enchanted when reading his sermons. He allowed us to speak to him about it, and to tell him respectfully of the religious tears it had drawn from our eyes.'

The other notice is from the pen of the bright young Abbé de Bernis, afterwards the statesman and Cardinal, but then living on his wits, the gayest of the gay, in the saloons of Paris. High-born, handsome, bold, and ready of speech, he was a favourite with everybody except the octogenarian Minister of State, Cardinal de Fleury, from whom he solicited in vain some valuable benefice. 'You shall have nothing so long as I live,' said the all-powerful dispenser of patronage. 'Very well, Monseigneur,' was the reply, accompanied by a low bow, 'I will wait.' It was this Do Bernis who told the Archbishop of Paris to his face that his conscience was but a dark lantern, lighting nobody but himself; and who, when banished to the country through a Court intrigue after his elevation to the purple, jokingly said that his red hat would at least be useful as an umbrella. By Voltaire he was nicknamed 'Babet the flowergirl.' In 1739 the live, young fellow went down to Auvergne to be inducted to a canonry which had been given him, and finding

finding to his surprise that it was possible to exist out of Pans, he remained a year among the mountains, and made, as he cals it, 'the flattering conquest of Massillon.' In his interesting Memoirs, which have only recently come to light, he tells at that of all the men he had ever known, the aged bishop with his extremely simple exterior, was the quickest to impreveneration and love. A few additional particulars are well quoting, as they illustrate a side of Massillon's character what we should never have learnt from his sections. Here is the sketch, somewhat abridged:—

"His mind moved slowly, but as soon as it became animated to clothed its ideas in the most brilliant and natural colours. A level in his diocese, he had banished from it all disputes about religious, although it had been one of the cradles of Jansenism. Showing is gardens one day to a stranger who expressed his surprise at the beauty, he promised to show him in a side walk something not more asterned ing. The alloy was shaded over, and his guest we dered to see nothing in it worthy of notice. "What!" exclaimed the Bishop, "do you not perceive a Jesuit and an Oraterian playing bowls together? See how I have tamed them!" He propose a ordain me and make me his grand recoire, saying that if I worked in a time under his eyes, he had enough reputation still at Central securities, he loved and esteemed me the more. He then recommends me to adopt a diplomatic career, promising me great success. "Set to the Cardinal de Fleury," he said; "you will be able to talk in over with your winning tongue, and at any rate nothing will be less by trying."

Of Massillon's episcopate a remarkable feature remains to ke noticed, which suggests a difficult psychological problem fie fulfilled admirably all the duties of a bishop except cracked very one in which he might have been expected to excel for never preached to his people. From the day that he set from his diocese, the pulpit knew him no more. There was so physical impediment, for it was not till quite his last year the his voice became feeble. His skill had not failed him; feed his annual addresses to his clergy the rhetoric was as vigores as ever, and the paraphrastic meditations on the Psalms, which he composed in his ample leisure, were marked by much beary both of thought and language. Nor could be have imagined that the style in which he had been preaching for twenty year would have been over the heads of the provincial cognizations; for his sermons had for their staple nothing but the comprehension of all. Yet, as a bishop, he seems to have had

ao gospel for the flock committed to his care. It was as if he had never heard of the divine commission, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lamba'. The old sermons which he had brought with him from Paris were the constant companions of his study; he never wearied of revising and polishing them. But, unlike the well-instructed scribe, for the edification of his people he brought forth out of his treasure neither old sermons nor new.

If a solution of this enigma is possible, it must be sought, we think, in the contrast which always existed between Massillon's tone in the pulpit and his life out of it. The saying of Crorat, already quoted, seems to furnish the key: 'Your sermons terrify me, but your life reassures me.' With the exception of his temporary retreat to Septionts, when worried by his Order and abtinking from responsibility, Massillon had never evinced a tendency to asceticism. While he was at the College of Pozenna, several years before his ordination, narrower spirits accused him of going out too often and mixing too freely with the world. When he first became the fashion in Paris, and fine ladies chose him for their confessor, he visited at their country houses and mixed so much with society, that evil tongues began to talk scandal about him. With any kind of impropriety there is not the slightest ground to charge him; but it is clear that he was a pleasant, genial companion, and exhibited none of the reserve and austerity of the ascetic saint. It may be that he had felt the power of social temptations, and had suffered inwardly in wrestling with the desires which they excited. A word of his own perhaps points this way; for, when asked how he came to possess such an acquaintance as his sermons manifested with human passions and weaknesses, he replied that it was from his own heart that his knowledge had been gained. However that may have been, bis temptations were not conquered by flight from the scenes of them, or by the adoption of a severe and mortified habit of life; nor out of the pulpit was it his custom to deal barshly with penitents and sinners, or to urge them to crucify the body for the salvation of the spirit. No man whose soul habitually trembled before the terrors of the spiritual world, and was oppressed by the imminent dauger of perdition, could have preached the 'Petit Careme,' or have taken part in the consecration of Dubois, or have wished to ordain De Bernis and push bim on to a bishopric. Of no such man could the following little anecdotes have been told, which have an air of verisimilitude, and may probably be accepted as substantially

The first of thom belongs to about the middle of Massillon's Parisian career, and refers to a child who afterwards, under the

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name of Madame du Desiant, became notorious for loose meals during the orgies of the Regency. The young girl was precisinal lively, and given to sceptical prattle; and her very free tall with her schoolfellows in the convent where she was receiving her education having alarmed the Abbess, the aid of Massi laws invoked. He listened with anusement to all that the bright little creature had to say, and retired remarking simply her charming she was. The Abbess, however, taking the nation much more seriously, pressed him to advise what books the young propagandist of infidelity should be made to reserve two penny catechism? was the answer, after a managent reflection; and nothing more could be extracted from the oracle.

The other anecdote dates in Massillon's episcopate. On some Church-festival, when the morning services were over, be entertained a party at dinner, and politely took a hand at ever with the ladies. A few games having been played, and the remark having been made by one of the guests, that it was use that something should be done to turn the holy day to unucleion. Massillon fetched one of his sermons and read it to the company. A lady, by way of expressing admiration, exclaimed that, if she had written such a sermon, she would certainly reckoned among the saints. 'Ah, madame,' was the old linderly reply, 'it is a long brilge which leads from the intellect to the heart.' 'Yes, indeed,' muttered an Oratorian of James proclivities who happened to be present, 'and there are qui

four arches of the bridge already broken down."

It may, then, with confidence be asserted, that in Massalsoi habitual life, and in his mode of taking religion practices there was nothing ascetic and narrow. But it is as certainly true, that in the rigour of its exactions, and its unsparing denta ciation of human infirmities and laxities, his preaching was the severest of his time. It admitted of no half-heartedness " compromise, no condescensions to human imperfection. It 🕬 based upon terror; death and judgment were its arguments; and by these dread certainties of the future it summoned in set to an immediate and complete surrender. Others besides Usan found such sermons terrifying. 'Poudroyant' was the epith applied to them. Rollin once took his pupils across Pant hear Massillon. They walked back in sad silence, as if thanker struck, and betook themselves to such austerities, that the teacher, himself noted for a grave severity, was compelled it interfere. When Massillon's sermons were published in in middle of the last century, there were French bishops whe let it a duty to discourage the indiscriminate reading of them

people should be driven to despair. Massillon himself complained from the pulpit that he had been charged with excessive skruness and unreasonable exaggeration. Here is his reply, and its tone seems to justify rather than to extenuate the accu-

What brethrous are not the truths of the Lord terrible enough of themselves, to dispense with any exaggeration of their severity by the preacher? Did Paul exaggerate when the Roman Governor mabled at hearing him speak of judgment to come? Did John to Baptist exaggerate when the Jews crowded to the banks of the Jordan to be haptized? Did the Apostles exaggerate, when the pope amote their breasts, or threw at their feet the improus instructures of lust and passion as a sacrifice to the Lord? Will you become us after that of transporation and excessive severity? Where we the sinners whose consciences have been troubled by our discourses, and who have gone away to weep? Where are the sinners whose left the sacred building to break off ball labits, quit the jake of crime, bid an eternal farewell to the world and its amusebuts, and bury themselves in solitude that they may shed in censing burs are their sine? The times of our fathers have seen such mapples, but in our own days where are they to be found?

Three causes, we believe, combined to produce in Massillon's exaching this severity, which was certainly foreign to his dis-One was the tradition received from the austere thers of Jansenism, in which as a pupil and then a member of he Oratory he had been trained up. Another was the vivid apression made on his pure and simple mind by the profanity ad wickedness of the Parisian society, which as a preacher be as called to confront, and which nothing less than the Divine unders seemed able to impress and arouse. What the state of but society was, we learn from a very competent witness, the Duchess of Orleans. 'Nothing is rarer in it, she wrote, 'than Phristian faith; there is not a vice for which it feels shame; if he King were to punish all who are guilty of the grossest vices, of a noble, not a prince, not a servant, would be left to him: ot a house in France but would be in mourning. But to these o causes we are persuaded that another must be added: fassi lon was carried away by his own rhetoric. His style did et allow him to be moderate and discriminating. Qualificaons, exceptions, balanced statements, and charitable allowances, ere all swept away by the torrent of his declamation. Everying was pushed to an extreme, each stroke dealt with unaring force, each demand urged with unmitigated rigour. here was too little of the apostolic postor, exhorting, comfort-B, and charging his hearers, as a father his children; too wach much of the impetuous rhetorician, building up climaxes, ud

subordinating everything to effect.

Our point is, that Massillon's severity in the pulpit had somthing artificial about it. It was due less to his natural temporment than to the modifying force of circumstances. It was the product of a graft rather than of the native stock. It was no that, with a complete change of external condition, it might easily wear away and cease, before it became a second nature And the conditions out of which it grew did after a which completely change. By the time he turned his back on Pars. he had escaped from his Order, he had passed the meridiat it life and left ambition behind, and he had become weary of the labour and excitement of such oratorical preaching as for a score of years he had been practising. Probably, too, he had been disappointed at seeing how little his declamation had doze to stem the tide of unbelief and dissoluteness; for society had grown worse rather than better. The sphere to which be was transplanted was a remote rural diocese, almost cut off from the world, where the simple hearted people knew none of the vices of the metropolis, and the stern rebukes which he had harled at the scotting sinners of the Court would have been singulally out of place. It may easily be imagined that, under these per circumstances, the vehement rhotoric which had charactered his preaching began to appear to him of less practical race than a living example of devoutness and charity He could no longer wish to preach as he had hitherto preached; but to begun in a new style required an effort from which he shrank. He would keep his clergy up to the mark, and leave the preaching in their hands. For himself, he would live as a kindly factor among his people; and by setting before them a pattern of god works, and promoting peace and concord among the rival sees. he would enforce the prophet's wise lesson, that what the Lord requires is 'to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with God.

It is in this way that we endeavour to account for Massilloci renunciation of the pulpit throughout his episcopair. We would not insinuate, with Sainte-Beuve, that he had become less of a Christian, and more of a mere moralist and sage. But there are Christians of different temperaments; and whereas former circumstances had made him appear to be one of the narrower and harsher kind when judged by his pulpit address, now in his mountain retirement his natural awestness had freplay, and made his previous severity distasteful to him. The pulpit lost its attraction for him; he was conscious of a recommon feeling; and the languor of advancing years did the test.

beforth he found it easier, more in harmony with his heart, more agreeable to his craving for repose, to preach by the most of his life, than by the voice which in other days he had up before nobles and kings.

briefly summing up our biographical study, we come back hat we hinted at first; that although Massillon became a preacher, when circumstances made the pulpit his vocathere were not in his constitution the elements of a great His character was pure and sweet, but it lacked energy moral courage. The benediction of the peace-makers was by his; but not of those who suffer for righteousness' sake. as no claim to be ranked among the pillars which bear up eight of the Church, nor among the dauntless captains who to victory the armies of the Cross. Even his sermons, on h his fame exclusively rests, have, when judged by the est standard, something unpleasantly artificial or profesabout them. Their unction is less Divine than human. fervour is more rhetorical than spiritual. He spoke, d, with a mouth of gold, but scarcely out of the abundance e heart. He was too dependent on the atmosphere around He confessed himself, that he found the air of Versailles ing; to that of Clermont he finally, without a struggle, embed. There was nothing of the prophet in his mental ture; no Divine word was in his heart as a burning fire up in his bones. And hence, while we acknowledge the and beauty of his preaching, we cannot shut our eyes to codemic character. We miss in it the consecution which

ing but the supreme impulse can ever bestow—the inspirathat is begotten of the apostolic conviction, 'Necessity ad upon mo; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the pol.' And VIII.—The Croker Papers.—The Correspondence and Direct of the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, Ll.) F.R.S., Secretary to the Admiralty from 1809 to 1830, Edge by Louis J. Jennings. 3 Vols. London, 1884.

THESE volumes will form a valuable addition to the isthentic materials for the political and literary history) the first half of the present century. They are the biccurair record of the long and industrious life, spent in intimate comunion with many of the greatest and most influential men of the time, of a man enjoying their confidence and sharing the counsels. From them we learn much about the graces private amenta, which have always had a profound interest for the mtorical student. Instead of the idle gossip of cavesdroppers ad busybodies, of which so much has of late years been gives a reckless diaries to the world, to bewilder men's judgments, and to perplex future historians, we are shown, under the bank of many of the leaders in the political arens, how and whether acted at periods of critical importance. Anecdotes of a certain interest come to us at first hand; we are taken into the bell company—generals, statesmen, and literary men, such as Weblington, Canning, Lyndhurst, Peel, Lord Ashburton, Lord Abedeen, Sir James Graham, Guizot, Metternich, Sir Walter Set. Isaac D'Israeli, Lockhart, and others—see them in their better as well as graver moods, and carry away in all cases a min vivid, and in some a more pleasing impression of them, that whave before entertained. And while of especial value to the who take a deep interest either in politics or literature, to volumes must, we feel assured, prove attractive in no ordino degree to the general reader.

They have, moreover, a special value in vindicating the repetation of Mr. Croker from the attacks to which it has long been unfairly subjected. Mr. Croker was too great a power, hate at Parliament and in the Press, to escape the rancour of that upon able spirit, which hates where it differs, and revenges a dasourfiture in controversy by scurrility and misrepresentation. He had therefore to encounter abundance of personal abuse while lived, and his adversaries were at all times ready to the at the door the blame for articles, of which he was guiltless, in who opinions on books, men, or measures, were expressed, and were not to their taste. This, as he says in a letter to M (1994), "I was content to live down," as "in Parliament I could take my own part, and in the press that of me

onn party.'

The rule he thus prescribed to himself must often him

been put to a beavy strain; but he never departed from it, except in one instance, and then he showed how much Macaulay and his other enemies probably owed to his forbearance. He was in his 74th year, and the assailant was Lord John Russell, Mr. Croker had commented, in this 'Review,' with justifiable eserity, on the disregard of private feeling and the rules of good taste, with which 'Moore's Diaries' had been edited by Lord John. Moore had owed much to Mr. Croker's kindness, There was and professed warm friendship for him to the last, proof positive in the published Disries that, while pretending friendship to Mr. Croker, he was habitually vilifying him; but Mr. Croker did not allow personal feeling to interfere with his literary estimate of this, any more than of any other book. Stung by the censure of his share in the work, Lord John, in an cvil hoar for himself, appended a note to the sixth volume, in which, after saying that 'to Moore it was unnecessary to address a request to spare a friend,' he asked what would have been the result, if a request to spare Moore had been addressed to Croker? Probably,' he continued, ' while Moore was alive, and able to wield his pen, it might have been successful. Had Moore been dead, it would have served only to give additional zest to the pleasure of safe malignity.' Such an attack from such a quarter on Uncker's moral character and personal honour at once brought the old man into the field in a letter to his assailant, published in the 'Times.' Lord John made a feeble reply, the main gist of which was, that he had suppressed some assusages in the Diary still more offensive. This gave Croker an opportunity of driving home the charge against him of compromising Moore, while traducing the man who had believed Moore to be the friend he professed himself to be,

There is another very serious consideration arising out of this arprosest confess in, which is, that for the purpose, I suppose, of attributing to yourself the gloride of a generous delicity towards the, as well as others, you merifice not only your argument, but the character of your poor friend, by revealing, what I have suspected, that laring the many years in which he was living on apparently the set free sty terms with me, and asking, and receiving, and acknowledging such good effices, both consultative and practical, as my poor judgment and interest were able to afford him, he was making entries in him "Diary" concerning me so "officialye," that even the political and particip zeal of Lord John Russell shrank from reproducing hiem.

I must be allowed to say, under such stronge circumstances, that I reject your Lordship's indulgence with contempt, and despise the enerace, if it be meant for one, that you have such weapons in your locke, I not only dare you, but I condescend to entrest you to publish

publish all about me that you may have suppressed. Let me know the full extent of your crucked indelgence, and of Moore's understang friendship. Let us have the truth, the whole truth, and nothing is the truth, while I am still living to avail myself of it. Let it use is said that "pior dear Moore" told such things of Croker that even Lord John Russell would not publish them. I feel pretty confect that there will not be found any entry of Moore's derogatory of is against which I shall not be able to produce his own contemporations evidence of a contrary tendency."

'It would be useless for us,' Lord John rejoined, 'to attempt to persuade one another.' But Croker was not to be so silencel. 'I had no motive and no intention,' he replied, 'to persuade y at Lordship to anything. I did not meddle with your opinions I charged you with a gross and wilful offence against me. The public is now the judge whether I have proved the charge.

And the verdict of the public was with Croker.

It was not, we believe, a zest for 'the pleasure of safe male-nity,' but the incurable heedlessness of party malevolence, which induced Miss Martineau, in an article on 'the unhappy diman who has just departed,' which appeared in the 'Dad News' the day ofter Mr. Croker's death, and which, if we metake not, has since been republished in her 'Political Sket betto write of him thus:—'When he had been staying at Drart of Manor, not long before Sir R. Peel's death, had been not any hospitably entertained, but kindly ministered to under his lateratives of deatness and bad health, and went home to cut up to host in a political article for the forthcoming "Quartery, to fellow-guests at Drayton refused as long as possible to believe the article to be his.'

"There is not, says Mr. Jonnings (vol. iii. p. 93), 'a word of this in this statement from beginning to end. Any one who was thin be a guest at Drayton Manor knew perfectly well who eric as articles in the "Quarterly Review"; Peol himself knew and Mr. Croker was not at Drayton Manor for several years pror a Peel's death."

Indeed, all personal intercourse between them had could in 1846, nearly four years before that event, after a close sol affectionate intimacy of thirty years, and for reasons which is these volumes show, were certainly not otherwise than because able to Mr. Croker.

The silence with which Mr. Croker's friends treated the and similar calumnies became no longer possible, when 'd were adopted and enforced by Mr. Trevelyan in his 'Life of Lord Macaulay,' pullished in 1876, and supported by errors from Lord Macaulay's Letters and Distinct. The story of the

life, and the remarkable skill with which it was told by Mr Trevelyan, made his book sure of a circulation as wide as that of Lord Macaulay's own works; and in no place could the misrepresentations it contained be more fitty met than in this 'Review,' with which Mr. Croker had been from its earliest days actively associated. With access to the documents which are included in the present volumes, it was an easy as well as grateful task to show how little either Lord Macaulay or his biographer knew of the man whom they had maligned. No attempt was made by Mr. Trevelyan to shake the vindication of Mr. Croker in the article to which we have referred, which appeared in the number of this 'Review' for July 1876. The task would indeed have been a hopeless one. But Macaulay's words have produced an unfair impression on innumerable minds, to which the true character of Croker can never be made known. That mischief can never be wholly andone; but those, at least, who come with open minds to the erusal of the records brought together with great ability by Mr. Jennings in the present volumes, will not be likely to form such an estimate either of Mr. Croker's character or his abilities, The man who, without the advantage of family or fortune, early raised Limself to the high official position which Mr. Croker maintained with distinction through a long series of years, and who won for himself the close friendship and respect of many of the men of whom the country was and is most proud, must have possessed faculties not slender, even in comparison with those of Lord Macaday. To the charge against his moral his happy domestic life, his unblemished public character, the 'honour, love, obedience' of those with whom he worked, and 'the troops of friends' that surrounded him till his death, are a conclusive answer.

John Wilson Croker was born in Galway on the 20th of December, 1780. His father, John Croker, of an old Devonahire stock, was for many years Surveyor-General of Customs and Excise in Ireland, and is spoken of by Burke as 'a man of great abilities and most amiable manners, an able and upright public steward, and universally beloved and respected in private life.' His mother was the daughter of the Rev. R. Rathbone, of Galway. He was obviously a bright clover boy, and amiable also, if we are to credit Sheridan knowles, to whose father's school in Cork young Croker was sent when very young, to be cured of a statter, which he never entirely conquered. 'You were my dear mother's favourite,' Knowles wrote in 1856. 'She loved you for your constant good spirits and a cordial Vol. 158.—No. 316.

frankness that drew you to ber-for she was frankness and generosity itself.' He began authorship early, for when ou quite nine years old, one of his prose election equite was printed, during a contest at Cork. He afterwards spent some time at a school founded by French refugees, where only French was spoken, and where he attained, what was afterwards of great service to him, a perfect facility in reading, writing, and speaking that language. When about twelve years old, be went to a Mr. Willis's school at Portarlington, where the his Mr. Justice Jackson, of the Irish Common Pleas, on enteral as a pupil, found him 'at the head of the school, and fand princeps in every branch,' and the masters ' proud of his taxes and acquirements, as being likely to redound to the character and credit of the school. A year or two at another and more classical school, also at Portarlington, kept by the Rev. Rich mond Hood, who a few years later became Sir R. Peel's classial tutor, prepared him for Trinity College, Dublin, where he was entered in November 1786, a month before he was sixten-Tom Moore was there, a year or two his senior, and he me of his own class Strangford, Leslie Foster, Gervais, Burke, Ex-Gibbon, Coote, and others who rose afterwards to social and professional distinction.

a student at Lincoln's lim in 1800, and during the two following years devoted himself to legal study there. But the best of his mind, then as ever, seems to have been strongly towards literature. The incidents of the French Revolution had takes a great hold upon his mind, and he had already made progress in that minute study of the Revolutionary Epoch, which universately led to his forming the remarkable collection of French under the British Maseum, and made him probably the best informed man in England upocal the details of that period of French history. A series of letters on the subject, addressed to Tailien, introduced him to a connection with the 'Times,' and laid the foundation of a lantage and confidential intimacy with its leading proprietor. Of which was socially at this period, the late Mr. Jesse, the naturants, who lodged in the same bounding house with him in Middle Scotland Yard, gives us a glimpse. 'The society in the house,

Having decided on going to the Bar, he entered himself

he writes, 'consisted of four or five very pleasant men, and Mr. Croker soon became the life of the party by his wit and talents, and his constant readiness to provoke an argument, which he never failed to have the best of. During this person

which he never failed to have the best of During this perod he was associated with Horace and James Smith, Mr. Herres.

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Breville, Prince House, and Mr. Cumberland, in oth prose and verse for two short-lived publications of Cabinet' and 'The Picnic,'

med to Dublin in 1802, and in 1804 created great motion there by a little volume in verse of 'Familiar to Mr. Jones, the manager of the Crow Street Theatre, jesent State of the Irish Stage.' The theatre was then a of the best people in Dublin, and yielded, as Croker the large meome, for those days, of 5000L a year to ger, 'a sum,' as he says, 'greater than the salary of two dges of that land.' In our copy, the fourth edition, in 1805, a contemporary, whose MS, notes indicate is well informed upon theatrical matters, remarks that he manager made between 6000L and 7000L. The sof the manager, to judge by Croker's book, in project company of actors, was by no means proportionate perality of his public. In a kind of local Roseisd, mees the actors and their manager in roview.

time Mr. Croker had attached himself to the Munster here he first encountered Mr. Daniel O'Connel.. His fluence procured him many revenue cases, and the d rapid increase of his practice gave promise of a poessful career. It was sufficient for Lim to marry in 1806 he was united to Miss Pennell, daughter filliam Pennell, afterwards British Consul-General America, an event which he always regarded as the sing of his life. To his friend Mr. E. H. Locker, Mr. Frederick Locker, he described her in a letter e as 'a kind, even-tempered, well-judging girl, who re beauty and value talents without pretending to d whose object is rather to make home happy than and her husband contented than vain. He seems p surmised her to possess any special Literary capacity at, according to Mr. Johnings, she took more interest atudies and pursuits than her husband at that time and her judgment, as he afterwards gratefully acknowalways sound and good,"

same year Mr Croker, on the sudden withdrawal of date for Downpatrick, whom he had gone down to hade an unsuccessful effort to obtain the seat. But isolution took place the following year, on the collapse (II the Talents' Ministry, he gained the seat, and , after a long struggle on a petition against his return, ministration of the Duke of Portland be now declared (I adherence, reserving to himself freedom on the

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question of the removal of Catholic disabilities, to which a was strongly favourable. His powers as a speaker must by the time have been well tested, for he spoke the very first night is took his seat, on the state of Ireland, provoked thereto by some observations of an orater no less formidable than Mr. Grattan which he thought 'injurious and unfounded.' 'Though obviously unpremeditated,' he wrote long afterwards, 'I was set altogether flattered at hearing that my first speech was the best, I ampect it was so. Canning, whom I had never seen below, asked Mr. Foster to introduce me to him after the division, was very kind, and walked home with me to my lodgings.'

The acquaintance thus begun, comented as it was by community of opinion on the Catholic question, ripened into a frieship, which only terminated with Canning's death twenty tests afterwards. Croker's views on that burning question were stated at this time (1897) with so much ability in a pamph called 'A Sketch of Ireland Past and Present,' which an rapidly through twenty editions, that it fixed upon its author the attention of all leading politicians. Among these was Mr. Perceval, whose opinions were diametrically opposed to those enuminated in the pamphlet. Nevertheless, such was has opinion of the writer's powers and aptitude for business, 'is' he recommended Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his appointment in June 1808 to the command of the forces in the l'enimal to entrust to the young frish member in his absence the Parametrizate to the young frish member in his absence the Paramentary business of his office of Chief Secretary for Ireani Sir Arthur took his recommendation, and a relation between himself and Mr. Croker was thus established, which was permitted.

Not the least interesting part of these volumes is the compondence with the great Duke, and Mr. Croker's memorial of conversations with him upon all his battles, and cross momentous events of his life. All that Mr. Croker saw of the man whom he always regarded as his model hero,—and in safe him under conditions of the greatest unreserve at times when his sagacity and courage were most severely tested, increased his admiration. This is what he says in a memorandum acutary

in 1826 :-

When I first went to the Admiralty, Sir Roger Cu-tia, the Commander-in Chief at Pertamouth, who had previously been acquaintance of m ne, through the Howes and Lady Slige and the so kind as to favour me with his advice, eard to me, "My dearfured beware of Heroes. The more you come to know them, the sea you will think of them," and certainly he was right, as for a experience went with many who set up for beroes. The graft

exception was the real here—the Duke—who in mind and manners was the same, exactly the same, when I first knew him in 1806 as he is now, and rose in my admiration every hour that I saw him—always simple and always great.'—Vol. i. p. 350.

The Duke, in accordance with his uniform rule of choosing his agents well, must have thoroughly satisfied himself of Croker's qualifications to act for him, when the meeting took place which is recorded in the following memorandum:

"June 14th, 1808 .- Dined early with Sir Arthur and Lady Wellesley in Harley St., in order to talk over some of the Irish business which he had requested me to do for him in the House of Commons, as he was to set out for Iroland next morning on his way to Portugal. After dinner we were alone and talked over our humaness. There was one point of the Dablin Pipe Water Bill on which I differed a little from him, but could not convince him. At last I said, perhaps he would reconsider the subject and write to me from Dublin about it. He said, in his quick way, "No, no, I shall be no wiser to-morrow than I am to-day. I have given you my reasons: you must decide for yourself." When this was over, and while I was making some memorands on the papers, he seemed to lapse into a kind of reverse, and remained silent so long that I asked hem what he was thinking of. He replied, "Why, to say the truth, I am thinking of the French that I am going to fight. I have not seen them since the campaign in Flanders, when they were capital solders, and a dozen years of victory under Buonaparte must have made them better still. They have besides, it seems, a new system of strategy, which has out-manœuvred and overwhelmed all the armies of Europe. "Tis enough to make one thoughtful; but no matter: my die is cast, they may everwhelm me, but I don't think they will out-manmayre mo. First, because I am not afraid of them, as everybody clse seems to be; and secondly, because, if what I hear of their system of manouvres be true, I think it a false one as against steady troops. I suspect all the continental armos were more than naif beaten before the battle was begun. I, at least, will not be frightened beforehand."—Vol. i. p. 12.

What splendid results followed from that reverie, and others of the same kind, the Duke's adversaries soon learned. With the comparatively small bandful of troops at his command, he might well contemplate the contingency of being 'overwhelmed' as a possible one. But that he would make the most of what men he had, and never strain their powers too far, was certain. Another memorandum, in 1825, is of the highest interest, as showing the pains he took to make himself that thorough master of the details of every branch of his profession which, by enabling him to shape his plans with due regard to his resources, made him the successful general he was. He had

been speaking of the difference of the qualities required for the command of a division and the command of an army. There, he said, are quite different, though the greater will of command the less. The great general must understand the actual handling of troops; but, he continued—

"it is necessary to begin still lower. One must understand to mechanism and power of the individual soldier; then that of a company, a battalion, or brigade, and so on, before one can write to group divisions and move an army. I believe I owe must of an success to the attention I always paid to the inferior part of tactor as a regimental officer. There were few man is the army who have these details better than I did; it is the foundation of all military knowledge. When you are sure that you know the power of put tools and the way to handle them, you are able to give your most altogether to the greater considerations which the presence of the enemy forces upon you."

Mr. Croker adds some further interesting particulars on the

He told me, on an earlier occasion, that within a few days after joining his first regiment (I think he said the 73rd) as an ensign, behad one of the privates weighed in his clothes only, and then with all his arms, accountrements, and kit in full marchings refer, with the very of comparing as well as he could the power of the man with the day expected from him. I said that this was a most extraordinary theight to have occurred to so young a man. He said, "Why, I was not a young as not to know that since I had undertaken a prefession I had better try to understand it." When I repeated this to Colonel Shaw a great friend of both him and Lord Wellesley, he told me this is the Duke's early residence in India, and before he was in commant his critical study of his profession afforded a marked contrast to be general habits of that time and country. Shawe also added another early anecdote. The Duke inherits his father's musical taste, and used to play very well, and rather too much on the viclin. Some circumstances occurred which made him reflect that this was not a soldierly accomplishment, and took up too much of his time and thoughts; and he burned his fiddles, and never played again. About the same time he gave up the habit of cord playing." - Vol. i. p. 350

To act for a man of this stamp, we may be sure, was a stimulus to the conscientions fulfilment of his trust, had asy stimulus been needed by Mr. Croker. His experience of official work and of Parliamentary tactice, afforded by its duties, was most valuable. They gave him a position, and helped, with his own abilities, to command a hearing tor his in the House of Commons. The discussions there in 1808, of Colonel Wardle's charge against the Duke of York of commons at the sale of military appointments by his mistress, brought Mr.

Mr. Croker to the front. He spoke in answer to Sir Francis Burdett on March 14, dissecting and tearing to pieces the ovidence adduced against the Duke, with a skill which bore testimony to the value of his legal studies. The speech was a brilliant success, and assisted so materially in the vindication of the Duke, as to draw down upon Mr. Croker the obloquy and scarrilous abuse of the fomenters of what even Lord Grey

always spoke of as 'a mean and miserable prosecution.'

At this time Mr. Croker had nothing but his profession and his pen to depend upon. In April 1809, it appears from a memorandum (vol. i p 14) that, after a conversation about the Dubim Paving Bill, Mr. Percevul said to him, 'But, Croker, you are all this while taking a great deal of trouble for us, and no care of yourself. Can you not think of anything we can do for you?' Croker's reply was that he had not done so, but that he should have liked, for the sake of learning business, to have been the private secretary to the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Perceval begged him to look out for something saitable, and assured him that the Government would be happy to serve him.

The close of the Session of 1809 set h.m free to return to his profession in Ireland and to literary work. Before he left London, he had been enlisted among the contributors to this Review.' With Canning and Mr. George Ellis he was on terms of intimacy, and he shared their counsels in arranging for its establishment in the February of that year. This brought him acquainted with Sir Walter Scott, who was in London that spring, and, according to his friend Mr. Morritt, 'was much with George Ehia, Canning, and Croker, and delighted in them-as, indeed, who did not? The third number of this 'Review' contained Croker's first contribution, an article on Miss Edgeworth's 'Tales of Fashionable Life.' He did not again contribute till the tenth number in 1811, but from that time to 1854, excepting for an interval between 1826 and 1831, scarcely a number appeared without one or more papers by him. 'It was, says Mr. Jeonings (vol. i. p. 25), the chief pride of his life to be associated with this periodical, and his best original work was done for its pages. The Whig press credited all the political articles to his account, but, as he wrote to Mr. Lockhart in 1834, for twenty years that I wrote in it, from 1809 to 1829, I never gave, I believe, one purely political article-not our, certainly, in which politics predominated.'

In a poem on 'The Battle of Talarera' (July 28, 1809) Mr. Croker did justice to the genius that directed, and the gallantry that won for England, that important victory. It appeared in

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the autumn of 1809, and in the following April his public -Mr. Murray, wrote to him, that it had been 'more successor than any short poem he knew,' exceeding in circulation the Heber's 'Palestine' or 'Europe,' and even Mr. Canning's 'Um and Trafalgar.' Sir Walter Scott, in whose 'Marmion' men the poem was written, thought it beautiful and spirited. Man a heart, he added, when acknowledging a copy of the cight edition, has kindled at your "l'alavera," which may be the more natriotic for the impulse as long as it shall last. I was we may soon bear from the conqueror of that glorious day sub news as may procure us " another of the same. ' His excellan conduct, joined to his high and undaunted courage, make his our Nelson on land, and though I devoutly wish that his tore could be doubled, I shall feel little anxiety for the event of a day when he is only outnumbered by one-third' (vol. i. p. 31) He pronounced a more elaborate but not less friendly judgment upon the poem in this 'Review' (vol. ii. p. 426); but core precious than even Scott's praise must have been a letter (dated Badajoz, November 15) from Wellington, to whom Croker had written with a copy, saying that he had read the poem wat great satisfaction, and adding, 'I did not think a battle could be turned to anything so entertaining." I heard, he added, twith great allowants that the satisfactions of the satisfaction with great pleasure that you were to be appointed Secretary the Admiralty, in which situation I have no doubt you will be yourself credit, and more than justify me in any little exertion I may have made for you while I was in office."

Mr. Perceval had not forgotten his promise, and when he became Premier, on the breaking up of the Duke of Portlands Administration, he directed Lord Mulgrave, his First Lord of the Admiralty, to offer to Mr. Croker the office mentioned by the Duke. It was a high one, and far beyond his expectations; but the permanency of Mr. Perceval's Administration was precarious, and Mr. Croker paused before throwing up a profession

[&]quot;Entertaining, says the Dake. As to trutafulness he is allest. But also did not believe that history earld be true, how should be look for truth a a point? On this point we have his opinion, is more than one place in her volumes. Thus, is one of his conversations (vel 1 p 15%) he says. "Not a "a history because truth cannot be told?" Se I said to Jointon, and so I wate is yet wher I told you that a battle was like a but stant one remembered roll own partner, but know very little what other couples might be about the field you that a battle was like a but stant one remembered roll and, might it be quite decorous to tell all he saw. Se that, eastless almost needed, might it be quite decorous to tell all he saw. Se that, eastless almost needed the maceuracy, there was the risk indeed, the cestainty that yet consisted the whole truth without effence to notice, and partners satisfying actually About vectorious buttles, even, it would not do to tell everything living features, if they spoke out, would confirm what the Dake may a stream place (vol a p 417). "All troops run away—that he sover in tell, all is excelled at succession of lines for the purpose of rallying fagitives."

which, he tells us, he was fond, and which was yielding him about 60th a year. But all healtation ceased when, on arriving in London, he was told by Mr. Arbuthnot, Secretary of the Iteaury, that Mr. Perceval, in his unsuccessful negociations with Lords Grenvillo and Grey to take office with him, had proposed himself to take the Seals of the Home Office, and that the only appointment for which he had stipulated was that of Mr. Croker as his Under Secretary. 'After this,' Mr. Croker

writes, 'I could have no doubt what to do.'

Party feeling never ran higher than at this time, and the appointment of a young and untried man to an office of such importance was of course made a subject of violent attack. But Mr. Perceval, as the event proved, had formed a just estimate of his young friend's fitness for the very responsible and anxious duties of his office. In less than a month this estimate was strikingly confirmed. Mr. Croker and addressed himself with his usual energy and acumen to looking into the details of his department, and naw reason to suspect a serious detaleation in an official of high rank and respectability, which had escaped the notice of his predecessors. He at once refused his signature to a warrant for a further issue of money until the last issues were accounted for. The defaulter, who had great influence with George III., used it to persuade the King that everything was right, and that the young frishman knew nothing of his business. Meanwhile Mr. Croker went on with his researches, and satisfied himself that 'it was a case of ruin and disgrace to the individual, and a loss of at least 200,000/. to the public.' Upon this he laid the facts before his superior, Lord Mulgrave, but, finding his Lordship did not take the same view of the case, he tendered his resignation. Mr. Perceval took up the matter, and, Mr. Croker writes, would, he believed, have himself resigned rather than compromise an affair of which he saw the whole importance.' He explained the facts to the King, who thereupon sent the young official 'a most generous assurance of his satisfaction at his seal in doing his duty, and his firmness in resisting his own first suggestions under a misunderstanding of the case,

The subordination of all personal or selfish considerations to the interests of the public service was the law of Mr. Croker's official life. He could not indeed have conceived the possibility of any other, for a man of honour. The frank surrender of a fine position and an income of 3200l. a year, rather than be privy to malversations which had escaped the notice of those who ought to have detected them, was, however, a sacrifice for which the assailants of his appointment would hardly have

given

given him credit. Their attacks died out when it becare obvious, as it soon did, that no complaint could be made con-The times were critical. of his ability or zeal. was at the height of his power on the Continent. still smarting under the Walcheren disaster, and the presence of a prosiding mind at the post he held was of vital moment. The extent of work in which he was at once involved, he tells us, was "quite terrific." He was at his office by nine, and worked there till four or five. But his heart was in his work. and he was always to be found at his deck. For two-axtwenty years, he wrote to Mr. Murray in 18db, 'I never quand that office-room without a kind of uncosiness like a trush to It was not wonderful that, as the years went on, he became the presiding spirit of the department. He was master of all in details, and to this day the rules he laid down, and the organzation he established, have been acknowledged by a Whig rost Lord of the Admiralty to be the foundation of all that is bed and most business-like in the department. His otheral superces deferred to his judgment, and his ascendency among then became ultimately so great, that on one occasion, when We Croker stated in the House of Commons that he was only 'tot servant of the Board, Sir Joseph Yorke, a former Lord of the Admiralty, remarked that when he was at the Board "it su precisely the other way.' Whether this was so or not, the was of the Board was thoroughly well done, and Mr. Croker, in a memorandum cited by Mr. Jennings (vol i p 22), could reust with truth, 'I never heard, and do not believe, there was 23 complaint of my official conduct."

The three First Lords under whom he served—the bar of Mulgrave, the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, and Viscount Verille—all respected and got on well with him; and he industrated to maintain his ground against the whites and vagare of the Duke of Clarence, when Lord High Admiral, with apirit, for which in after years King William IV, hore him now will. Mr. Croker refused to submit to the Duke's under more forence with his department. In this he was backed up both by the Duke of Wellington and the King. At length the Patro of Clarence carried his attempt to render himself independent of all authority so far, that it was decided that either he as to Duke of Weilington must resign; and resign he did. Here a a specumen of his scenes with the Secretary, in a letter from Croker to Sir B. Blomfield, March 21, 1823. George IV we

then suffering from a succession of attacks of gout :- -

His R.H's chance of being King begins to mend-do no member my little discussion with him at Brighton eight year and

when he told me that, when he became King, I should not be Secretary of the Admiralty? I told him "a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush." He had just before told me that he would in that event declare himself Lord High Admiral, and asked me "what abjection I could start to that?" I replied, with a low bow, "none; that there was a case in point—James II, had done the same." This was a little bold, to say no werse, on my part, but he had been, for half an hour before, giving me provocation beyond all endurance, such as abusing Lord Melville, Sir George Hope, and the rest of the Board, and, though I begged of him to recollect my situation with them and spars me the mertitication of hearing such attachs made on my friends and colleagues, he went on with still more violence. By the time he comes to be King, however, he will be a good deal more quiet and reasonable than he was eight years ago."—Vol. i. p. 265.

These volumes contain several other illustrations of the same independent and honourable spirit. But in these days of popularity-hunting, when medals and honours for every little piece of military or naval service are far too rife, it is more profitable to road the following letter from Mr. Croker to Lord Exmouth, throwing cold water upon his Lordship's idea of a pocual medal to be distributed for the successful expedition against Algiers:—

*October 23rd, 1816.

"My pear Lead, I never have and never will (I hope) do anything for the cake of popularity, he that stores by any other compass than he awase each of duty may be a popular, but car not be an lament, and I think not a useful public servant. On the occasion of a modal for the Algerine exploit I have no heartainen in telling you that I decidedly disapprove of it; and if my opinion were caked (which it bos not been) I should say so. Why should that be done for 5000 men who were at Algers, which has not been done for the million of men who have served in so many glorious actions since 1793? You will say that the soldiers of Waterloo have had medals, but surely it is impossible to compare Waterloo with any other battle. The soldiers of Salamanca, Talavera, Yetheria, Toulouse, and the Pyrenees, have no medals. In short, my dear Lord, with the justest sense of the kill and galkintry of your operations before Algers, and of the dimirable courage displayed by all ranks, and the wonderful success of your fire, I must say that I should be sorry to see anything done for it which should seem to throw a shade over the lat June, Camperdown, St. Vincent's, the Nile, and Trafalgar."

Mr. Croker had the happiness of being the first to communicate to the Prince-Regent, among whose friends he had for some time been numbered, the tidings of Wellington's defeat of Soult, on July 30, 1813, at the last of the series of the Battles of the Pyrenecs.' When I went to the Prince with the news this morning, he with to Mrs. Croker (August 15, 1818), 'he embraced me with hoth ans. You never saw a man so rejuteed. I have seen him again to it; and you cannot conceive how gracious he is to me. We were terpleasant yesterday, and H.R.H. has asked me to go to the Pavillea Wednesday and Thursday, or as long as I can stay.'

At the Pavilion, as well as at Carlton House and Windor, Mr. Croker seems to have been always a welcome visitor, in very many pleasant pages of this book are filled with bright and

picturesque records of what he saw and heard there.

The impression left is, upon the whole, favourable to the Prince's head as well as to his heart. Several glimpses are given of his love for music, which seems to have not always been agreeable to some of the lad'es who had the greatest influence over him. He would upon occasion leave them is founder in a corner, while he sang duets and glees with the two pretty Misses Liddell (Lord Ravensworth's sisters), old Michael Kelly, Knyvett, and others. Thus one evening at the Parama in 1822, the King, we are told (vol. i. p. 250),—

"Never left the pianoforte; he sang in "Glorious Apolla," Mughty Conqueror," "Lord Mornington's Waterfail" (encoret, "Non Nobis, Domine," and several other gloce and catches. He voice a base, is not good, and he does not sing so much from the notes as from recollection. He is, therefore, as a musician far from good; but he gave, I think, the force, gaiety, and spirit of the gave in a superior style to the professional men."

For the very obvious reason, we should say, that they were thinking of their tones, and he of the meaning of what was says.

George IV. was very fond of children, and he took a marked liking for a sister of Mr. Croker's wife, whom Croker had adopted from childhood as his daughter. The King always called her by her pet name 'Nony,' and she was never forgotted at the children's balls, which were often given at the Pakee. Miss Croker, afterwards Lady Barrow, grew up to be a beautial woman, and inspired Sir Thomas Lawrence to paint one of his finest portraits. 'It was,' says Atlan Cunningham, 'all airiness and grace,' and 'men stood before it in a half circle, admining its leveliness, in the Exhibition' of 1827.

Mr. Croker himself was obviously a favourite with the K. most probably because he had little of the courtier in him and could be relied on for sincerity in giving his opinion. As the least interesting of his memoranda is the report, occupy of twenty-three pages, of a conversation with the King (November 25, 1825). It arose out of Moore's 'Life of Sheridan,' when had recently appeared, and was lying on the table of Ha

hinjesty s

Majesty's dressing-room. Seeing Croker's interest in what he was saying, the King handed him first one abeet of paper, and then another, to make notes of what he said, and he even maderated the flow of his narration to give his listener time to fallow him. He went on narrating or rather dictating in this way for some hours without interruption (except by a few interlocutory observations on [Mr. Croker's] part, and several attacdotal episodes on his), and with a clearness, grace, and rivacity of which Mr. Croker says his notes could supply but

a very inadequate idea.

Of this long and most interesting memorandum, no part will be read more eagerly than the King's account of his relations with Sheridan. 'I don't like mentioning such things,' he said, 'Lut I must now tell you in confidence, that all through our intercourse I had aided Sheridan to an enormous amount. I can venture to say he has had above 25,000% from me.' He then went on to tell a pitiful story of the cause of the rupture between them. A sum of 3000% had been advanced in 1812, at Sheridan's request, to secure him a seat in Parliament, for which he said he had arranged. Knowing how little Sheridan's word was to be trusted in money matters, his friends had taken every precaution to make sure, as they thought, that the money should go into the hands for which it was said to be intended. By an artifice, worthy of the veriest Jeremy Diddler, and which involved falsehood of the worst kind. Sheridan circumvented them, got the money into his own hands, and applied it to the payment of some of his debts. Ever after this, he kept out of the Prince's way.

"I sometimes, however, heard of him, and I once saw him by accident, as I shall tell you presently. He now took to live in a very low and obscure way, and all he locked for in the company he kept was brandy end water. He lived a good cal with some low acquaintance he had made a harness-maker; I forget his name, but he had a house near Leatherhead. In that neighbourhood I saw him for the last time, on the 17th of August, 1815. [He died July 7th, 1816.] I know the day from this circumstance, that I had gone to pay my brother a visit at Oatlanes on his birthday, and next day, as I was crossing over to Brighton, I saw in the road near Leatherhead old Shoridan coming along the pathway. I saw him now in the thack stockings and blue coat with metal buttons. I said to Blomfield, "There is Shoridan;" but, as I spoke, he turned off into a lane when we were within about thirty yards of him, and walked off without looking behind him. That was the last time I ever saw Shoridan, nor did I hear of or from him for some months, but one morning MacMahon came up to my room, and after a bittle hesitation and apology for spoaking to me about a person who had lately swindled me and him

so shamelessly, he told me that Mr. Vaughan. Hat Vaughan they used to call him, had colled to say that Sheridan was dargerend by and really in great distress and want. I think no one who the knew me will doubt that I immediately said that he illness and wait made me forget his faults, and that he must be taken care of, and that may induce that was necessary I desired he would immediately advance. He asked no to name a sum, as a general index of that matrix was at one on which he would venture to act, and whether I named to be suggested 5001. I do not remember, but I do recember that the 5001 was to be advanced at ource to Mr. Vaughan, and that he was subthat with when that was gone he should have more. I set no limits the sum, nor did I say nor hear a word about the mode in what I was to be applied, except only that I desired that it should not appear to come from me.

The King then gives reasons for this secrecy, which are not be gameaid, and proceeds.

*MacMakon went down to Mr Vangban's and teld him what I is ward, and that he had my directions to place 5000 in his tasts Mr. Vangban, with some expression of surprise, declared that is such sum was wanted at present, and it was not without some present that he took 2004, and said that if he found it is sufficient he was return for more. He did come back, but not for more; for he to MacMahon that he had spant only 1300, or 1100, and he gave to most appalling account of the misery which he had relieved with it

The description which follows, of the state in which Ma-Sheridan as well as Sheridan himself were found, is indecappalling. Mr. Vaughan had done his best to relieve it a providing all needful comforts, and discharging some insediately pressing money claims.

"I sent the next day," the King continued, "to inquire the Sheridan, and the answer was that he was letter, and more or feetable, and I had the satisfaction to think that he wanted acting that money and the care and kindness of so judicious a frant after Mr. Vaughan could precure him: but the next day, that is treeded after Mr. Vaughan had done all this, and actually expended near less as I have stated, he came to Michishon with an air of more data and stated that he was come to return the 2001. "The 2011 and MacMahon, with surprise. "Why, you had spent three fourths it the day before yesterday!" "True," returned Waughan, "amone of those who left these poor people in mostly have now much continuing this money, which they suspect has come from the Prince. Where they got the mency, I know not, but they have the me the amount, with a message that Mrs. Sheridan wanted for nothing I, alded Mr. Vanghan, "can only say that this assistance came rather late, for that three days ago I, was enabled by His Hoyal Highnon's tour?

to relieve him and her from the lowest state of misery and debasement in which I had ever seen human beings."

This narrative, which bears upon it the stamp of truth, will clear the King's memory from the imputation, under which it has long laboured, of having behaved ungenerously to a man whose society he had courted, and whose services he had used.

We may find from here for another anecdote of a royal

personage from Mr. Croker's note-book.

"The Duke of Glo'ster is a great asker of questions. He asked the Duke of Grafton, who, though sixty-six, does not look above fifty, "how old he was," before a large company in a country house. The Duke of Grafton did not like the inquiry, but answered. Some time after the Dukes met again, and the Duke of Glo'ster repeated this question, to which the Duke of Grafton dryly replied, "Sir, I amountly three weeks two days older than when your Royal Highness last asked me that disagreeable question."

To return to our sketch of Mr. Croker's life. While making for himself a great official reputation, his position as one of the ablest debaters in the House came to be generally recognized. His great command of facts, and accuracy is statement, made Lim a formidable adversary, even to the leaders of the Opposition. 'At the distance of more than forty years,' the late Lord Hatherton (formerly Mr. Littleton, Secretary for Ireland under Lord Grey's government), writing in 1857, speaks of a continuous encounter between Tierney and Croker in Committee of Supply, as 'the most brilliant scene of the kind which he remembered in the House of Commons during the twenty-three years he was a member of it.' Mr. Croker, in reply to Lord Hatherton, gave some particulars of this debate:—

Tax and the public impatience for the reduction of the war establishments, together with some accidental defeats on minor points consected with the army, and especially the Admiralty, contributed to inggest to the Opposition a short cut to office by a coup de main against the Navy Estimates. It was the official chiquette that the senior lay Lord should make the motion, and not the Secretary, who might have been naturally expected to be better acquainted with the details. The senior lay Lord happened to be Warrender, a much eleverer fellow than he was generally thought, but who knew nothing at all of the Navy Estimates; that beet was, therefore, to demolish Warrender at cook to negative going into Committee where the sea Lords and I would have been able to explain or justify details, and thus by so flagrant an affect exerthrow the Ministry at a blow. For this purpose Tierney, then the real leader of the Opposition, with the additional authority which his being an ex-Treasurer of the Navy gave

him, was himself to lead the onset. The Government were whell'us approved of the scheme, and it happened (from a currons circumstant, but too complicated to repeat) that I did not expect the detail on might, and had not even brought down the office red box containing my detailed notes on the estimates which I hardly expected to was that night, or at least not so early in the evening. The box was been my deak at the Admiralty, whence if necessary it might be half

We know nothing of the intentions of the Opposition, he I remember we were somewhat surprised at the numbers and the extract they exhibited, and that tone in which Tierney in some printing they exhibited, and that tone in which Tierney in some printing conversation about the land had menaced us with an utter left in half an hour; "and certainly, if he had not based his hope at most extraordinary blunder, he would have succeeded. In a metable and forcible speech he examined and contrasted the late we adpresent peace estimates, and showed by the indisputable figures that decimates, so far from being prepared with any pretents to eccount were, everywhere and in all branches, encommented. "With could be done with such derinive, such insulting documents for three enthusiasm of the Opposition as this speech presented, and the another it, and was waiting quietly on a back bench for two pared for it, and was waiting quietly on a back bench for far peaced me "what answer could be made to all that." "The ashe asked me "what answer could be made to all that." "The ashe asked me "what answer could be made to all that." "The ashe asked me "what answer could be made to all that." "The anhe asked me "what answer could be made to all that." "The anhe asked me "what answer could be made to all that." "The anhe asked me "what answer that will blow it all away is two minutes." "I," exclaimed Warrender, "I know nothing about it "What," said I, "have you not the memorandum I gave Lord Melville and you yesterday, or at least notes of it?" "No," said Warrender "Lord Melville said they were old stories, and had nothing to with those times." "Good Lord!" I said, "and where in the memorandum?" "I put it back," said be, "in the bundle yen gave in

"But you can state the facts," said Castlerough. "It will twif to cloud," I replied. The facts are only a series of fource, which real but the identical figures can substantiate. "But where," and G, "

the paper?" "At the Admiralty in a red box."

Billy Holmes," very much alarmed at the aspect of the flower voluntoored to dash away for the recovery of the red box and teach it me in a wonderfully short space of time, and there I found at memorandum, which was an absumet of the lost our and fire per estimates ever amon the trenty of Hyswick, in all of which the pacestimate for establishments exceeded the war est mate, and possible that natural recome it must of necessity do so. The estimates are of two classes; first, for active service; second, for the estimates we have active service, called the "rate of second," was for shiple in all amountains, wear and tour and wages, &c., for 145,000 men, as I "

[&]quot; Mr. W. Holmes, commonly known as " Black Bally," was then actus " the Treasury Whyp.

and of the line. When peace came, 80 of the 100 eath were paid off, and reduced the expense of that estimate which fell to nothing, while they and their various expenses were transferred over to the catablishment estimate, commonly called "the Navy Estimate;" which, of course, was propertionally increased in all its branches. The simple reading of this memorandum, and the evidence of the figures in carry case from the treaty of hyswick, changed the face of the House in a moment, Our opposite were assumed of Therney, and Therney was ashuned of himself to be taken in such a mare's nest; and the mortification was the greater, for he had been a party to the same process as Treasurer of the Navy in 1803. The thing was so obvious that, though I had taken pains (for I never spared pains) to work it out, that I ad given it to Melville and Warrender as general information, I really did not expect that any one, least of all an old fox like Tierney, would have ever given me an opportunity of using it, but my diligence was rewarded by good luck; and I certainly never saw in Parliament so sudden and so complete a turning of the inde of notory.

Mr. Croker gained another success in Parliament during this year by inducing the Legislature to purchase the Elgin Marbles, now in the British Museum. His exertions called forth a warm acknowledgment from Lord Elgin. Three years later, the late Lord Monteagle, then Mr. Spring Rice, who, braides being of opposite polities, was smarting under an unfavourable review of his 'Primitic Literarie' by Mr. Croker, wrote of a speech which he had just made on the Catholic Question, with a warmth of culogy which only oratory of a high order could have inspired—

My dear Carry, . . . I have just heard your friend Croker, and you could not wish him or any favourite of yours to have made a stronger or more favourable impression upon the House. . . . It showed him to be an honest Irishman no less than an able statesman. It showed him at this moment to be disinterested, and resdy to that the read of fortune under the suspices of his personal friend Peel, if the latter was only to be conciliated by what Oxonians term arthodoxy, and we Cantaba consider as intolerance.

This was high praise, especially from one who knew by what ties of affectionate ferendship, as well as of political sympathy, Croker was bound to Peel. Soon after his entry into Parliament they had formed a close friendship. The copious and most interesting correspondence between them contained in these volumes commences in 1812, when Peel was Secretary for Ireland, and is continued without intermission down to the time when he introduced his measure for the abolition of the Corn Laws. To this friendship we owe several letters from Peel, in that lighter Vol. 158.—No. 318.

vein, which he could adopt successfully upon occasion, but it which few specimens have hitherto seen the light. They were together to Paris, during its occupation by the Albed Arms after the hattle of Waterloo. Mr Croker had I is services exist into play, while there, to aid Castlereagh and Wellingtor is important diplomatic work, as will be seen from the following memorandum:

· I was in Paris in July 1815, while Buonaparte was still lingering at Rochefort, and there was great anxiety on the part of the Prices Government to get rid of bim. We were anxious to take him person the French ministers, Talleyrand, Fouche, &c., were descreas that be should escape to America. There was hold on the evening of the 12th of July, a kind of double Cabinet Council as to what was to be As I was Socretary of the Admiralty and know the state and strongth of our naval blockade, I was invited by Lord Castle ogand the Duke to accompany them to this meeting, where we bed Talleyrand, Fouchs, and M. de Jancourt, then Minister of Manae Measures were concerted for capturing him. I held the pen Takerand took little or no part. Finishe was evidently and our the Buenapurte should escape, and made all sorts of objection and particularly as to some strong expressions I used and noise street measures which I suggested. Jaucourt was fair and straightformal Whon that affair had been diseased, the Dake to read short results Fouché about Vincennes, the Governor of which had hasted in white flag, but would not surrorder the fortress. The Dake, it seems, had twice before urged Fouche to put an end to this is agreeable farce; once, I think, that very morning (our present of ference was at night), and Founde had promised that the fort about be surrendered that day; he new put on a pendential air and and that the Governor was cutilly of epociates, and would not clay us orders, and, shrugging his shoulders, " Que venlez-vous que | fesset The Duke reddened at this question, and stood up at disad sharm "Ce n'est pas à mn. M. le Due, de vous dire ce que vous ans faire, mais je vous dirai ce que je ferui, moi! Si la place a est pronutue à dix beures donnais matin, je la prendrai de vive force Example 2 vous?" Pouché hammed and hawed, and hoped he would it & beprecipitate, and that a day or two might arrange it à l'amidde. It Dake said, No, he had been put off in this saide way for I Hink in anid) two days; much longer than he ought to have warted. "A present your avez mon dernier mot, et vous devez savoir que et que je vous dis jo le feral; si la place n'est pas rendue à dix hiurs in matin, elle sera prise à midi." He then turned le me, a he was stat a writing table, and said: "Croker, yet nover car a fight, be with me at 9 o'clock te-morrew morning. I shall give were abbreakfast, mount you en a good horse and take you to see the above sulding gravely-" a show which I shall be very surry to shit but which such an outrage on good faith and how ur faces the The affair," he said, turning to the French Ministers, " is still mee

thing to the King of France and his the verament than to us; but the cau't armupe it. I must." When he said this, he wished us bright, and left us. The French Munators then said a few words better-eigh, asking his interposition, who only answered that it is unistary point on which the Duke was sole judge; and he needly will do what he has told you. M. de Ligry (who was to y the dispatches was then called in, and was told that he would two his instructions next day. I sat up late writing my dispatch or Castlereigh's instructions, and making a copy for London. It to the Duke early next morning and found that he had really in his measures for storming the place, but the fort was given up the killy did not make a note of this at the time, but I have since ad of the circumstance with the Duke, and think that the foregoing derably accurate.

he admirable despatch above alluded to was addressed to be-Admiral Sir H. Hotham, the Senior Officer in Basque ds. It is too long for quotation here; but there is little by that Fouché, who was in communication with Buonate, sent him notice that, if he attempted to run the blockade, English cruisers had orders to sunk the French ship.

Paris Mr. Croker kept very early hours—and was up by past six, reading or writing. His companions, Peel and Vesey (afterwards Lord) Fitzgerald, took things easily, and yed the stirring and remarkable sights and social aspects Paris, delighted on the one hand at having got rid of soleon, while fretting on the other under the occupation in enemy, and especially irritated by the insolence of the mians, who, Croker mentions, were 'hardly less offensive the English than the French.' Thus, while Croker is till one in the morning at the conference mentioned we to concoct measures for the capture of Buomaparte, his add had been indulging themselves in a peep at the ding houses in the Palais Royal, where 'Frizgerald lost tens, and Peel, more lucky, won five.' Croker was brought direct contact with all the temarkable people, and his these of such men as Talleyrand, Forthe, Denon, and oddes of Louis XVIII., Napo con, Blucher, and others, are nated as well as valuable contributions to the history of tame.

In their way back to England, the friends had the good and to have as their guide (July 27) over the field of terleo, the Duke of Richmond, who had seen the whole but up to 3 P.M. 'Without such a guide we should have but little,' Croker writes, 'for one might have passed by the two roads that lead through the ground, may, might

have ridden over it without finding out that anything versextraordinary had passed there.' Nevertheless, he finds much to tell that is well worth reading—among other things this store of the landlady of the little inn, where he lunched with his friends, and where Wellington had put up on the 18th of Jaze.

'On the morning of the battle the poor landlady was weeping and bewaiting her danger, but the Duke, she said, encouraged by and said, slapping her on the shoulders. " Cest most gas report tout, personne no souffrire adjourd'hui des Français excepté les sousses."

Besides their letters on the graver topics of these anxious rem, Croker seems to have kept Peel posted up in what was gong on in literary and social circles in London. You are the sale man in London, Peel writes from Dublin (Nov. 22, 1817) via takes compossion on your friends in foreign parts, and en-lightens their darkness. In return he tells Croker to look on for squalls, as Lady Morgan is vowing vengeance against am as the supposed author of an article in the 'Quarterly,' '12 which her atheism, profanity, indecency, and ignorance, are exposed. The article was by Croker, but to Lady Morgania hostility he was supremely indifferent. She was supposed to have drawn him as 'Counsellor Con' in a novel published in 1814, by way of retaliation for an uncomplimentary review of 'Woman; or Ida of Athens,' in the first number of the 'Quarterly,' which was, it seems, written not by Mr. Croker, but by Mr. Gifford. 'This,' Mr. Jennings tells us, 'was not be any means the last occasion on warch Mr. Croker was strong at for causes of offence of which he was wholly innocest Croker's reply as to Lady Morgan is characteristic. *She, it seems, is resolved to make me read one of her novels. I say I shall feel interested enough to learn the language, . . . godson thrives apace. He has seven teeth, and bites hards than Lady Morgan.' This godson was Mr. Croker's only call born in January of that year (1817), and named Spencer with his father's first putron, Mr. Perceval. He was the light of be parents' eyes, but soon to be lost to them.

In addition to the many other services which Mr. Croker rendered to literature, we must not omit to mention the emblishment of the Atheneum Club, of which he was the featers. He also endeavoured to get Cleopatra's Needle removed to England, and he proposed to do it by means of a raft of timber roughly shaped so as to fit and enclose the obelish, a ich might thus be towed to England in fine weather. The supportion is remarkable as anticipating the manner in which the

'Needle' was actually transported in 1877,

We make a few extracts from Mr. Croker's 'Note-Book' at this period:-

Mr. Baukes's manners in society are not very easy or ogrecable. He has just published a history of Rome, which was pronounced dull, "and yet," said Jekyll, "his Rome is better than his company".

'There is an inscription on the great Spanish mortar in the park in no very classical Latin. Part of the ornaments on the carriage are dogs' heads. Why dogs' heads? "to account for the Latin," said Likell

Jekyll.

'The Sun office, in the Strand, was one of the first which exhibited the fashion, since grown so common, of introducing columns; when it was noticed as a novelty, it was answered that, on the contrary, it was a very uncient fashion—" Atria solis crant sublimibus alta columns."

Mr. Pepper, a gentleman well known in the Irish sporting world, asked Lord Norbury to suggest a name for a very fine hunter of his: Lord Norbury, himself a good sportsman, who knew that Mr Pepper had had a fall or two, advised him to call the horse "Peppercoster."

"Mr. O'Connell, whose arrest by the civil power as he was proceeding to meet Mr. Peel was supposed not to be quite involuntary on his own part, was soon after arguing a law point in the Common Pleas, and happened to use the phrase, "I fear, my Lords, I do not make myself understood." "Go on, go on. Mr. O'Connell," replied Lord Norbury, "no one is more easily apprehended."

A sad epoch in Mr. Croker's life was marked by the death of his only child, on the 20th of May, 1820, after about three weeks illness, during which his father rarely left his bedside day or night.

"My poor wife is heart-broken," he wrote to Peel; "heaven preserve you from such a calamity as has beaten us down." "I am almost mwill ug," was Peel's reply, "to break in by any allusion upon the sacred subject of your grief, for I know how futtle every attempt must be to offer any other consolations to you than those to which your own mind has already had recourse. I most deeply and sincerely sympathise with you, and carnestly pray for every alleviation of masery that it is possible for you and the partner of your wees to receive."

The loss of his son for the time utterly unnerved him. It killed within him every aspiration for advancement in a political career. Only the fear of the mischief to his health of mind and body, which might ensue on retiring from office, kept him from resigning his post at the Admiralty. Many months afterwards

[&]quot; It need scarcely be said that at this period the fash enable pronunciation of the word was "Room."

he wrote, 'I look upon office as Hamlet did upon life' [the allusion, no doubt, is to the line, "I do not set my life at a passfee,"] 'and would not be displeased with him who should take it from me. Indeed, since the death of my poor child, I have been meditating a retreat, and would have executed it, but the I am afraid of my own powers of solutude and descurrence. However, I conveyed lately to Lord Liverpool my readuses, if my office would facilitate his arrangements, to place it at its disposal.' His services, however, were far too important to be dispensed with; and it was well for his ultimate happiness that his mind was kept at work at his 'old green desk, and not allowed to dwell, as it otherwise might have done, upon a sorrow, which through all his unusually busy life never crass

to weigh heavily upon him.

Croker had for some time previously began to look to Peel a the future leader of his party; and when it came to be rumoured that he was about to retire from public life, on relinquishing the irksome office of Secretary for Ireland, Croker wrote to him, reporting the conversation of many of the leading men of his party, who had with one voice maintained that · Peel was the person whom all the friends of good order would support. I know, he added, that Ministers are not made a conversations before or after dinner. But I know also that when public opinion (which often speaks at such times through organs of the kind I have quoted) designates a man for both station, it is a duty which his friends owe him, not to leave him ignorant of the manner in which his name is mentioned I do what I think to be the duty of friendship and affective towards you in thus telling you what I hear.' The post which Croker and his friends desired for Peel was that of Chancelon of the Exchequer, then very inefficiently filled by Mr. Vaniture Two other possible candidates were being discussed, Mr. Hakisson and Mr. Conning, but the former, Croker wrote, wanted eloquence, and the latter, as some thought, honesty, wak Peel, 'uniting both, would unite the confidence of the whole

"We know what we are, we know not what we may be, is

woll illustrated in Peel's reply,

"My DEAR CHOKER.—To all the latter part of your letter I assess in the cumphatic term of a reverend Paster in the "Vicar of Waknfall,"—Fudge.

*I am thinking of anything but office, and am just as anxious to to commerciated from office as the Papiets are to be emancipated into A

I am for the abolition of slavery, and no men have a right to condemn another to worse than Egyptian bondage, to require in

not to make bricks without straw, which a man of straw might have some chance of doing (as Lord Norbury would certainly say), but to

raise money and abolish taxes in the same breath.

"Night cometh when no man can work," said one who could not have foreseen the fate of a man in office and the House of Commons.

A fortnight had so I shall be free as air free from ten thousand impagements which I cannot fulfil; free from the anxiety of having more to do than it is possible to do well; free from the acknowledgments of that gratitude which consists in a lively seem of future havours. free from the accounty of abstaining from private intimacy that will certainly interfere with public duty; free from Orangemen; free from hibbonness, free from Dennis Browne, free from the Lord Mayor and Shorifs, free from men who pretend to be Protestants on principle and sell Dundalk to ——, the l'apist of Cork; free from atholics who become Protestants to get into Parliament after the manner of old ——, free from perpetual converse about the Harbour of Howth and Dublin Bay haddock; and, lastly, free of the Company of Carvers and Golders, which I became this day in reward of my public services. Ever most affectionately yours, —Vol. i. p. 116.

Peel adhered for the time to his resolution, but Croker clung as resolutely to the belief in a great future for him. 'Mind, I tell you,' be wrote to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, 'whatever may befal your merit or mine, the country will not suffer Peel's merit to be neglected. It will call for him in a way that the deafest of the Cabinet will be obliged to hear.'

Croker's desire to secure for his party the aid of Peel, from this time occupied him more than ever. On the 14th of Sep-

ember, 1821, he writes to him:-

For my own part, in the whole round of the political compass there is no point to which I look with any interest but yourself. I myself remain in office only because I doubt my own strength of mind, and am afraid of the consequences of idleness and of a change in that roude of life in which I have apart all my best days, but embitious hope or wish I have not; and there is really nothing that royal or ministerial partial ty could do for me that I would accept as a favour; and, moreover, there is not, in public life, any one man in whose fortunes I feel that kind of interest which gives a zest to political anistence—for I do not look upon you as now a public man. I confess I should like to see you in high and effective office, for a himlied reasons which I have before teld you, and for some which I have not told you and need not tell you; but if I looked only to your own comfert and happiness, I should never wish to see you within the walls of Pandemonium.

Mr. Croker's wish was gratified in 1822, when Peel took office under Lord Liverpool as Home Secretary; and the two friends fought the battle of their party side by side down

to 1827, when the break-down of Lord Liverpool's Lealth miel the question of a successor. The choice lay between Canong and Peel; but, on the principle that "two stars keep not tear motion in one sphere," it was impossible that one should see under the other. Much as Croker would have wished to be Peel at the head of affairs, this he saw was not practically a the then state of parties. Accordingly he stood by Canning, and played so important a part in his counsels about the arragements for his Administration, that a cloud of jealousy towns his old friend was raised for a time, but only for a time, in Peels mind. Croker's loyalty comes out clearly in his correspondence Nothing would have gratified him more, than to have seen Perand Canning in the same Cabinet. To the latter he wron (April 27, 1827): 'My regard and gratitude to the Deke & Wellington, who first brought me forward in public life, as private love for Peel, and my respect and admiration for you made and make me most anxious that you should all foltogether' (vol.). p. 369). It is interesting to find how large a share Lord Lyndhugat there for the first time Lord Change in share Lord Lyndhurst, then for the first time Lord Chancelor as well as Croker, had in settling these arrangements—a we mentioned at p. 224 of Martin's 'Life of Lord Lyadaust. This appears from a letter of Lord Lyadhurst's of Det 21 1856 (vol. iti. p. 368), confirming Croker's account of what had then taken place in regard to himself.

"My own Lysphynast,"—Oroker had written,—"Do you said remember what you once reminded me of, the donor that Carmay say you and me when he was settling his Administration? After you say he had discussed several persons and alletted several offices, in white perhaps too saidly gave my poor opinion, you said to me is a too dopleasantry, "And now, Croker, that you have settled almost all the offices of the State, what do you mean to take for period?" Though this was a more pleasantry, I answered, if not seen inside least sincerely, that or comstanced as I was I could not change at position; and Canning (I think) reluctantly, and you also, we mesent in my metives."

The truth was, that Croker neither then, nor at the formation of any of the later Tory Ministries, desired anything for his self. At he tays, 'I preferred remaining at the Administration where I was master of my business, and not unacceptable to the public. I thought it my duty to remain with and support Mr. Canning on public grounds,'

When Lord Goderich, on Mr. Canning's death, was called upon to form an Administration, he consulted Mr. Crokes, who urged upon him the introduction of the Dake of Wellinger and Peel into the Government, and a coalition of the Toos

with the Moderate Whigs. He had the courage to tell Lord Goderich that without such a fusion the Ministry could not meet Parliament, and that 'he would never make a King's Speech.' There were difficulties about minor appointments, but in order that these might not stand in the way, Mr. Croker offered to resign his own appointment, worth, as he himself says, 132001, a year, with one of the best houses in London." To Peel, his friend's views must have been well known. He naturally bung back from serving under a leader who, as Lord Lowther writes to Mr. Croker, had neither 'talent, nerve, nor audacity, to conduct or regulate the Government machine; so that happened, which was predicted in the same letter. Goderich's ill-assorted Cabinet hobbled on upon crutches till the meeting of Parliament, when he became frightened and bolted,' Mr. Croker's memorandum of his long and interesting conversation with Lord Goderich on August 11th, 1827, is a valuable contribution to the history of that short-lived Administration (vol. i. pp. 389, sugq.).

On what then happened, and the negociations which resulted in the Duke of Wellington's most reluctantly accepting the Premiership, and Peel's returning to his old place at the Home Office, much light is thrown by these volumes. Mr. Croker would not himself take office; but his services had been and were so valuable to his leaders, that they insisted on his allowing himself, as a slight recognition of them, to be sworn of the Privy Council. This honour he had refused to accept from two previous Administrations; and indeed he regarded all such honours with a philosophical unconcern. But he could not but know that those who loved him were not likely to share his

indifference.

In the stormy conflicts of the Wellington Administration, Mr. Croker did loyal and valuable service to his leaders. On the question of the Catholic claims his opinions had from the day he entered Parliament in 1807 been in advance of theirs, and when they were driven by the stress of circumstances in 1829 to adopt them, his often-expressed opinion that their conversion would come too late was verified. He had also for many years advocated a measure of Parliamentary Reform, which would have transferred to the great centres of commerce and industry the seats of decayed and corrupt Boroughs. So far back as 1822 be had urged in a letter to Peel, here published (vol. ii. p. 52), the necessity of dealing frankly with this question, and depriving the Radicals of complaint on the ground of abuses in the Parliamentary system, which it was impossible to justify.

The eventual consequences of letting the Reform movement grow to a head, he did not pretend to guess, but, he saids, the best step or two seems plain enough—the day which reforms the House of Commons dissolves the House of Lords, and overtime the Church. Beyond that, I cannot venture to guess. Temporary circumstances, the state of the army, and the personal character of the King, would decide whether there would enue a military despotism, another martyrdom at Whitehall, or

another flight from Paversham.

Holding these opinions, which were not likely to be modified by the great development of the democratic spirit in the intervening years, Mr. Croker viewed with something like durmy the momentum which that spirit received from the Revolution in Paris of July 1830, and the signs of an approaching revolution in Belgium, and the advantage taken of the upheaval and ferment abroad for the purposes of a Reform agitation at home. When the Wellington Ministry retired in November of that year, Mr. Croker at once resigned his office at the Admirany. I this morning,' he writes to Lord Hertford (Nov. 30), that the office and the house in which I have spent twenty-two years. I left it with the kind of regret one feels at bearing of the death of a very old acquaintance whom one was not very fond of. You are sorry to think that you are never to see Jost again, though you must confess he was a great bore. Sir James Graham, the new First Lord of the Admiralty, who seems in later years at least, to have been on most familiar and friendly terms with Mr. Croker, in accepting his resignation, expressed his regret (vol. ii. p. 75) that the Admiralty would no longer have the benefit of his brilliant talents and faithful services.' Mr. Croker, with his views of the duty of a man to his party, and of the unity of principle by which a Ministry should be pervaded, could not have hositated for a moment as to the step he had thus taken. A passage quoted by Mr. Jennings from a letter of this year contrasts painfully with the notions entertained by the incongruous body which now calls itself the Liberal party, and which might be well described a the phrase applied to party politics by Croker, as 'a fortuitors concourse of atoms,'

'I am one of those who have always thought that party stackments and consistency are in the first class of a stateman's defice because without them he must be incapable of performing any useful service to his country. I think, moreover, that it is part of our willunderstood, though unwritten, constitution, that a party which aspect to govern this country ought to have within itself the means of thing Il the offices, and I therefore disapprove of making a Subscription Ministry, to which every man may belong, without reference to his an invated principles or practices."

Although released from official life, Mr. Croker considered the issues involved in the Reform Bill to be of so momentous a kind, that he was bound to do his best in supporting the views of his party. 'There can be no longer any doubt,' he writes to Lord Hertford, 'that the Reform Bill is, what Hume called it, a stepping-stone in England to a Republic, and in freland to Separation. Both may happen without the Reform Bill, but with it they are inevitable.' Deeply impressed by this conviction, he threw himself with energy into the debates, and showed a fertility of resource, a command of facts, and a vigour of style, which commanded the admiration even of his opponents. There was one distinguished exception in Macaulay. come down to the House on the 22nd of September, 1831, with one of his elaborately prepared orations, in which he had attacked the House of Lords, pointing to the downfal of the French nobility as a warning of what might result from a want of sympathy with the people. Mr. Croker rose at once in reply, and triumphantly showed upon the spur of the moment, from the facts of the French revolutionary history with which his mind had for years been imbued, that the analogy was baseless, and that it was weak concession, and not resistance to popular ciamour, which had accelerated the downfal of the French noblesse. He carried the House with him: Macaulay's thetoric was eclipsed, and a man of his egotistical temperament was not likely to forgive the defeat, or the reference in Croker's speech to "vague generalities handled with that brilliant imagination, which tickles the car and amuses the imagination, without satisfying the reason."

This was not, however, the first discomfiture in the House that Macaulay had sustained at Croker's hands. In several previous encounters he had come off bedly, and he had taken his revenge in his famous article in a recent number of the "Edinburgh Review" on Croker's edition of Boswell's "Life of Johnson," an article which, with strange self-complacency, he writes (October 17, 1831) had "smashed" a work which, our own memory tolls us, was hailed at the time by the best judges with gratitude and satisfaction, which had an immense sale, and is still regarded as the best edition of the book. It is amusing to find Macaulay, in less than a month after Croker's celebrated speech, writing to his friend Eliis,—"Croker looks across the House of Commons at me with a leer of hatred, which I repay with a gracious smile of pity!" He little knew his man.

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injures ne montent pas à la hauteur de mon déd in, as M. Goios once retorted upon an assailant, would more truly expense Croker's feeling. He left it to his friend Lockhart to show up in one of the Blackwood 'Noctes,' the groundlessness of the charges of inaccuracy," while he was himself well content to test upon the consciousness that he had, as these volumes prove, spared no pains to gather together with infinite care, and to arrange with well-studied skill, the 'much curious information,' by which Macaulay, not in his review, but in a letter to his sister (June 29, 1831), admits the edition to be earliched.

Mr. Croker had shown himself in this Session to be of so great value to his party in Parliament, that, during the unste-cessful attempt to form a Tory Ministry in May 1832, Lad Lyndhurst wrote to the Duke of Wellington: 'It is, I think, absolutely necessary that Croker should consent to be a member of the Cabinet, I think, with his assistance, the House of Commons may be managed.' But Croker valued his own character for consistency too highly to enter a Government which could not have existed for a week, except on a promise of such a measure of Reform as he could not in his conscience appeared told the Duke, he writes (vol. ii. p. 153), 'that I had neither birth, nor station, nor fortune; nothing but my presonal character to hold by; and I would leave him to judge what would be thought of me if, after the part I had takes, I should be found supporting Schedule A, and accepting a high office and salary as the price of that support. I should los myself, and do the cause more harm than good. He turber told him, that at Christman 1830 he had apprised all his friends. private and political, that he would never again enter apas political life, and that besides all other reasons, he felt his health could not stand the worry of business.' The account of all that then took place, given in Mr. Croker's memorated throws the fullest light upon the hitherto rather obscure history of a movement which roused the furious indignation of the Whig party at the time. To him seems to have been due the suggestion which was acted upon (vol. ii. p. 163), that me Duke should inform William IV, that, to save him from the mortification of making Peers after having refused to do so be and his friends would abstain from attending the House of Lord to vote against the Reform Bill.

On the dissolution which followed its passing, Mr. Croker carried out his decision to retire from public life. Dabbs

^{*} Three numbers by Mr Lockhart will be found reproduct in Center's educated Buswell,' published by Mr Murray in one large volume.

Laivenity.

Iniversity, which on a former occasion had rejected him, now et it be known that they were anxious to return him. Other pats were placed at his disposal, and the Duke of Wellington paportuned him to re-enter Parliament, 'All my political riends,' he writes to Lord Fitzgerald (August 28, 1832), are very angry with me—the Duke seriously so.' The reason gave was an utterly inadequate one. It was, that he would tot 'spontaneously take an active share in a system which must, my judgment, subvert the Church, the Peerage, and the Phrone - in one word, the Constitution of England. conder his friends were angry. This was to run away from he colours. The stronger his faith in his own convictions, the nore did it seem to them to be his duty to stand by them in befording to the last what he and they held so dear. Was his adgment, however, not influenced by a regard to his failing sealth, to which he had at an earlier stage adverted, and to a lesire for greater freedom to pursue his literary labours? We hink it must have been. For a time, says Mr. Jennings, there can be no doubt that he greatly missed his old emp.oy-bent, and that the prospect of never again being heard in the douse of Commons depressed his spirits.' The fit seems, howwer, to have soon passed off; for in a letter of November in the hane year, he writes from his library at West Moulsey, where so was now settled, that he had just declined a formal inviation to stand for Nottingham, adding, in the contented spirit of a true man of letters-

'I wish you could see my library here. I think it a model for a book-drawing room; it is but just finished and all in the very theapest way, but every one who has seen or sat in it are delighted with it. It is rather odd, and would frighten pour Smirke by its angles and irregularities; but it is warm and comfortable, and holds 3000 volumes without diminishing the size of the room, and without having. I think, any of the sombre formality of a library. I have besides a little den which holds 1000 volumes more, and in which I work. In short, with the drawbacks which I have mentioned, I am as happy in my mind, as satisfied with my very moderate between and as contented with my humble location and still humbler two attents, as it is possible to be. —Vol. ii. p. 195.

It was from his library that Croker was henceforth to fight

he battle of his party.

His confidence that ere long his friend Peel must come into power as the head of a Tory Government, to act upon the spinious he had always professed, remained unshaken, notwitheranding the doubts of his friend Lord Hertford and others as the reliance to be placed on that statesman's candour and consistency,

sistency. Mr. Croker's correspondence both with Peci and the Duke of Wellington continued to be of the most confidential kind. How very grave were the apprehensions of all three as to the ultimate results of the Reform Bill, appears from innumerable passages in these volumes. Mr. Jennings says truly (vol. a p. 94), 'It may be, if Mr. Croker were living to-day, he would contend that we are in the middle, not at the end of the history; that the sequence of events must be watched till us close, before we can assume the right to decide whether or not the forecast of 1831-32 was based upon truth or error.' The elements for a judgment have of late accumulated with a feared rapidity. What Wellington in 1833 expressed to Mr. Croker as his view of what that 'history' was likely to be, is at least worth consideration in the light of present experience:—

The operation of the Reform Bill, though it would probably be slow, was nevertheless sure. The old aristocratical interest has great stamina, and will hold together a long while; but, seeing how it has yielded before this shock when in its outire strength, what is it to do in a succession of shocks, each of which will give fresh powers to the democracy? My oph ion is that a democracy, once set a-going, must sooner or later work itself out till it ends in anarchy, and that some kind of despotism must then come to restore secrety. How long we may take in going through that process depends on circumstances, but I myself do not see how the encroaching power of the people out of doors on the House of Commons, and the encroaching power of the House of Commons on the House of Lords and use Crown, is to be checked and brought back to its fair balance.

The Grey Administration was by this time tottering, and very greatly dependent upon the Tory Opposition for keeping it on its legs. This was a state of things which obviously could not last, and Peel had mode up his mind, if occasion areas, to take office, and try to rally into something of its old compactness and vigour the scattered forces of what Croker was the first to call 'the Conservatives.' Lord Melbourne, who exceeded Lord Grey in July 1834, having been in November judged by the King unable to carry on the Government, weakened as it was by the retirement of Lord Althorp, this occasion arose sooner than Peel had foreseen, and when he was enjoying a holiday in Italy. How truly he was attached to Croker may be judged from the fact, that his very first letter, on reaching England in obedience to the Royal Summons, was to him, telling how, in his journey with Lady Peel and there daughter, they had 'travelled by night over precipices and snow eight nights out of twelve,' and asking him to call. 'It will be a relief to me from the harassing cares that await are Croker

Coker was laid up with a cold, but he wrote instantly words of good cheer to his friend. He was, however, by no means hopeful that Peel could get together a Cabinet that would stand, especially if it had too much of an anti-reform colour. But of these misgivings he said nothing, while tendering advice which his observation of what had been going on in Peel's

absence made most valuable."

When they met, Peel's first question to Croker was, whether be adhered to his resolution not to take office. His reply was, hat nothing would induce him to enter the House of Commons, I thought, he writes, 'Pevl winced a little, but he said he rould still talk to me in full confidence of all his views.' In the full light of these confidences, Croker relused to listen to those members of the Tory party, in whom the exposition of policy contained in the famous Tamworth Manifesto had created a feeling of distrust. In an article in this 'Review' took up its desence, commending Peel for his endeavour a neutralize the apprehended evils of the Reform Bill by natigating the mischiefs to which its adversaries may have hought it liable,' In the gallant struggle maintained by Peel chronghout his short-lived Administration, he appears by the orrespondence now printed to have been in constant communication on political affairs with Croker, who, on the other hand, gratified his own sympathies with the claims of literature and cience by urging Peel to take them into liberal consideration. He persuaded his friend, who in this matter was nothing loath, give to Mrs. Somerville a grant of 200% a-year, and to help Maginn, 'though, I believe,' Croker writes, 'he has libelled you and me, -and he also pressed for some relief to Moore, the was then in deleful financial straits. To Lord Lyndhurst he appealed to give a living to another struggling literary han, the Rev. George Croly. 'I know that I speak to willing ars,' he wrote, 'and that personally as well as politically you are disposed to illustrate yourself and the Government, by riving good things to good men, in preference to other connderations.' Lyndhurst had already proved this, by the apcointments he had given to Macaslay and to Sydney Smith. In the incidents of that Administration, nothing, it is clear, gave greater pleasure to Peel to write, and to Croker to learn, than that the Chancellor had given a living to Crubbe, one of Croker's favourite poets, and liberal pensions to Professor Airy, Mrs. Somerville, Sharon Turner, Southey, and James Montgomery.

The only meeting of Nelson and Wellington, as described by

the Duke himself to Croker, forms one of the numerous memranda which give a special charm to these volumes.

Walmer, October 1st, 1834 - We were talking of I ord Nelses, and some instances were mentioned of the egotism and van ty that derogated from his character. "Why," said the Duke, "I am took surprised at such instances, for Lord Nolson was, in different caconstances, two quite different men, as I myself can wonch, though I only saw him once in my life, and for, perhaps, an hour. It was soon after I returned from India. I went to the Colonial Office in Downing Street, and there I was shown into the little waiting-room in the right hand, where I found, also waiting to see the Secretary of State, a gentleman, whom from his likeness to his pictures and the loss of an arm, I immediately recognised as Lord Nelson. He could not know who I was, but he entered at once into conversation with me, if I can call it conversation, for it was almost all on his side and all about himself, and in, really, a style so vain and so silly at to surprise and almost disgust me. I suppose something that I hap-pened to say may have made him guess that I was something that I hapwent out of the room for a moment, I have no doubt to ask the officekeeper who I was, for when he came back he was altogether a different man, both in manner and matter. All that I had thought a charlatan style had vanished, and he talked of the state of the country and of the aspect and probabilities of affairs on the Cotinent, with a good sense, and a knowledge of subjects both at bone and abroad, that surprised me equally and more agreeably than the first part of our interview had done; in fact, he talked like an officer and a statesman. The Secretary of State kept us long waiting, and certainly, for the last half or three-quarters of an hour, I don't know that I ever had a conversation that interested me more. Now, if the Secretary of State had been punctual, and admitted Lord Nelson in the first quarter of an hour, I should have had the same impress a of a light and trivial character that other people have had, but luckely I saw enough to be satisfied that he was really a very superior man; but containly a more endden and complete metamorphosis I never saw."

When Sir R. Poel resumed the reins of office in the natural of 1841, Mr. Croker wielded his pen in this 'Review' with all his wonted vigour in support of his friend's measures. 'He still retained,' says Mr. Jennings (vol. iri. p. 382), 'that unbounded faith in Sir R. Peel, which has been shown throughout this correspondence, from the early days of Peel's career, when scarcely anybody else reposed confidence in him. He therefore accepted Peel's views, however much they must at times have startled him.' And certainly they must have startled him, if he read Peel's letters during the first years of his Administration, here printed, in the same sense in which they will now be trail by every one. It is clear from them, that the process of converted was going on rapidly to views entirely opposed to those which his supporters believed he had come into power to advocate

These letters will not help to relieve Peel from the imputation, that he d d not in good time and with manly frankness inform his party of the change that was taking place in his own mind, which had he done, the result might have been very different, ant only as affecting his own reputation, but the wel are of the kingdom, by averting the disintegration of the Conservative

party.

The attacks of Mr. Disraeli and his friends on the policy of Peel found, as might have been expected, no sympathy from Mr Croker. He spoke of them, and certainly with no undue asperity, in one of his political articles, merely expressing 'surprise and regret that they should not see, even with their own peculiar views, the extreme inconsistency and impolicy of endeavouring to create distrust of the only statesman in whom the great Consersare body has any confidence or can have any hope.' Of the leader of the Young England party personally, Croker knew lockbart, and another from Sir James Graham, which make other curious reading. 'The puppets,' Graham writes (August 2, 1843), 'are moved by D'Israeli, who is the ablest man among them; I consider him unprincipled and disappointed; and in despair he has tried the effect of bullying. . . . He alone is mischievous; and with him I have no desire to keep terms. It would be better for the party if he were driven into the ranks of our open enemies." In Peel's letters to Croker, as Mr Jeanings mentions (vol. ii. p. 389), there is not a single allusion stany time to Mr. Dismeli, nor does Mr. Croker mention him ustil near the close of his own life.

Towards the end of 1842, Mr. Croker had begun to fear that it was time for him to leave the politics of this 'Review' in younger hands, and had intimated this intention to Mr. Murray. but the loss of so powerful an advocate at this period was obviously regarded by Peel and his friends as serious. When at Drayton Manor in the antumn of that year, Sir James Graham asked Croker to write an article against the Corn Law Association. 'I told you,' Croker says in a letter to Sir James Giaham (vol. iii. p. 172), 'that you had come just too late, for that I had only the day before resigned my "Quarterly" pen. low pressed upon me to undertake what you thought a public

One of the ablest of the Young England party, the Hon. G. S. Suythe, in letter inhusiting to Mr. Cinker the death of Mr. Survive's father (the sixth Leni Strangford), wrote: 'Since the death of Mr. Canning you have ever been halt acknowled to of and form boyhood I remember that every adverse of my Poer le high the extension in more ambitious notage was met by the correction, Stat would Croker my '''

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duty. Lockhart happened at the same time to write to request me to suspend, at least, my resignation. I consented to be double request, bargaining with Lockhart, as my price, that he was to admit my intended Corn Law Article, the "Quarterly not yet having taken any line on that subject." The article was written, Graham supplying Croker with many of the facts, and Peel having read the proofs and suggested an omission, who Croker adopted. Graham backed Peel's view as to the omission, adding, 'the broth is so good, that all the cooks in London cases now spoil it.' Peel's own words, on returning the proofs, were I think this is excellent.' In an article in the previous Auguston 'The Policy of Ministera,' Croker had been in like manner Peel's mouthpiece. On reading it, Graham wrote to him the tember 1), 'the case of the Government cannot be placed as

stronger or safer ground.'

The announcement by Peel of the change in his opinions or Protection, when he resumed office at the end of 1815, after Lord John Russell's failure to form a Government, was a terrible shock to Mr. Croker. We have in these volumes the letters which passed between him and the Duke of Wellington at the The Duke stood by the Queen and Peel, and wrote to Croker, saving that he regarded himself as 'a retained server of the sovereign, and protesting that he would be no party uplacing the Government in the hands of the League and the Radicals. Radicals.' Croker took what proved to be the sounder vest that this was just what Pecl's action would do. In his own justification (vol. iii p. 55) he called the Duke's attention to his article of August 1842, as expressing the opinion what Peel had then given him. 'My preceding articles,' he adds on the Corn Laws and on the League were written under to eye. I wish your Grace to be aware that my opinions now are just what they always have been, and such as Peel himself and Graham inspired me with.'

Mr. Croker's position was now a most painful one. Rights or wrongly, he believed, with the most absolute sincerity of conviction, that the step which Peel had taken was disastrom to the country's best interests. He considered that for a temporary advantage great principles had been surrendered, and that, if they were to be surrendered at all, Peel ought not to have been the instrument. He knew history and human natural far too well to believe in the doctrine which Peel had adopted from Cobden, that 'in spite of the desire of Governments and Boards of Trade to raise revenue by restrictive duties, reason and common-sense will induce relaxation of high duties' by foreign governments. He foresaw all the dangers of our vast and

espielt

growing population's becoming dependent on other is for supplies of food, which in the chances of war might off. He foresaw, too, that the keen competition of istates, if unchecked by protective duties, might so for even annualists wages, as to leave no lund in the of our operatives to buy bread or any other commodities, or cheap. But these were not the only dangers. As he (April 24, 1846) to Sir Henry Hardinge,—

fatal consequences are that Peel, by betraying the precise of the principle upon which he was brought into office, has the character of public men, and dissolved by dividing the landed interest the only solid foundation on which any ment can be formed in this country. I care comparatively bout his actual corn law experiment, it will fail and England that the section this fraudalent humber; but while that projecting on, we shall be running all the runs, if not suffering all infliction, of a revolution. On the principle of which we make that the League, he ware we to result the attack on the Church the League, he ware we to result the attack on the Church the League, he ware we to result the attack on the Church the Corn Laws? How to maintain primagen time, the house of Lords, the Crown? Sir Robert Peel has put into more paril than Cobbett, or Cabden, or O Connell, or they that could have done, and his personal influence has carried adviduals; he has broken up the old interests, divided the millor, and commenced just such a revolution as the Noalles at more recise did in 1789.' Vol. iii. p. 67.

dly would Mr. Croker have abstained from giving publication to his opinions. But, as he says in the letter to Graham, from which we have already quoted, the protand editor of this 'Review summoned him, 'as a man bour, to maintain the principle to which he had, in the 1842, pledged the "Review." His letters show him it cost him to take the part, which he felt nust cause atten from the friend of a lifetime, —the leader whom he it;—

I that had loved him so, followed him, honoured him,

Learned his great language, caught his clear accents, Made him my pattern to live and to die!

we him, he writes to Lord and Lady Ashburton (June 16)—'yes, love him, and would gladly have quitted, as I have done practical politics, when I deflered from I I could not; he had involved me, and I had involved in a line of politics which, though he may be able to from, we cannot, and I was summoned as a man of

honour to support my friends in the struggle into which I had,

by Peel's own instructions, led them."

It is impossible to read without a pang the last letters which passed between these close friends of seven-and-thirty years as January 1847 (vol. iii. p. 94), 'Mr. Croker's articles, says Mr. Jennings, 'disputed Peel's right to betray his party everybody has done that; but there is nothing in them which was simed at the man as distinguished from the statesman, and the extracts which he quotes hear out the statement. Ther were not so regarded, however, by Peel. Personal goodwil. he wrote to Croker, 'cannot co-exist with the spirit in which those articles are written, or with the feelings they must naturally have excited.' Croker's letter to him is full of the manly pathos natural to the man who, by bitter experience, bar learned that 'To be wroth with those we love, Doth work ske madness in the brain; and he had subscribed himselt, 'Ven sincerely and affectionately yours, Up to the Altar.' Peel epess his reply with a cold 'Sir,' and ends, 'I have the honour to be. Sir, your obedient servant.' They never met again.

All through this painful period, the friendship between Mr. Croker and the Duke of Wellington, however, a moulted so feather,' We owe to it a series of most valuable and interestar letters, and reports of conversations, down to the Duke's death We give some of these conversations, though belonging to an earlier period, as illustrations of the many with which these

volumes abound :-

"I shall here set down what I remember of a visit to Sudbourse." me nearly as I can in the Duke's own words, from the notes that I made every evening.

Bumaparte's mind was, in its details, low and ungentlemanhie-I suppose the narrowness of his early prospects and habits stock to him; what we understand by gentlemanliks feelings he knew nothing

at all about; I'll give you a curious instance.
I have a beautiful little watch, made by Breguet, at Paris, with map of Spain most admirably enamelled on the case. Sir Edward Paget bought it at Paris, and gave it to me. What do you thank the history of this watch was-at least the history that Breguet will Paget, and Paget me? Bucnaparte had ordered it as a present to his brother, the King of Spain, but when he heard of the bettle of Vittoria—he was then at Dresden in the midst of all the preparation and negotiations of the armistice, and one would think sufficiently busy with other matters,—when he heard of the battle of Vittors. I say, he remembered the watch he had ordered for one who he may

The seat of the Marquis of Hertford, with whom the Duke of Wellisees and Sir Robert Peel were on terms of quite as close an intimacy as Mr. t with

would never be King of Spain, and with whom he was angry for the last of the battle, and he wrote from Dreaden to countermend the watch, and if it should be ready, to forbid its being sent. The best apology one can make for this strange littleness is, that he was effended with Joseph; but even in that case, a gentlemen would not have taken the moment when the poor devil had lost his chiteaux en

Espayar, to take away his watch also.

All those codicila to his will in which he bequeathed millions to the right and left, and amongst others left a legacy to the fellow who was accused of attempting to assessinate me, is another proof of littleness of mind; the property he really had he had already made his disposition of. For the payment of all those other high sounding legacies, there was not the shadow of a fund. He might as well have drawn hills for ten millions on that pump at Aldgate. [We had on our way lriven past it.] While he was writing all these magnificent domains, he know that they were all in the air, all a falsehood, For my part. I can see no magnanimity in a lie; and I confess that I think one who could play such tracks but a shabby fellow.

'I never was a believer in him, and I always thought that in the long-run we should overturn him. He never seemed himself at his case, and even in the beldest things he did there was always a mixture of apprehension and meanness. I used to call him Jonathan Wild the Great, and at each new coup he made I used to cry out." Well done Jonathan," to the great scandal of some of my hearers. But, the truth was, he had no more care about what was right or wrong, just or unjust, honourable or dishonourable, than Jonathan, though his great shifties, and the great stakes he played for, threw

the knavery into the shade."

"The Duke and the Horse Guards.—I can't say that I owe my successes to any favour or confidence from the Horse Guards; they never showed me any, from the first day I had a command to this hour. In the first place, they thought very little of any one who had served in India. An Indian victory was not only no ground of confidence, but it was actually a cause of suspicion. Then because I was in Parliament, and connected with people in office, I was a politician, and a politician never can be a soldier. Moreover they looked upon me with a kind of jealousy, because I was a lords son, "a spring of nobility," who came into the army more for ornament than use, N.E.—He more than once in the course of conversation with me, N.E.—He more than once in the course of conversation with me mentioned this repreach of his having been, "a spring of nobility." I have no doubt that the phrase had been applied to him at some early part of his career by some one.] They could not believe that I was a tolerable regimental officer. I have proof that they thought I could not be trusted alone with a division, and I suspect they have still their doubts whother I know anything about the command of an army.

'The "Dry Nurses" of the Horse Guards.—When the Horse Guards are obliged to employ one of those fellows like me in whom they

have no confidence they give him what is called a second in countries - me in whom they have confidence-a kind of dry away. What I went to Zeoland they give me General Stewart as second in our mand, that is, in reality intended for first in command though I ru the first it name. Well, during the embarkati in, the voyage set as the discrimination General Stewart did everything. I saw no monof old etter to anything he suggested, and all went a mercure to last, however, we came up to the onemy. Stewart, as usual was with " Come come, tis my turn now. I turned ately made at your disposit one assymed him the command of one of the wings, grehim his orders, attacked the enemy and beat them. Stewart, I be i man of sense, caw in a moment that I understood my business, and subsided with (as far as I saw) good-humour into his proper man But this did not cure the H rae Churds; when I went to Portugal they gave no Sir Brent Spencer as second in command, but I can't an immediate explanation with him; I told him I did not know the the works " Second in command" meant, mry more than third, forth or fifth in command; that I alone commanded the army, that a other general officers commanded their dwis ons; that if anyther happened to me, the senior survivor would take the communication in centemplation of such a posmbility I would trest them, but him a particular as next in succession, with the most entire centileare and would leave none of my views or intertions unexplained, let the level have no second in command in the sense of his having are the like a joint command or superintending control; and that fine and above all, I would not only take but insist upon the while all andivided responsibility of all that should happen while the are:

The Concention of Centra—After the Convention of Centra 1 to the separate process desire in England that a general skeuld be at after the manner of Byng, and as I was a politician, I was, of centre the person to be such, which would have been rather hard as I we the winner of the two battles which had raised the public higher high stall had nothing to lo with the subsequent proceedings high and had nothing to lo with the subsequent proceedings higher a subord rate regot after under centers of my superior officers. Find the October ment were inclined to give mo up. When I came last the old King was to have one of his weekly lovers. I ask d I re Castlereigh to early me as I must present investion a year form abroad and happened to have me carriage. I take the reight have I and happened to have me carriage to the library rough here it and that it in ght produce measures. I all the lower the sivined me not be go to the levée. I said, "When I is a street the contract of the new look upon it as a matter of respect and late to be considered in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in any depose from this Majeste and I was proceeded in the call go to the besteve at series, or I near man for an interaction.

to a lerve meray his." Contherengl immediately withdrew all appoints of I went, and was exceedingly well received by His Majesty."

Notional Characteristics—The national character of the three kingdoms was strongly marked in my army. I found the English regiments always in the best humanr when we were well supplied with best, the link when we were in the wine countries, and the Scholi what the dollars for pay came up. The look I ke an epagram, but I assure you it was a fact, and quite percentible; but we managed to reconcile all their tempora, and I will venture to say that in our later campaigns, and especially when we crossed the livereses, there never was an army in the world in bittle spirits, in the order, or better discipline. We had mended in discipline every campaign, until at last (smaling I hope we were prity near perfect.

. The Fiel at Assaye .- It was on this occasion that he gave me an instance of the importance of a very ordinary degree of thoughtful continct sense. He described his very critical position on the march before the pattle of Assaye, whon his small ferro was the atened by an overwhelming deluge of native cavalry, and his only chance, act of vectory uly tut of safety, was his getting to the other bank of the river (Kistina), which was a few miles on his right. He had some of the best native on he that could be had, and he made every possible offert to ascertain whether the river was anywhere passable, and all his inference is assured him that it was not. He hamself could not see the river, and the enemy's cavalry was in such ferce that he could not send out to resource At last, in extense exacty, he resilved to soc the river harmif, and accordingly, with b s most intelligent gardes, and an escort of, I think he said, all his eavalry, he pushed ferward in sight of the river in the neighbourhood of Arsaye, which stood on the oatsk of another stream that the nearly parallel to that which he was a to cross. When they came there, he again questioned his gul a about a passage, which they still asserted not to exist; but he saw through his glass, for the energy's caredley were so strong that he could not verture to get el oce, one village on the right, or near bank of the river and another village exactly opposite on the other bank and "I immediately and to myself that men eachl not have built two villages so to one another on a positive sides of a stream without some retal y by the latter. On that conjecture, or rather reasoning, in I has are of all my halos and informants, I took the desperate resolution, as it seemed, of marching for the river and I was right I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's chaid of earsity; and my army, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between the two streams, so that both my Sanas were secure, and there I fought and was too battle of Assay . the bloodiest, for the numbers, that I ever saw; and this was all from my having the common sense to guess that men did not build villages

on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communicates between them. If I had not taken that sad his resolution, we were I assure you, in a most dangerous predicament."

Among Mr Croker's correspondents, Lord George Benusch appears for the first time in 1847, and between them a frient; intimacy was established, which led to the free interchange of their views, and throws further light upon Bentinck's energy and sagacity, during his short and brilliant attempt to rally the Conservative party. In a letter to Croker (March 2, 1848), it speaks of his friend and future biographer thus:

You ask me of Diarach's manner of speaking and effectiveness in debate? I will answer you by giving you my brother Henry's observations on the various speakers in the House. Henry is taken a cynical critic. He expressed himself greatly disappointed with Sir Robort Peel and Lord John Russell, and concluded by saying that Diarach was the only man he had heard who at al. came up to

his ideas of ar center.

"His speeches this Session have been first-rate. His last speech altogether burked in the 'Times,' but pretty well given in the 'Post,' [was] admirable. He outs Cobden to ribbons, and Cobies writher and qualis under him just as Peel did in 1846. And has my words, spite of Lord Stanley Major Beresford, and Mr. P., ps and the 'lierald, it will end before two Sessions are out in Discher being the chosen leader of the party; but I think it will not be under Lord Stanley's banner, whether he turns his cost on the Jew Bullet not."—Vol. iii. p. 165.

This letter was written nearly four years after the publication of Coningsby, and it is by no means likely, had Croser believed that the Rigby of that novel was drawn after himsel, that he would have introduced Mr. Disraeli's name to low George Bentinek. For ourselves, highly as we think of the book in many respects, we cannot acquit Mr. Disraeli of time-gressing the legitimate licence of the novelist in assigning to his Rigby some of the personal and literary peculiarities which he must have been sure would lead people to think that he had Mr. Croker in his eye. If he did so with a deliberate intented to produce this result, no words of condemnation for t is condected be too severe. The relations, for example, between Mr. Croker and the Marquis of Hertford were well known, and common readers, who saw the Marquis in the Lord Monmouth of the novel, were pretty sure to say that Mr. Croker must be the Rigby. Happily the correspondence preserved in these volumes between Mr. Croker and Lord Hertford places their relations to each other in the clearest light. In these letters no trace and be found of the Rigby of the novel. Their correspondence is that

of two very able and accomplished men, upon such topics as might be assumed to engage the attention of a man of the high political connections and great practical sagacity of Croker. Lord Hertford found in him, not only a lively correspondent, but an invaluable guide in the management of his property. Croker discharged for him the duties which about the same time were performed by Mr. James Loch, M.P., for the Sutherland and Bridgewater estates, and which are now performed for other great estates by men of high family and position. For these services he refused to be paid, and so well understood was his position that, when Lord Hertford died, Peel, who as well as the Duke of Wellington had been among his intimate friends, writes to Croker (March 3, 1842), 'My chief interest in respect to Lord Hertlord's will, was the hope that out of his enormous wealth he would mark his sense of your unvarying and real friendship for him.' Lord Hertford always said that be would leave Croker 80,000%. The sum he actually received was 23,000l, an informality in a codicil having deprived him of a much larger sum.

But while all the world of gobemouches were identifying Mr. Croker with Highy, he himself, it now appears, had never had the curiosity even to look into ' Coningsby.' He had only met Mr. Disracli three times—at his father's house, at dinner at Lord Lyadhurst's, and in the street with Lord G. Bentinck. According to his own story, as told in a letter (Dec. 29, 1853) to Mr. C. Phillips, author of 'Recollections of Curran,' it was only after he had published his Review of Mr Disraeli's Budget Speech of 1852, that his attention was called to the book by hearing that this review was regarded as retaliation for what Mr. Disraeli had said of him in his 'Vivisa Grey' and "Coningsby." Now the fact is, I never read either, he adds, and be goes on to state that he never read one of Theodore Hook's govels, 'though some of them were written in this house; and the characters sketched from the society he met here.' It was

the same with Bulwer, Dickens, James, and Ainsworth.

I may say the exact same of "Coningeby": I had never seen it too heard of it in connection with myself till after the publication of the Budget review, and I most sincerely aftirm that I had not the slightest personal pique, or any motive to have any, towards Mr. Diameli.

On the contrary, there were one or two gircumstances, of which Mr. Murray was the channel, which led me to suppose that Mr. Discaeli locked towards me with a friendly and approving eye. If, herefore, I have given Mr. Disraeli tit for tat it has been quite mintentionally, and only by chance medley. Whether I may have meensciously offended Mr. D.sraeli's amour propre in any way—that

is, whether he may have heard something that may have created each an impression on his mind. I cannot say, but it is not likely for we have no points of contact, nor, as far as I remember, a compactoned. None of them were likely to have received, and still less at to have repeated, mything lisagreeable, and yet, on the other hand it is hard to suppose that Mr. Disraels should, without some secondive have done so unusual a thing as to make me the subject of a satirical novel. In short, I cannot account for, nor in fact do I care enough about it to en leavour to account for, Mr. Disrael's attendance upon me; all I care about is, that my political views as to an should to rightly understood as all synther uninfluenced by any personal pique or morbid spirit of retaliation. Yel, in, p. 334.

What the explanation is of Mr. Distaeli's animosity to Crobo has yet to be made known. Did he suspect him of having a some time done him a bad turn with Pec.? That would explain much.

Mr. Croker shared his friend Wellington's contempts of indifference to libels and libellers *- and by the very nature of the case it was impossible for him to take public notice of an of the characters in 'Coningsby.' But he would have been more than auman if, when the two first volumes of Macaulus 'History' appeared, he had refrained from showing that the mu who had assailed him for gross and scandalous suaccuracy is the most insulting terms was not himse I free from reproach, and this, too, in more serious matters than a tew slaps of no moment in more than 2800 notes. He was, however, careful not to follow his old adversary's example of bad temper and valest language. In the article on Macaulay's book in this 'Review' by March 1849, he gave to the work full credit for its brilliant and fascinating qualities of a vigorous and in aginative style, where he pointed out, upon incontrovertible evidence, its grave fine of inaccurate or overcharged statement. In perfect aincerts. be concluded a long critical examination with the opinion of which he was not singular then, and which the calmer judgmes of a later time has practically confirmed, that, however char-ing as an historical romance, Macaulay's work will never w quoted as an authority on any question or point of the hurse of England.' This, we see, was Mr. Lockhart's opinion; it was

^{*} The Duke writes is Croker (Taly 2, 1908) "I have been abused, other slandered, since I was a boy, and I don't believe that treve is a liver common when thinks the worse of me for all the herrible crimical which I have been each of the rhoutint sin in most and discount than I would need that I would need to be the I would need to be the I would need that I would need to be the I would need that I would need the I would need that I would ne

that of the Bishop of Exeter. They might be thought to be swaved by political bias, but Sir James Stephen is hable to no such suspicion, and he, after undertaking to review the book for the 'Edinburgh Review,' abandoned his intention, 'because it was, in truth, not what it professed to be—a history, but an

historical novel (vol. in p. 194).

Meantime Mr. Croker went on enjoying the friendship and confidence of many of the best and ablest men of the time, belping those who needed help, using the lights of his long experience in dealing with public questions, and toiling at his literary studies,—among others in the preparation of that edition of Pope, his labours on which Mr. Elwin and Mr. Courthope have since continued, with an energy and perseverance, which neither age, not the saffering of serious illness could abate. In 1854 the infirmities of age, and a feeling that 'he was out of date, at least, out of season,' made him withdrive from his bitherto active connection with this 'Rev.ew,' His outlook on the future of England was then of the gloomiest kind, and he concludes his letter of reognation to Mr. Murray thus: 'The last words the Duke of Wellington said to me in parting at Dover, just before his death (which we then thought less distant than mine), were, that it was a consolation to think that the course of nature would spare us the experience of the terrible events which the course of politics was evidently preparing for this country' (vol. iii, p 312).

Some of the anticipations on which this gloomy view of England's future were based have already come true. We have yet to see whether others, that were for a time scoffed at as

absurd, were not as truly prophetic.

'In spits of the sufferings' says Mr. Jennings 'which he was called up in to undergo in these later years, Mr. Croker's spirit never flagged. He kept to his work, and although death was constantly with a sight he did not fear it, or allow it in any way to interfere with a performance of the daily distins which he preser had for himself. To give up work, and to acknowledge in one's own heart that all is ever, and that inthing more can be done on this side the grave, is a misora he way to precipitate the end. Mr. Croker was prepared for the end, but he was disposed to wait patiently for it, and meanwhile to do what was to be done with all zeal and earnexiness. His literary work never failed to be a source of scheer, and his interest in public affairs never absted. He did not write so much as of old, but few questions of importance passed by him innecticed."— Vol. iii, p. 315.

His mainly was disease of the heart. The first serious symptoms appeared in 1850, and he then learned from his physician how serious they were. Still be continued to work, although

although liable to constant fainting-fits, sometimes as many as twelve or fourteen in a day. Agomaing neuralgic pains agravated Lie sufferings. But, according to Lady Barrow, 'neither of these most trying complaints drew from him one murmanag word.' Death, he was well aware, might ensue at any monest his pulse was seldom above 30, and often fell to 23; but he was accustomed to say, 'I have no fear of death. It is but his going out of one room into another.' He was permitted to pursue literary labours for a longer term than he had though would be vouchsaled to him. Again to quote Mr. Jennings—

After a time, indeed, he became in some measure accustemed to the mysterious visitations which so suddenly transported him to the border-land "botween two worlds." His general health was good. Lis interlectual faculties were as acute as ever, "but," says Mar Boislesve" [his amanuencis, who was with him to his death], "at any moment, without any warning whatever, he felt faint, and access to empletely lost consciousness for a few seconds, semetimes are refelt the passing feeling, but even when he lost consciousness to wike appetreely well aware that he had fainted, but able to go as with what he was dictating as if nothing had happened. He cold even finish the sentence he had begue, not having lost the three deven finish the least degree. All this time his passence never failed His love for his family and friends was something wonderfal. He was always thanking of what could please and amuse the penuspeople [the children of Lady Barrow], entering into all the pleasure he had planned for them with as much rest as any." In like manner, Lady Barrow speaks of his "wenderful patience, and his gratials for any little attention to his comfort."

Thus, til, the last day of his life, the 10th of August, 1857, to kept up his correspondence, working all that day at his 'Notes of Pope,' and perfectly happy among his books and papers. The evening, as he was being put to bed by his servant, he exclassed 'Oh Wade!' and sank back dead, passing away 'in the marner which he had always desired—surrounded by those whom le loved the best, and yet sparish the pain of protracted parting and larewells! A little while before, some one had remarked in his presence that "death was an awful thing." "I do not feel it so he said; "the same Hand which took care of me when I came into this world will take care of me when I go out of it." Is this hope he died as he had lived.'

There are innumerable things in these most attractive volumes to which, had space permitted, it would have been a pleasure to call attention. But the book will soon be in every hand, and its varied contents will make it welcome to the most vance trastes. Our chief core has been to show the man, not as his enemies—and he had many—have described him, but as he

appears from his own actions and his own letters, and, what is so mean test of character, from the letters addressed to him by Whatever his defects of manner or of temper may have been-and who is free from such defects "-he was a man of strict honour, of high principle, of upright life, of great courage, of untiring industry, devoted with singleness of heart to the interests of his country, a loyal friend, and in his domestic relations without a stain. Those who knew him best, as Mr. Jennings has said, 'never wavered in their attachment to him. No doubt, he was not the same to all men. To strangers, or towards persons whom he disliked, his manner was often overbearing and harsh.' He was, especially in his latter days, impatient of contradiction, and somewhat given to self-assertion, se a sensitive and ailing man will be if he has been accustomed to authority, as Mr. Croker had been for a length of years, and bas seen so much of distinguished men, and of the springs that move great events, as he had seen. But he was by temperament, as well as by the influence of his Christian faith, kind and generous. 'Every one,' says Mr. Jennings, 'who had more than a superficial acquaintance with him, was well aware that he had done a thousand kindly acts, some of them to persons who little deserved them at his hands, and that, as was said of Dr. Johnson, there was nothing of the bear about him, but the skin.

We must not conclude without saying a few words upon the way in which Mr. Jennings has executed his difficult task. Our readers will see from the preceding pages how much has depended on the sound judgment, nice tact and taste, mingled with the first requisite of fidelity, in such a work as that wo have reviewed; and if Mr. Croker is fortunate in having left ample materials, in his own papers and the remembrance of his friends, to illustrate a character which malice had overclouded, he has been no less happy in having Mr. Jennings for his biographical editor. It is no small thing to recognize the hand of a skilful man of letters in work at which such hands have so often conspicuously failed; and that frequently from the great cause which tests practical ability, knowledge or ignorance of what to let alone, as well as what to do. Mr. Jennings carries us from the beginning to the end without weariness or dis-satisfaction, and—what will only seem small praise to those who know little of biography-without disgust. In his reproduction of Mr. Croker's self-portraiture, with the touches he has added, the lines of the picture are firmly and truly drawn; and the lights and shades of varied interest have full play, without the fictitious colouring of petty gossip or scandalous defamation.

ART. IX.—Reports of Political Speeches in August, September, and October, 1884.

TWO facts have been brought out by the prolonged dis-cussions upon the Franchise Bill-first, that the Lords will not weakly surrender the position they have taken up accordly, that the Liberais recognize the necessity which is thrust upon them of making a speedy and thorough change a their tactics. This necessity was first acknowledged in effect is not in words, by Lord Hartington in a now celebrated speech. and it was substantially recognized, though with evident reluctance, in a blustering address delivered at Hanley by Mr. Chamberlain. Lord Hartington is of too straightforward a disposition to use language of affected moderation, while coverily inciting his followers to threats and violence. He admits the the Conservatives have a right to be told all about the plan & Redistribution before they are required to pass the Transitive Bill. He assures us that the general principles have alread been explained by Mr. Gladstone; but, occupying the position be does, he could scarcely go on to confess that, while no one has understood anything from these explanations, many Radicas have taken particular pains to let us know that the pary generally does not hold itself bound by the Prime Ministers engagements. It has even been pointed out, by an extremely injudicious supporter of the Ministry, that it a Redistribute Bill were laid before Parliament at this moment, there might subsequently be a 'temptation' to withdraw or alter it, as soon as the Lords had been duped into passing the Franchise Bill. The whole question, according to this too canded triend, might very easily be treated on the principles of the 'confidence Lord Hartington, as might be expected from his cheracter, adopts a roftier tone. He tells us that Ministers might be induced to bring forward their Redistribution Bill at once 1 they had any reason to know that such introduction would be accepted by the Conservative party in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords with a view to the more speedy, the more reasonable, and more satisfactory solution of the whole question.' He went still further, and intimated that if the Conservatives would accept a Bill intended to secure a tur representation irrespective of party to the whole population, whether in towns or counties, not 'pledging themselves we every detail,' provided that it was a Bill 'which could be made the foundation of a settlement' that in this case a compromise might be arrived at. We have no hesitation in saying that

The can pass such a Bill together with the Franchise Bill, lord Hartington will have conceded all that Conservatives have ver asked for, and all that they have a right to expect. If he is a position to carry out the terms he suggests, the differences between the two Houses must come to an immediate end.

We put aside, then, the declarations of all kinds which are proceeded from Conservatives during the receis, and re adopt unreservedly the proposal of Lord Hartington, if brried out in legislation, as a complete solution of the bole difficulty. We desire nothing more than to secure fair representation of the whole country, 'irrespective of arty.' Give us that, and everything is yielded that is of e slightest value. But Lord Hartington feels himself comelled to admit that there may be-'I cannot take upon yself, he says, 'to deny it'-some 'ingenious wire-pullers' the Liberal party was cherish the desire so to manipulate e future constituencies that the Liberal party shall be esta-lished in a permanent majority.' We congratulate Lord fartington upon his discerament as well as upon his fairness. le has summed up the whole case with admirable accuracy ad brevity. The secret desire and hope of a large proportion the Liberal party-not merely of the "ingenious wire-pullers" is to use this new Franchise Bill as an instrument for keeping exisclves in power for at least another generation. And we denit that, if they were allowed to go to work in their own way, bey could succeed in this purpose. That is one reason why onservatives have demanded that Redistribution shall go and-in-hand with extension of the Franchise, and why they oust continue to insist upon it; all 'compromises' which fall ort of that being entirely delusive, and destined to end in the strayal, if not the destruction, of the Opposition. The Laberals my, and will, make loud professions to the contrary, and talk such about truta, honour, and other virtues, more talked of han seen in their political tactics. Men like Mr. Chamberlain rould think we had all gone mud, if we placed the amallest Miance upon words which are merely intended, like his friend's mmmy Bill, to boodwink the 'stupid party.'

Now whether Lord Hartrogton will be able to frustrate the saigns of his friends, whom he calls wire-pullers, is a little nore than doubtful. If he were as powerful as Mr. Gladstone, here would really be no necessity for further contention. Everyaing that the Conservatives could wish to add on the Franchise nestion might be summed up in a dozen words. But we know rom old experience that Lord Hartington may be pushed aside a very short notice, and it is an ominous sign that, after the

Jelzkez

delivery of his speech, the leading organs of his party dwelt my little on what he had said, and a great deal upon our bounder duty to put absolute confidence in the 'honour and versetty'st Mr. Gladstone, and in the 'pledges' and 'moral guarantee' which he so generously offers. We do not intend to impuga Mr. Gladstone's honour or veracity, but in a matter of the very first importance it is essential, whether in politics or m the ordinary affairs of life, never to give up our all, be it little or much, without something more substantial than moral guarantees as a quid pro quo. It is sad that it should be so, but the universal experience of mankind warns us to be extremely cautious about putting our faith in pledges. At the present moment, Mr. Gladstone has great influence with his parts. but he does not appear to be convinced in his own mind that his influence is sufficiently great to enable him to pass a perfectly fair measure of Redistribution, or it would have formed a portion of his Franchise Bill, in accordance with former precedents. No statesman would have forced a new controversy upon the country at so critical a time as this, if he had feet assured that redistribution, framed in the spirit avowed by Larl Hartington, was likely to be accepted by his followers. Mr. Gladstone knows that many of his principal supporters do not want, and will not have, fair redistribution. He is also wal aware that, when he brings in his Bill, he will lose the support of most of the small boroughs, which must inevitably forfest their independent existence. And he sees, at least as plainly as everybody else, that if he lets the present Parliament go, be will never live to see another so devoted to the renumed Gladstonian system of government.

It is impossible to deny, that the nation is in a position which calls for the most serious attention and the instant interference of Parliament. A state of affairs has been produced which is the astonishment of every observant man in Europe Unfortunately, it is not automored to consider any grave of pressing emergency, but to expend time in squabbling over an issue which the Government found it expedient to bring forward, after long delay, rather than give an account to the nation of the wild and reckless manner in which they have trifled with its interests abroad. What the Government are doing in Egypt, what they intended to do in South Africa, whether they are taking any precautions against the storm which is gathering fast and heavily in Europe, how they propose to meet the new wave of Irish disaffection, there are the questions of real urgency, if the nation only know it, but who is paying any heed to them? The Prince

Minister

Minister made innumerable speeches in Scotland, and there was scarcely a word in any of them which bore even indirectly upon the topics which must have been uppermost in the minds of tens of thousands of our countrymen, unless they are sunk in that fatal lethargy which, in nations as in individuals, precedes dissolution. A Cabinet Minister can even go before the public, in this very month of October, and declare that 'in comparison with that topic (the Franchise) all others fall into insignificance' -a statement which alone would give us the gauge of Sir W Harcourt's capacities as a statesman, if we did not happen to have possessed it before

It is to be feared, that little opportunity will be afforded in Parliament for the consideration of any of the actual dangers which menace the country. The Government will not hesitate to employ again one or other of the many artifices which they put into operation last Session, for the purpose of huddling their its foreign policy out of sight. It is scarcely possible to call another Conference of the great Powers; Lord Granville himself would be indisposed to repeat a farce, which was so unequivocally damned on its first representation. But it is always possib e to find some Mr. Goschen, who will be willing to implote the Prime Munister to restrain his eagerness to explain his inscrutable operations in Egypt and to give full information concerning our relations with France. In that way, or in some other way equally effectual, Parliament must be kept with its eves fixed upon the Franchise Bill, and upon that only, while the people outside are amused with wild-goose schemes for the abolition of the House of Lords. By dint of manipulation of this kind, the Nile Expedition may pass unchallenged, or, still better, Gordon may be clean forgotten, together with the massacres which have already been perpetrated, and which were the direct consequences of the Government's irresolution and want of foresight. No one out of England doubts, that a few months more of the weakness and incompetency, which have been shown for four years in the management of our foreign affairs, may result in giving us more formidable enemies to fight than the Egyptian 'rebels,' and it has been made only too evident that such a crisis would find us without a Navy adequate to the defence of our own coasts, or strong enough to keep open the ports through which bread for our people must be obtained. Whether or not it will be possible to arouse the nation to a sense of these perils, remains to be seen.

^{*} Sir W. Harcourt at Derby, Oct. 9th. Vol. 158 .- No. 316. 2 P

Prime Minister holds, that the extension of the Franchise, and the continuers as to the advantage or disadvantage of a House of Lords, are the only topics at present deserving dinotice. We do not agree with him, but we cannot return to follow him into the field where he has chosen to extend himself.

It is necessary, then, to show clearly in what spirit and with what motives the Conservatives are dealing with the Franchise question. To begin with, the charge of insincerity which a brought against them is looked upon as plausible, not only by the Radical multitude, but doubtless by many of the agilates themselves. How can the Peers be willing to extend the franchise? How can Tories be anxious for a real redustribution? Lord Richard Grosvenor could answer the question , the great Whig historian answered it by anticipation; Lord Salisban has given it a clear and conclusive answer, supported by the indisputable evidence of figures. He has shown that, as things stand, the Tories are vastly under-represented; that any true proportionate representation must ad I from forty to eighty rotes to their Parliamentary strength, whatever may be the party but of the new electors. At each great historic crisis, save that s 1831, the Tories have felt the artificial weight of the towns a our Parliamentary system. But for this, the Grand Remonstrator and the Civi. War might have been averted, the Deciarated of Indulgence would never have been ventured on, nor wail the Revolution have been effected. Upon this rested in domination of the Whig oligarchy under the first two Georges Upon this alone the Coalition relied to annuch the patronge of India at once from the Crown and from the Company, and to establish a permanent Whig dictatorship in spite alike state Sovereign and the people. The reconstruction of 1831 au carefully manipulated in the Liberal interest The disasen of 1846, 1868, and 1880, were due largely, if not solely to this abuse. English landlords have no cause to dream the enfranchisement of their tenantry. Nor has the Fory party cause to dislike the infusion of a large suburban element 1800 the electorate, provided only that its weight is added to aso not deducted from the present county constituency, that a just additional representation accompanies the addition to the number of voters. The great suburban constituencies, Cheshavand South Lancashire, Surrey, Kent, and Middlesex, are Top strongholds. Nor need the Opposition apprehend the effect of redistribution because it must add largely to the representation of the great towns. If Leeds and Birmingham, Marylebour and Finsbury, are profoundly Radical, the City, Westminsely

and Liverpool, are as thoroughly Tory. Manchester, Sheffield, Greenwich, waver from year to year, from election to election. Newcastle and Brighton are far less Radical than Northampton, Halifax, Dewibury, and a score of other over-represented accord-rate boroughs. The transfer of seventy scats to the counties, the very least that they are entitled to claim, would more than compensate, from a party point of view, the gains of Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, Salford, and the Metropolis. The counties are, and always will be, more Conservative than the great citics are Radical. The sareat strength of Radicalism lies in artificial constituencies like some of the Metropolitan boroughs, inhabited almost exclusively by neglected workmen and an imporerished middle class; or in those minor towns which have as yet no commercial aristocracy, and whose natural leaders belong to that small class of nonceaux riches, which still retains the envious temper, the projudices, the social

antipathies, of a former generation.

But with such netails of political arithmetic and party calculation the public is of course unfamiliar. The idea that Toryism is averse from change, and, when compelled to accept it, desires It 18 8 to minimize it, is something more than a vulgar error. false conception of Conservatism, but a misconception shared by many staunch Conservatives, and macerely held by a large majority even of instructed Liberals. The fallacy lies in confounding Conservative instinct and Conservative thought, the temper of the rank and file with the deliberate views of thoughttal and far-sighted statesmen. In quiet times both are agreed. No Conservative statesman, however during and clear-signled, desires change in the absence of evident necessity or practical No thoughtful and candid observer can ignore cither the good or the evil consequences of universal suffrage in the countries most like our own: the unscrapulous party spirit, the intolerant bigotry, to which it lends overwhe ming torce in infidel France and Catholic Belgium; the inveterate corruption, the financial dishonesty, the frequent ascendency of ignorance and lawlessness, which are deploted as its first and most palpable results by independent and outspoken Americans of every class and section; the tendency to missive taxation, which it has undoubtedly fostered. But states manship, Conservative or Liberal, is never blind to the signs of No man versed in the science of political mechanics the times. dreams of attempting

> To stom a stream with sand, Or conquer flame with flaxen band, 2 1 2

however dangerous the direction of the current, however detired tive the fire. It. 1657-8 the Tory party in this country accepted once for all the democratic principle. The universal extense of household suffrage is a logical and practical deduction from the Reform of those years, which no man of average intelligence can dispute, no man of average common-sense attempt to resist in 1874, Mr. Disraeli admitted that the householders in counter to exercise the franchise as the rated householders in the towns. But he insisted that there had been "no case is which large classes of our fellow-subjects have been invested with the franchise, without a general distribution of power in consequence being considered." In other words, he demanted precisely what his party is demanding to-day, that Retistabution should accompany an extension of the irranchise. Yet Mr. Gladstone did not busitate to assert that, if Levi Benconsfield were alive now, he would awardow the new

Reform Bill just as it stands.

Redistribution is, in fact, not merely a logical but an intipensable consequence and accompaniment of equalization. Its last thing that English Tories can desire is to maintain a system originally unjust to the counties, reconstructed in the Liberal in terest, and giving to the more restless elements of English society an artificial preponderance; above all when its sole justificative. its sole compensation, the comparatively aristocratic electorate of the counties, is swept away. One thing only is more obnor on to Conservative statesmanship, more offensive to Conservative interests; that perpetual tinkering of the Constitution, which so incomplete and partial redistribution must involve. Mr. Gisstone's so-cal ed moderate scheme, in so far as its outlines are known, unites every possible disadvantage. It is untain to the counties, which are clearly entitled to seventy or eighty additional sents. Not resting on principle, it can be, and of course will be, manipolated in the interests of the party in power. Not satisfying the claims of any class, it cannot even for a generation set the question at rest. It provides for a renewed and perpetual agution. It secures to Mr. Gladstone's successors a means of come what he and his predecessors have done for the last thirty years of raising the issue of Reform afresh whenever a Tory Gorenment commands the support of Parliament and the confidence of the country.

Sound Conservatism regards the Constitution as a whole; he defended it on the ground that its anomalies and inequalities redressed one another; that, like every practical working schemit had in the course of time adjusted itself, more or less are rately.

rately, to the real feeling and actual needs of the country. But, when anomalies are to be corrected, when the balance is to be disturbed, common-sense and Conservative statesmanship alike ductate a complete thoroughgoing searching reconsideration, the adaptation of each and every part to the new one, a re-adjustment of the altered balance; a careful over-hauling of the whole machinery, of the checks and securities, upon the introduction of a new motive force. True, that motive force was admitted and made paramount in 1867 8. The opportunity of thorough reconstruction was then foregone; but the policy then adopted was disclaimed by many of the present leaders of the party. And now that the new principle is to be extended and universally applied, the second opportunity must not be lost. The objection taken, not only by the House of Peers, but by the Tory party as a whole-taken, as Sir Richard Cross justly remands us, upon the advice and with the core all consent of all the lenders in both Houses-is not to household suffrage, but to piecement legislation, to constitutional tinkering and patch-That this objection is sincere, those on y can fairly doubt whose idea of Conservation is false and prejudiced. The demoeratic principle, fairly and fully worked out, affords securities of its own. Its frank acceptance affords fair ground for cemanding guarantees and checks, such as every great democracy has volunturnly imposed on the aberrations and extravagances of unbridled popular passion, the temporary delusions, almost amounting to trenzy, to which, as experience has shown, a sovereign multitasto is peculiarly liable. To admit the principle piecemeal, is to accept it in the worst possible form, and without control or counteraction. A separate Franchise Bill, coupled with a meagre and portial redistribution, would perpetunte the undue ascendency of the Radical element, and para yze every security provided by the existing Constitution against for other dangers and far inferior forces. Household suffrage houestly carried out, giving equal force to every vote and ensuring the representation of all, -Lousehold suffrage coupled with a complete, well-considered, permanent distribution of seats, may be a venturous experiment, but is at any rate an intelligible policy, a tenable principle; and in England and Scotland, among loval and laws biding communities, need entail no alarming risk Household suffrage manipulated in the Radical interest, giving double weight to the urban e ectorate, preserving or enhancing the ascendency of the minor towns, the power of the Caucus, and all the artificial advantages which Radicalism now possesses, is merely calculated to this withe government of the country into the hands of caucus-mongers and wire-pullers. What comes of that. that, we may see if we look at what is going on in the American

Presidential 'campaign' at this very moment

Prainly stated, Mr. Gladstone's strategy is self-condemned. If its object were legitimate—and to assume this is to give the present Ministry credit for a loyalty to principle, a superients to party interests, such as no party Government has ever shorn the means are clearly indefensible. It cannot be right, as it is obviously dishonest, to carry the first part of a reform, just or unjust in itself, by votes which, were the second part disclosel, would not be given. Yet this is the avowed principle of the Ministerial tactics. The scheme of redistribution is to be less in the dark, till those whose seats are thereby endangered Live lent their aid to carry the Franchise Bill have been entrapped the a sacrifice to which ex hypothem they could neither be persuaded nor energed. To Mr. Gladstone such means are not repugnata Convinced that he is in the right, that his opponents are the wrong, that the motives which would end a parties of his followers to desert him were his fall, scheme disclosed are selfish, and their intentions what he would probably call in principled, he has no scruple in boodwinking and outwitt of He is blind to the strength of feelings he bes them. not share, to the offence which his tactics would give to ordinary Englishmen, irrespective of party bias or persons interest. It is fortunate for him that in the beal of party conflict, in the confusion of a controversy involve so many wider and more exciting issues, the real sign! cance of his admissions has escuped the apprehension audiences unfamiliar with the character of Parliamentar tactics and the working of Parliamentary interests. He Radicals, on whose willing support he relies, are still is acrupulous than their leader. Party discipline has bitter stienced those whose natural apprehensions must be strengthere. whose distrust and resentment cannot be but embittered, by is feeling that they are to be not only secrified but december While Parliamentary independence was more than a same. Detrayal of such an intention would have provoked a test that might well have been fatal to the authority of the stronger Minister

The refuse, of the Peers to accept a separate Franchis Bis then only a part, though the immediate and perhaps to pressing part, of a much wider question. That they transcribe or even attained their constitutional right, the Radical rate have generally assumed; but none have attempted to pressible estimate affect to treat as proof, or even as argument be vague declamation of mere demagogues, the violent invectors

men who should have known better how to treat such an issue. The extent of the measure, its popular character, the strength of the disciplined majority which carried the second reading, the nominally unopposed passage of the third, are convenient topics for denunciatory rhetoric; but they are not, and few of those who insist most upon them would venture to call them, relevant to the point in dispute. To make out a good or even a plausible case against the Lords, it is essential first to define the constitutional limits of their legal right, and next to show now and why this particular action falls without those limits. No writer or speaker has ventured to attempt the former task; Mr. Gladstone alone has offered what may by courtesy be called an argument upon the latter point. The Franchise Bill, forsooth, concerns the constitution of the Lower House alone, and is therefore within its sole jurisdiction. Will Mr Glad-stone affirm that the Commons have no right to discuss the constitution of the Lords; no right, for example, to send up a Bill legalizing life peerages in general, or to reject one (say) forbidding the future creation of Peers and turning our open aristorracy into a strictly hereditary caste? The cases, so far as Parliamentary law, usage, and courtesy are concerned, are exactly parallel. But the objection belongs to the technicalities of special pleading, not to the sphere of political argument. All great legislative measures, but especially measures touching the machinery of constitutional government, and, above all, the character of the electorate, the ultimate depository of political pawer, are matters of universal concern, and fall equally within the jurisdiction of either House of Parliament. The Commons could practically, by their sole authority, impose a graduated hand-tax, confiscating one-fourth, one-third, or one-ball the income of the Peers, or a duty on courtesy titles deeply affecting the immemorial social privileges of the Peerage. A vote of the Commons can compel the Crown to accept or dismiss the Prime Minister, on whose advice bishops and poers are created. To contend that the constitution of a Chamber, which can thus control the fortunes, the privileges, the very composition of the Upper House, is a matter in which that House has no concern, is a monstrous political paradox. No man endowed with a tithe of Mr. Gladstone's political knowledge, judgment, and clearness of sight, would have committed bimself to such a doctrine, unless, as Mr. Gladatone has too often been, hurried by passion or contradiction into assertions which, on sober reflection, he must perceive to be atterly untenable.

The Lords, then, were clearly within their right, as that right has been invariably interpreted, even by the most cautious

of the statesmen who, during the last fifty years of even and silent constitutional change, have fulfilled the delicate task of lending the Upper House. Whether that right was wisely exercised, the future must prove, and history was pronounce. But discussion has satisfied the country, has passion, that in rejecting the Franchise Bill the Lords did not reject the extension of the Franchise. No Peer who voted in that memorable division supposed resistance to be possible a delay desirable. As the natural leaders of the rural population as members of a party whose strength lies in the counties, the majority of the Peers have a stronger interest than their opponents in a change which must strengthen the influence and ultimately, however its authors may gradge and minimize the consequence, enlarge the representation of the countses. This were equally interested as Peers and Conservatives in a just scheme of Redistribution. It is the Radicals who are interested in the maintenance of a system, under which fifty villages retima Member each, and two scats apiece are allotted to scores of towns barely entitled to one. The boroughs with less than 10,000 inhabitants return an equal number of Radicals and Tories. To those with more than 10,000 and fewer than 40,000, Mr. Gladstone is indebted for nearly half his present may sit A well-considered, elever, but very disingenuous scheme of Kedistribution, recently brought forward in one of the magazines. shows how thoroughly conscious of this fact, how determined 4 possible to preserve this unfair advantage, are the forlower # Mr. Chambetlain. The proposal to break up the counties into electoral districts returning a single Member, and instead disfranchising the second-rate boroughs to turn them 1976 county divisions, with of course a preponderating urban elementbetrays a mostery of the art of gerrymandering that must sures have been learned in Pransatlantic schools. Another school which crept prematurely into publicity is almost as objective able. The plain object of it was to swamp the counties will the urban vote, and thus to weaken the Conservative party, make at the same time the danger incidental to the total alk huce a the small horoughs would be partly avoided. 'You will out vote in another place, these boroughs would be told, and the bart might in many cases be taken. These two proposals go far to justify the distrust with which all moderate men region the spirit in which the Redicals propose to set about the wark or Redistribution.

Trere is no need to account by hidden or selfish motives, it obstructive or disingenuous tactics, for the stubborn resistant

offered by the Opposition in both Houses to a measure which would place the control of Redistribution absolutely in the hands of the present Government. The Duke of Argyll frankly admitted the sincerity and even the reasonableness, if not the justice, of Conservative apprehensions on this subject. bound to confess that my own confidence in a fair Redistribution of seats depends very much on what I believe and know of Mr. Gladstone's opinious; and it is hardly fair to expect that this confidence should be as much felt and relied upon by his political opponents.' Mr. Chamberlain's electioneering knowledge, skill, and influence, as well as his ascendency in a Cabinet daily more and more Radical, render it practically certain, that his chief and colleagues will be largely guided by his counsels in framing their scheme; and even the Duke of Argyll would hardly found much confidence in a fair Relistribution upon what Le believes and knows of Mr. Chamberlain's opinions, or on what he may gather from the very ingenious acheme propounded by one of Mr. Chamberlain's warmest admirers and allies.

Mr. Gladstone, in betraying the motive of his own tactics, fully vindicated the course taken by the Lords. Parliament will never, said the Premier, pass our Redistribution scheme willingly, therefore it must be placed under duress. The endangered constituencies, the Members whose seats are imperilled, must be kept in the dark till Parliament is irretrievably committed. These are not of course the Premier's words, his language of late has never been direct and explicit; but this is the accepted, the only possible interpretation of statements more than once or twice repeated. 'But why '-is the argument of those Radical orators and journalists who feel themselves compelled as asoal to explain, or explain away, their leader a ambiguous language, - why is the Franchise Bill a means of coercion? Only because it ensures an appeal to the people as a whole, to an enlarged instead of a narrow county electorate; because it will give the peasantry for the first time a voice in the national councils. The very reverse is the truta. The enlarged francisse without Redistribution would awamp the agricultural interest under a flood of urban and suburban voters. It would enable Ministers to appeal to a gerrymandetest constituency, to a factitious Third Estate, constituted ad hoc; and so unfairly constituted that no Radica , however unscrupulous his partizanship, pretends that it could remain tor a single year unaltered. This appeal it is that the Monistry would entorce and the Conservatives refuse. The latter desire an appeal to the present constituencies, and have done their best to bring it about. They do not shrink in the least from an appeal to a reconstituted electorate which shall include al householders, and in which, as far as possible, every part of the country shall be fairly and equally represented. They refuse to submit the Redistribution of political power, the fature Constitution of the country, to a temporary constituency in which the Liberals would enjoy an enormous factitious advantage. In addition to their present disproportionate influence. household suffrage with the existing boundaries would, as the latter believe, give them a faither indefinite number of county seats which at present belong, and would under any righteous

redistribution revert, to their opponents.

But, it is said, a dissolution under the Franchise Bill without Redistribution has been rendered impossible. Nothing The postponing clause enables the Governof the kind, ment to bring forward their Redistribution scheme in .50 under a most iniquitous pressure, to place the Opposition in a dilemma equally unjust and intolerable. The proffered Redistribution will of course be calculated to pass the House of Commons : it cannot, therefore, be a just one, for justice to the countres and to the great cities alike requires a disfranchisement which would cost the Government the whole, and more than the whole, of their majority. The Commons will vote under a menace, unuttered probably, but not the less intelligible sail effectual; the menace of a Radical redistribution at the hands of Mr. Chamberlain, or a genuine one from Sir Stafford Nerthcott, either of which must be fatal to sixty or eighty obedient Liberia. The duty of rejection will again be thrown upon the Lords Defeated in the Lords, Mr. Gladstone will not dissolve till 1886, when the Franchise Bill will have come into operation. The Opposition, then, will be compelled to accept a Recustrbution not based on principle, and therefore manipulated bolils and enaily in the interests of party, or to accept that appeal which Ministers themselves admit to be unrighteous and meesclusive, an appeal to an ad interim constituency. Subtre and rigorous strategy no doubt; so vigorous that, it carried out, it cannot fail to coerce Parnament, so subtle that its true character cannot easily be brought home to popular apprehension; but as such strategy has ever proved, too clever by half for the temper of Parliament and the instincts of the nation.

An after-thought suggested a charge of constitutional usurpstion, not better founded, but less obviously futile, than the original one. 'The Lords have appealed unto Carsar, and they are not Roman citizens. They pretend to dictate a dissolution. and this they have no constitutional right to do; no right, because

for them dissolution involves no penalty. The Prime Minister has the right, because if he dissolve unreasonably, if he appeal to the country and the country pronounce against him, a vote of censure dissolves his Government. The House of Commons has a right to bring matters to that point, for if the country he against the majority, the majority are punished; as individuals by a more or less heavy fine, and by weeks of labour and versation; as a party by a loss of seats, which converts them into a minority. But the Lords lay down no such stake; for them it is "heads I win, tails you lose." If the country agree with them, their leaders come into power; if not, the House of Lords stands where it was,' We might say that the argument is overstated. The overstatement may not be relevant, but it is sections; the more so that, if another passage were correctly reported, the constitutional misrepresentation involved may well seem intentional. A Prime Minister capable of saying that he derives his power anot from the Crown, but from the constituencies,' is capable of claiming an absolute right to dissolve at his own discretion. He has no such right. The power of dissolution is vested, not in the Ministry of the day, but in the Crown. The Sovereign has a right to refuse, and that right has, we believe, been exercised in recent times. The constitutional necessity of such a check is obvious; otherwise a Minister in a minority, and hopeless of success, might avenge himself on the House by a 'penal dissolution'-a phrase not yet He might dissolve, not to gain a majority, but to forgotten. strengthen the minority; nay, not even to strengthen himself, but to panish and mortify his antagonists. The right to dissolve, then, reats ultimately with one less affected by its result than even the Upper House.

But no one, least of all the leaser of the Constitutional party, claims for the Upper House the right of forcing a dissolution. Lord Salisbury challenged an appeal to the people, he did not claim it; and the distinction involves a very substantial difference. A vote of censure in the Lower House involves a Ministernal crisis resignation or dissolution. A vote of censure in the Lords is, according to recent practice, sufficiently answered by a vote of confidence from the Commons. If the latter reject a Ministerial measure of the first order, again, according to a rule recently but firmly established. Ministers must resign or dissolve. A similar defeat in the Lords allows them another option, an option in the present and in all ordinary cases practically available to postpone the issue till it can be decided at the polls. The coast tutional right of the House of Lords is, not to demand a dissolution, but to abide by

its own judgment till a general election shall have decided be issue. The novel claim, the protension unknown to the Constitution, is Mr. Gladstone's demand that the Upper House shall yield as of course to a mere majority of the Lower. The well-understood, established, invariable rule of our unwritten Constitution is that, in case of conflict between the two Houses, the appeal lies to the constituencies. But the right of appeal rests with the Ministry, subject to the assent of the Crown, not with the Peers. No other appeal is possible or conceivable while the Second Chamber is still an integral, effective, escential branch of the Legislature. The pretension of the Commons to override at discretion, by force of votes or threats, the deliberate decision of the Lords, is not only unconstitutions but revolutionary. Mr. Gladstone could intimidate and override the Lords, only as a greater Radical in a index age actuals closed, not indeed their House, but the House of Commons. Reached by physical violence or moral coercion, the end is the same—the effacement of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal as a

branch of the Legislature, as Estates of the Realm.

Whatever may be the attitude of extreme partizans, inconsent to or ignorant of the ground beneath them, the abler and more practical Radicals betray, by the direction of their longuage looks, the real source of their confidence, the key of their posby bluster, sometimes by ingenious subtleties, their sense of insecurity when insisting on the presumption of the Peers, the preposterous pretension of the Upper House to act on its conscientious convictions. Their tone becomes strong and sanguise. when they fall back on other and wider grounds; 'res stanto popular legislation, hereditary privilege, persistent antagenism between the two Houses, in a word, on the constituent tunctions, and temper of the Upper House, not on its immed its action. Here no awkward quotation can prick the rathmet bladder, no undensable fact trip them up, no flat crassing contradiction knock them out of time. Let even here they see vague and violent. Their denuncrations are explicit, but the proposals uncertain, their policy reserved, their ultimate aims indefinite. They are eager to stake and destroy, but the utterances are uncertain and confused in the last degree as to * a they would retain, what they would substitute, or how tuck would reconstruct. Few of them, probably, know their own minds or see the way clear before them. Their reasonings, their invectors. their proposals, tend much further than their present ciwis ac willing to lead, further than their hearers are prepared to inflow; turther than any but a few consistent doctranaires believe

it possible or safe to go-in a word, to the summary abolition

of a second Chamber, Forced to argue the question clearly, directly, broadly, on its merits, the assailants of the House of Lords would be taken at a fatal disadvantage. That the Lords must give way to the Commons, is boldly asserted; that they must do so waenever the two Houses differ in opinion, is clearly implied and not unfrequently affrined. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, has lately complained of this as a mirrepresentation. This is not his contention, he says. But it is the contention of Lie followers; and he himself, in the same breath, warns us that 'the hereditary principle is never safe when brought into conflict with the representative power of the country. That is, whenever the Lords conflict with the Commons, they are in danger. What can this mean, but that the Lords must never reject a Bill the Commons have passed? What does Mr. Gladstone mean by speaking of the refusal of the Lords to legislate piecemeal on retorm as 'waging war' on the people? Why is this exercise of independence more oflensive than another? And what can his recent and sudden burst into menace mean, unless that, like Marshul MacMabon, the Upper House must 'se soumettre ou se démettre, not before the people, but hefore a party majority in the Commons? In thus efficing the House of Lords for all practical purposes, we should deprive ourselves altogether of a Second Chamber; we should subvert from its very foundations the whole system of Parliamentary government; we should not merely change, but change for its exact opposite, the immemorial character of our Constitution. We should substitute for a polity, till lately the most carefully balanced and guarded among free constitutions, a democracy the most absotote that the world has ever seen-a democracy of the proletariate. a democracy without checks or guarantees, a democracy of landless pessants and artizans living from hand to mouth, a demoeracy dependent for daily bread on weekly wages; worst of al., a democracy with a single despotic Assembly. With a society the most aristocratic, we should have a polity the most absolately and unreservedly democratic, in the world.

The complaints of delay, of measures modified to suit the Lords, of others upon which the House of Commons has spent much time, thrown out because sent up so late that the Upper House has not lesure to consider them, are really objections to the existence of a Second Chamber. The division of leguslative powers, in whatever proportion, between two Houses, involves the existence of friction, the possibility of collision, the certainty of occasional divergence. Its very purpose is, that

no legislation shall pass, which has not been ficior considered; which does not recommend itself independently to the judgment of two assemblies, so differently constituted that the bias, the prejudices, the illegitimate interests, the popular excitement, the class, clique, or caucus influences, brought to bear upon the one, shall be corrected by the other. The universal adoption of the bi-cameral legislature implies a universal conviction that legislation should be gradual, slow, careful. The fundamental grievance of our modern Radicals, reiterated again and again in the course of the present agitation, is that this object is accomplished. Their whole case rests on the assumption, that the course of legislation, and even of constitutional unnovation. should be smooth, rapid, and easy. This doctrine, again, a novel and unconstitutional in the extreme. It contradicts ou own immemorial traditions and practice, the deliberate policy of every well-considered constitution, the spirit and intent of Parliamentary government. Impatience of the slow, granual cautious movement of stable, balanced legislatures and governments, is the radical vice of democracy, the danger which political philosophers, of whatever school, have recognized and insisted on; which every democracy, from Athens to America. all democratic statesmen and constitution-makers, from Percha and Aratas down to Hamilton and Jefferson, have felt, acknow ledged, and carefully provided against. One primitive dearcracy bade the constitutional innovator stand forth with a rece round his neck in the public assembly, to be tightened if he theories found not instant acceptance. The idea thus ruder embodied, the caution thus summarily enforced, find expression in every democratic constitution; in the powers bestowed on the Nomothete of Athens, the most mobile of all democracies; a the vast indefinite authority of the Roman Senate and the vew of each individual tribune; as in to rot s'avuera of our own olden Constitution and most others; and above all in the equal authority vested by every modern State in a Second Chamber. hereditary, or nominated by the Government, or chosen by double election. Not merely the wisdom of experienced rulers and closet statesmen, but the rough common-sense of the many, has ever recognized in the rapid revolutions and counterrevolutions of unbalanced democracies, like that of modern France, a peril to be shunned; in the slow, snail-slow, but for that very reason stendy, constant progress of linglish freedom, an example to be admired and followed. What is the distinctive peculiarity of the model Transatlantic Republic, the characteristic feature of the much admired American Constitution? Its framers, compelled to forego the stability of an hereditary

ditary monarchy and aristocracy, endeavoured to compensate the loss of such conservative guarantees by every possible provision against hasty legislation, and especially against constitutional change. The veto of the President can be overruled by a twothirds majority in both flouses; but it is exercised, and was mount to be exercised, with far more freedom than the royal veto of any English monarch. The Senate, though an elective, is anything but a democratic assembly. Delaware and Florida, with a population less than the quota of a single electoral distriet, are equally represented there with communities numbered by millions, tike the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, The Senators represent sovereign States, and are and Outo. elected, not by the people, but by the Legislatures. This nondemocratic assembly is the ventable Upper House of democratic America, equal in constitutional, superior in practical power, to the House of Representatives. But this division of the Legislature into two really co-equal branches, and the effective veto of an elected First Magistrate, failed to satisfy the cautious conservatism of the Convention. Even on the Legislature thus constituted, they refused to bestow anything like the omnipo-tence of Parliament. They forbad both Federal and State Assemblies to pass an Act of Attainder, of confiscation, or an Act rescinding contracts They intended to forbid, as indirectly altering the torms of all money contracts, an Act making paper legal tender. They vested in the independent judiciary an absolute veto on all Congressional usurpations; on any Act which, sanctioned by the Representatives, by the Senate, and by the President, seemed to a majority of the Supreme Court inconsistent with the principle or the letter of the written Constituthe danger to be feared, the evil to be avoided, has been the axiom of political science, the guiding idea, the connecting thread of constitutional philosophy, for three thousand years; an axiom as fully acknowledged, a duetrine as firmly held, by democrats as by monarchists; the fundamental assumption alike of Macaulay and Guizot, as of Hume and Clarendon. The complaint of the present assailants of the House of Lords, the grievance which forms the topic of one-half their declamation and underlies the whole, rests on a new, a most un-English, and till now unheard-of heresy, a heresy which Whig and Tory historians and philosophers would alike have pronounced anathema; which, as two or three of the more thoughtful of its promulgators have perceived, strikes at the very root of our own and al. other parliamentary constitutions, at the very existence of a Second Chamber. Hereditary

Hereditary privilege is a fertile theme of easy denunciation That 500 gentlemen should be legislators by right of birth, and claim a veto on the decisions of 658 elected politicians, representing three millions or five millions of householders, sounds like a political paradox, rather than a practical possibility, as arguable proposition. That no man should acquire political power simply by right of birth, may pass for a truism. Logical fallacies are often effective figures of rhetoric. In logic, in reason, to prove too much is to have proved nothing. But the excess of proof that is suicidal to a legal argument only enhances the effect of popular oratory. Hereditary legislation sounds anomalous enough. The audience forget that hereditary monarchy and hereditary aristocracy stand exactly on the same footing; that hereditary influence, hereditary wealth, here-ditary education, are in abstract reason equally unfair and indefensible. As matter of theoretical equity and ethical logic no son should profit or suffer by his father's merit or dement Practically, the whole order of society rests on a foundation of herenitary privilege; and were society reorganized from the foundation, Nature would still visit the sins and the virtues of the fathers upon their children, to the thiol and fourth generation. How many members of the House of Commons sit there by their own deserts alone? More than one or two intent their seats almost as directly as the Peers, as much as their baronetcies or their estates. Very many are returned for a county or a rural borough by force of hereditary connection. A majority would never have found their way there, but her the wealth, credit, and character of their forefathers. Many, even of those whose personal ment has undoubtedly entitled them w their position, would never have attained it save as the sons of tathers whose eminence gives their children twenty years' start in public life; gives them at thirty what they could not have earned at fifty. A very small proportion have made the fortunes without which they could not have aspired to Parliament. Are there twenty Members in the House who have risen by their own exertions from the ranks? In politics as in society, a.se men inherit, for one who has achieved his position; and of these who have achieved it, nine in ten have inherited the means and the opportunity of achievement. The choice of the constituencies is practically limited to a few thousands who have isberited a certain social position, plus a few score who have forced their way into that undefined aristocracy. The Upper House contains a larger number of men not born to the Peerser than the Lower of men not born to competence and an expensive education. And, practically, the chance of birth chooses not we priprie!

wisely than the chance of the ballot. Neither House contains the 'collective wisdom' even of the class it represents. If the Peors be exempt from the necessity of exertion, they are exempt also from the degrading and dishonouring means to which so many ambitious politicians owe the favour of large constituencies—false pretences, exterted phelges, service submission to self-elected caucuses: if less amenable to public opinion, they are more independent of unworthy and illegitimate influences.

How high the level, not merely of character, but even of practical political ability, an hereditary order gives us, Mr. Gladstone himself has confessed by acts far more significant than words. By his own admission, at least one half of the highest political capacity, even of the Liberal party, is to be found among our hereditary legislators. Radical prejudice apart, the Prime Minister has strong motives for choosing a majority of his principal colleagues, and especially the chiefs of the two great spending departments, in the Commons. Yet of his ten principal co.leagues, he has selected six from the ranks of the Poerage. Taking six of the most eminent Liberals cutside the Cabinet, the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Dufferin are Peers, and not unworthy to compare with Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Forster. The chance of birth, reinforced by the selection of the Crown, has given us as large a share of Parliamentary ability, as the chance of popular election qualified by the conditions which practically restrict it. In fact, the popular and plausible assumption, that the ability of an hereditary political caste can be measured by the calculus of probabilities, that it produces only its numerical proportion of able men, is falsified by history and by the evidence before our eyes. Inheritance, marriage, expectancy, education, opportunity, have each a powerful elevating influence; and all unite to raise the moral and intellectual average of royal and noble families far above the general level. Not one middle-class family in a thousand, probably, could show in as many generations, among numbers as limited, anything like the average character and capacity of the Plan-tagenets, the Tudors, the Houses of Valois and Hourbon, Orange or Savoy, Orleans or Hohenzollern. Reinforced as it is in each generation by the ablest lawyers, the most successful soldiers, several of the foremost statesmen of the country, and a considerable number of the ablest and most useful members of the Lower House, the intellectual character and tone of the House of Lords is superior to that of any legislative assembly in the world, the House of Commons excepted, and hardly inferior to that. We have got, by historical accident, the best Vol. 158 .- No. 316. existing

existing Second Chamber, one which resembles much more than is commonly understood the greatest of all ruling assemblies, the Roman Senate. Such an institution is more

easily abolished than reformed or replaced.

But the constitution, the privileges, the powers of the Upper House, even the manner of their exercise, are rather available reproaches than mortal offences. The one unpardonable sin of the Lords is not birth, hereditary rank, or legislative privilege, but that to which they all contribute, in which they all caminate, and to which their staunchest advocate must plead guilty The Lords are Conservative; or-for Conservatism is compartive—they are more Conservative than the Commons or the constituency. Partizons complain sharply and practically, that the Tories have a standing majority in the Upper House More subtle reasoners express the same complaint in the general allegation, that the Lords are out of harmony with the country: that, while the people are generally Radical, the Peers are costantly Conservative. The charge is true; and, what is some worthy, the evil, if it be an evil, seems incurable, inhese perhaps in titled wealth and heritable privilege. The obstume, of the disease is proved by the strength of the remedies that have been tried in vain. Since 1830 Liberal Ministers law lavished peemges as if they sought to swamp the Upper Houe. yet have tailed seriously to affect its Conservative character of even its party bias. There is something in the atmosphere even its party bias. of the Peerage unfavourable to modern Liberalism. another, the Peers, not only of his predecessors' but of his or creation, fall off from Mr. Gladstone's standard. They are pelted with charges of inconsistency, ingratitude, even installed cerity; but the whip is cracked over them, the resolutions of the Caucus are launched at them, in vain. Evil communications quickly corrupt sound polities; and Liberalism owes more to the hereditary Peerage than to its new creations. The old Whig families are truer to their traditions, than the new men to their pledges and their past. The fact is significant, if in significance be other and deeper than party reproaches sugres-The character of the bondage may be judged by the result of emancipation. If the accurity of a seat for life, release from the dictation of Three Hundreds and Five Hundreds, suffice to turn a sound Liberal into a moderate Tory, these must have been something factitious and unreal, not to say our pulsory, about his Liberalism. The attachment of tollowers. who desert as soon as their reward is attained, must have been due to a lively sense of favours to come. There are no such complaints of desertion from the opposite ranks A creed

A creed which cannot retain the adhesion of independent rotaries, a leader whose followers fall from him when no longer cocreed by hope or fear, must have a very feeble hold on the allegiance of the class from which Peers are taken. The luke-warmness, or worse, of Lord Granville's recruits, shows how little of hearty or spontaneous Liberalism exists in the class from which those recruits are picked for loyalty and good service—the able, wealthy, well-born members of the Lower House.

In one word, the Conservatism of the Peers, a Conservatism which so rapidly infects the picked and chosen retainers of Radical Minister, only reflects the Conservatiam of English society, of property and education, intelligence and experience. The House of Lords is no oligarchy. Constantly recruited from below, and mainly from the Liberal elements of the lamiled and commercial aristocracy, it cannot lose touch of the public opinion to which that aristocracy contributes so important an element. Every Second Chamber is comparatively Conservative, Conservative in proportion to the inde-pendent tenure of senatorial seats on the one hand, and to the eneral contentment of the educated, intellectual, propertied classes—that is, to the general excellence of the Governmenton the other. If the House of Lords be exceptionally Conservative, it is because the educated classes of England are exceptionally content with the existing Constitution; inclined so apprehend that any change, unless very gradual and very well considered, is more likely to imperil property and order than to secure freedom and diffuse enlightenment. One Radical organ only has penetrated the true meaning of that Conservative tendency, against which Radical speakers and writers at large declaim as a more accident of the hereditary constitution of the Upper House. The 'Spectator' alone discerns the root of the Chamber, any Senate worthy of the name, will in proportion to its independence reflect the cautious temper, the dislike to change, the satisfaction with the present, the national pride, the passion for the greatness and integrity of the Empire, which are the ruling principles of Toryism, the characteristics of aducated English society. The proposal that the Minister of the day shall nominate the Upper House for the daration of each Parliament, seems the very extravagance of party spirit. The 'Spectator' is far too shrewd not to see, that such a House would be dependent and service beyond the dependence and would be dependence and pervility of the best-disciplined representative majority or the best-organized caucus. Holding their seats on sufferance,

the great body of such nominees-all but those whose eminence secured them from exclusion -would be samply the mouthpieces, the proxy holders, of the Minister on whom they must depend for re-nomination. But no purge less complete, so remedy less violent, would serve the purpose. Nothing but abject dependence can give us a Radical Senate.

And as a Second Chamber always is and must be, so u

should be Conservative-Conservative in right of its functions, as well as by force of its character and position. In a reporsentative Chamber chosen by direct popular election, the party of movement will always enjoy a disproportionate power, and its extreme wing will always exercise an excessive influence. The Radical, the malcontent, is always the more active as well as the noisier party. Party organization is indispensable to the machinery of popular government, and party organization will always give undue weight to the Extreme Left. They 'ma the machine, and wield its tremendous powers of coercian. The Moderates, comparatively silent by temper and by embarrasment, hampered by the sense of a false position, and utterly disorganized, can exercise little or no restraining influence on Radical, can give little support or self-confidence to Moderate. representatives. Within doors and without, the weight of those, nominally Liberal but essentially Conservative, who desire a few immediate practical retorms, but look with distrust and apprehension upon the larger, wider, more daring objects of the Radicals, is thrown into the Radical scale. Nothing but a general, careful, effective scheme of proportionate or minority representation, can prevent the Radicals from exerting in the Representative Chamber a power altogether disproportionate; and no representation, however exact, of the voters, can depute them of the advantage they derive from their own activity, forwardness, and organization, from the comparative indiference and inertia characteristic of Conservatism. Even under an accurate and equal system of representation, then, the inherent Conservatism of a Second Chamber is a necessary and isdisputable counteractive. Under our actual and immemorial stotem of the exclusive representation of majorities, no redistribution can correct the artificial tendencies which aggravate the natural preponderance of the restless, mobile, sanguine, over the quiet. satisfied, cautious, Conservative, elements of the community. The artificial Conservatism of an hereditary Upper House, even were that House far more powerful, for less hampered and fettered in the use of its powers than it is, would do no more than redress the balance.

It is notorious that some measures are passed, that many

votes are given, in the Lower House, in reliance on the certainty of failure. Members vote against their conscience for proposals they believe to be noxious and dangerous, proposals which they would be reluctant and ashamed to carry into effect; because they are confident that, if a majority in the Commons want principle or pluck to extinguish them, yet, when sent up to the Lords, they will be rejected certainly and quietly, to the gratification of none more than their supporters. These proposals are not popular; they are the crotchets of cliques, with whose support the party in a particular locality cannot dispense. In one constituency the Irish Home-Rulers, in another the anti-Vaccinationists, in a third the compulsory Testotallers, or some other sect whose dogmas are equally repugnant to the majority of Liberals, insist on extorting a pledge; and the pledge is lightly given, because, says the demagogue to himself, Thank God, we have a House of Lords!' This is of course a misuse of the security afforded by the free veto of the Second Chamber, but it indicates a danger which, were that veto withdrawn, would be practical and might be grave. The worst peril of Democracy is, not the despotism of a majority, but the tyranny of mimorit.es—a tyranny which party-organization renders possible. A powerful sect, or a combination of insignificant sects, social, political, or religious, can turn the scale in twenty, thirty, or forty constituencies—that is, in the House of Commons itself. It may not number 5 per cent. of the electors; but those 5 per cent, can by their support give a Laboral Ministry a working majority, or by their defection can leave it in a minority. They put their own price on their support; and, but for the House of Lords, that price would be, not a formal and impotent resolution, but effective legislation, odious perhaps to three-fourths of the country and really approved only by an infinitesimal minority. And what is true of destructive Radicals. Together with those allies who accept heartily a portion of their creed, these form a majority of the Liberal party; any 30 per cent. of the constituency. To the active, carnest, restless, and, above all, the working portion of the party in the constituencies, they dictate its policy hist for the local influence of the Whig element in the territorial and commercial aristocracy, they would return a vast majority of Radicals. As it is, the Members returned are for the most part pledged to Radical ideas, ideas disliked by many of themselves and by a considerable proportion of their supporters. But the measures practically submitted to the country at a general section are at least accepted by the majority. The organiza-

tion of the Caucus has introduced a novel danger. Members are controlled, influenced, or coerced, by the organised section of their supporters, and must obey a Minister backed by the Caucus in any proposed legislation, however that legislation may take the country by surprise. The only security against such an abuse of power, not perhaps by Mr. Gladstone himself, but by a younger, more active, and equally imperious successor, lies in the certainty, that a measure thus forced upon the country would be thrown out by the Lords. Were the power of re-jection once wrested from the Lords, there would be no security whatsoever against the passage of Radical and even revolu-tionary measures, approved only by a minority of the people, by the reluctant votes of a disciplined Parliamentary majority. An unscrupulous Minister, commanding such a majority, would be virtually autocratic. In the last resort, such a Minister might induce the House to double its term, or vote itself permanent: there is an historic precedent for either course, and only vigorous personal use of the Royal prerogative could prevent it And short of such extreme violence, Ministerial arrogance and party spirit might, and surely would, abuse in less outrageous but very objectionable ways the absolute power of a single Chamber.

Far from the insolence of overweening strength, ascrabed to it by some reckless talkers, the Upper House has shown throughout its recent history the cantion of conscious weakness. Not to go further back, the conflict and the final capitulation of 1831 2 established a new constitutional limit to their power, and restricted yet more closely its practical exercise. then, they can never throw out an important measure save at their peril. The Minister may, at his pleasure, appeal to the country; and if that appeal go against them, the Lords mast yield. A similar restraint has sufficed to render all but obsolete the undoubted prerogative of the Sovereign to dismiss his Ministers at pleasure. George III, used that prorogative rashly in his youth, and felt keenly the consequent mortification of having to receive back his discarded servants. When at last be found courage to dismiss the Coalition, after bitter personal and political provocation, it was with the expressed resolution to return to Hanover' rather than again submit to such humilation. Since that time the experiment has been only once repeated, when William IV. dismissed Lord Melbourne's government. An aristocratic assembly, if less sensitive than a Prisce to the personal robuff, is not less alive to the political humiliation of such a defeat. Neither the House of Lords nor its leaders will ever lightly subject themselves to the reproach of obstructing

obstructing public business, of putting the country to the cost and trouble of a general election, upon trivial cause or without reasonable hope of victory. Already their veto is, in fact if not in form, suspensive only; and it is exercised far more rarely and reservedly than would be one less formidable in name and

theory.

Since 1831 the Lords have thrown out no measure of first and but two or three of second rate importance. They have shown themselves, if anything, too susceptible to popular outery, too sensitive to the peculiarity of their position, as a legislative body representing a single economic interest and based on hereditary privilege in a democratic age. A few of the older and betterinformed Liberal speakers and journalists have founded, upon this indisputable historical fact, an argument against the present employment of a right used with such signal reserve. They have quoted the practice of the Duke of Wellington, of Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Derby, and Lord Beaconsfield, as a reproach against Lord Salisbury. They have cited the former signal concessions of the Upper House as precedents in point, to condemn sts present course; just as, were the Lords to yield now, their yielding would be turned against them, would be treated as a virtual confession of error, debarring them for the future from any independent action upon any question whatsoever. Already our Second Chamber is one of the weakest known to history, weaker than any but those recent imitations which some foreign States have attempted to construct upon the same lines, without the strength derived from tradition, wealth, hereditary rank, and social influence. It is incomparably weaker than the American or Roman Senate, weaker even than the present Senate of France of the Council of Victoria. Were the pretensions of the Radicals established by force or virtually admitted by a surrender, the Upper House would no longer be a Second Chamber in any intelligible sense. Upon questions involving no party interest or feeling, it might perhaps exercise the functions of a Royal Commission for the preparation or revision of legislation. Upon all political questions, impotent to resist, restrain, or revise, and therefore unheard and unheeded when it endeavoured to warn or advise, it would sink into a mere debating club.

Some of the agitators, exasperated by actual disappointment and anticipated defeat, have gone far beyond abuse and invective, far beyond that course of intimidation to which their leader's original language seemed to afford a sanction. They have presumed to menace the Lords with a wholesale creation of Peers. One at least among them has been insolent enough to threaten the Sovereign herself with a refusal of supplies, should the date,

in pursuance of her unquestioned right and obvious duty, w reject advice so unconstitutional. Violence of this kind ondemns itself. Those who use it are beneath reproach, as they are impervious to reproof. They would not understand, and their wiser associates do not need to be told, that measures of this class are revolutionary in character and essence, measure, to use Mr. Lincoln's memorable phrase, of war and not of politics. One only conceivable case could justify the Sovereign in using the prerogative to override the deliberate judgment of a House of Parliament, the determination of that House persistently to reject a measure clearly and decidedly demanded by the country, to resist the verdict of the constituencies. Som was the ground of Lord Grey's otherwise indefensible threat in 1832. Nothing but such an emergency as would excuse relelion could justify in the present age a refusal of supplies a deliberate resort to the disorganization of society, the paralysis of civil government. No Hadical, however intemperate, pretending to the rank of a statesman, sobered by even a few years' experience of political responsibility, imagines that, till an appeal to the country has been tried in vain, any more stringest coordion can possibly be attempted.

A strong Second Chamber is the dread and abhorrence of the damagogue who trades on popular ignorance and parsion, on party organization manipulated for the ends of faction. Such a demagogue must be short-sighted indeed, to attempt at this moment either the abolition or the reform of the Upper House. Either course must be fatal to his ultimate aim. The country will not dispense with a Second Chamber. A reformed House of Lords might exercise its powers with far greater freedom. A reconstituted Senate would probably be invested with a wider jurisdiction, and its manipal functions would of course be

literally realized.

The language, demeanour, threats, and demands of the agitators, have been violent and extreme beyond recent example; but the boldest among them shrink from giving name and form to their ultimate end, and the responsible leaders will not avoir it even to themselves. Yet that end is as unmistakeable as it is revolutionary. To dispense with a Second Chamber, to cent unlimited, unqualified, indisputable, unquestionable power in a single Assembly, is a revolution; a revolution far more complete and searching than the expulsion of a dynasty or the reconstitution of the Third Estate; a revolution certainly not to be effected by a side-wind, as the incidental corollary of a minor party quarrel. Not this, and nothing less, is the immediate, cirect, almost undisquised purport of every Liberal harangee.

harangue. This and nothing else is the meaning, not of wild Radical declamation and denunciation, but of the demands advanced by leading Liberal journals and statesmen; and no other sense can be attached to Mr. Gladstone's own language. It is not morely that submission to menaco would ruin the authority of the Upper House. The exception taken goes to the root of their power; is fatal to their jurisdiction in toto. The claim in its most moderate form is that, whenever the Houses differ, the Lords must give way, and at once; that a vote of the Commons must be final and without appeal: 'att quod plebs jusserit populum teneret.' To such a pretension, driven home by Parhamentary pressure and entorced by menaco,

the Lords simply cannot yield.

Nor would it be prudent, in our judgment, for the Upper House to withdraw from the ground it now occupies on the mere production of a Redistribution scheme. There could be no certainty, as we have already intimated, that the scheme thus laid upon the table, for a specific purpose, would be adhered to. Mr. Morley, with fatal candour, has gone out of his way to remind us of this peril lest any of us should by chance overlook it. It is one of Mr. Morley's peculiar uses, to be ever and anon making damaging admissions concerning the person or persons whose cause he undertakes to espouse. When, therefore, we are told that the simple production of a plan of redistribution should be enough to overcome Conservative acruples, we must decline to be entrapped by a decoy, the objects of which have been kindly explained to us beforehand. A thousand chances might occur to prevent the Radical party carrying out their engage-The Caucus could be set to work against it; another procession through London might be got up; a sort of Royal Progress could be arranged for the Prime Minister in Scotland or somewhere else; and at last there might be the announcement, that Mr. Gladstone had changed his mind. Or he might retire from office altogether, and his successor could very well decline to take over his stock-in-trade. The Birmingham maxim, which now passes current in every true fold, is that all is fair in politics, and only a few benighted newspapers here and there talk to us about putting our trust in 'statesmen,' and tell us that we ought to surrender everything on the strength of a few glib promises. The present Conservative leaders owe a duty, not only to the party of to-day, but to the party which is to survive them, and they have no right to permit themselves to be sent on the fool's errand which is apparently being got ready.

There are but two 'guarantees' which they ought to consent

There are but two 'guarantees' which they ought to consent even to look at—one is the simultaneous passage of the Fran-Vol. 158.—No. 316.

2 B. chise Bill and the Redistribution Bill; or, failing that, the insertion of a clause in the Franchise Bill suspending its operation until the Redistribution Bill is passed. There is absolutely no other honourable basis of compromise open to the Conservative leaders, and if they allow themselves to be cajoled by the party in power into the acceptance of anything short of it, they will not only destroy their own reputations, but inflict a deadly blow on the Constitutional party of this country. The Radicals will consent to anything which does not involve one or other of these conditions, because they know perfectly well that all pledges less tangible are like ropes of sand. For that very reason, it is incumbent upon the Conservatives to stand firm. If they are again told by Mr. Gladstone that their late leader would have passed the Franchise Bill first, let them console themselves by reflecting, that Mr. Gladstone's appreciation of Mr. Disraeli's foresight and wisdom was delayed by some accident till long after the death of the latter; and then they may further fortify themselves by reading the very last utterances of Mr. Disraeli on this subject, in his speech of May 13th, 1874. There they will find that the statesman, whom Mr. Gladstone so justly but so tardily admires, warned us that whenever the county suffrage was enlarged, we must 'look also to the redistribution of seats at the same time, and that we should probably be driven, with or against our wills, in 'the direction of electoral districts.' 'It is quite clear,' added our late leader, 'that the moment you have passed an enfranchisement of this kind, we must be prepared to have our time entirely occupied in efforts to resssert the balance of the Constitution, and obtain some tolerable representation of the people of England, which we shall otherwise have completely destroyed,' We commend these passages to Mr. Gladstone's most carnest attention, since he is now in a frame of mind to receive the Disraelian ideas, and we also venture to advise the present Conservative leaders to anchor themselves fast to the principles which underlie the words we have just recalled to their recollection.

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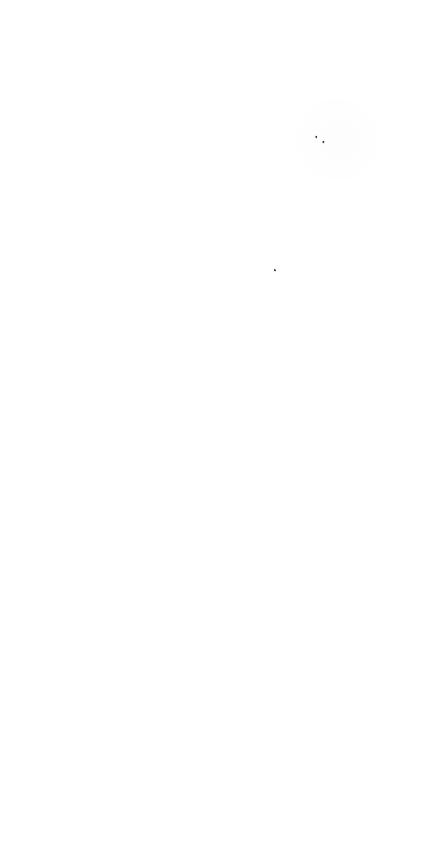
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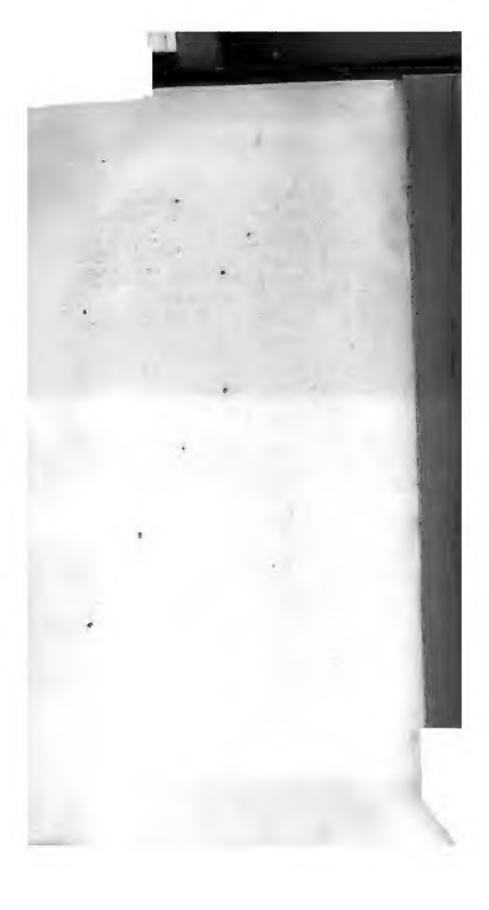
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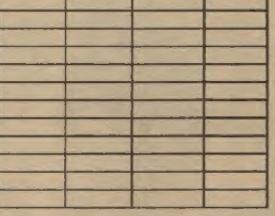












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